THE ARGVMENT OF THE FRONT AND OF THE VVORKE.

ALthough the CREATOVR and Diſpoſer of all things hath left all Particulars and Individualls, under the circle of the MOONE, to the ſtroake of TYME and DEATH; yet by His powerfull Hand He holdeth backe the Sythe of TYME from deſtroying or impayring the Vniverſe: Though the ſame Hand ſhall at laſt deſtroy the Whole by FIRE.

In the meane time he hath ſo ordained that the Elements of which, all ſub-lunarie bodies are compoſed, do ſo beget one the other, and are againe ſo begotten, each from other; that while they ſeeme to dye they become immortall. For as EARTH is reſolued into WATER, the WATER rarefied into AYRE, and the AYRE into FIRE, in the way of their aſcenſion; So in their deſcending down-ward, by a mutuall Compenſation, the FIRE becommeth AYRE, the AYRE thickneth into WATER, and the WATER againe into EARTH.

And as a SHIP which rideth at Anchor is toſſed to and fro by the Windes and Waves, and yet cannot move beyond the length of his Cable, but is caried about in a Round, ſtill mooving yet never remooved.

Or as a WHEELE, at every turne, bringeth about all his Spoakes to the ſame places, obſerving a conſtancy even in turning.

So though there be many changes and variations in the World, yet all things come about one time or another to the ſame points againe.

And there is nothing new under the SVNNE.

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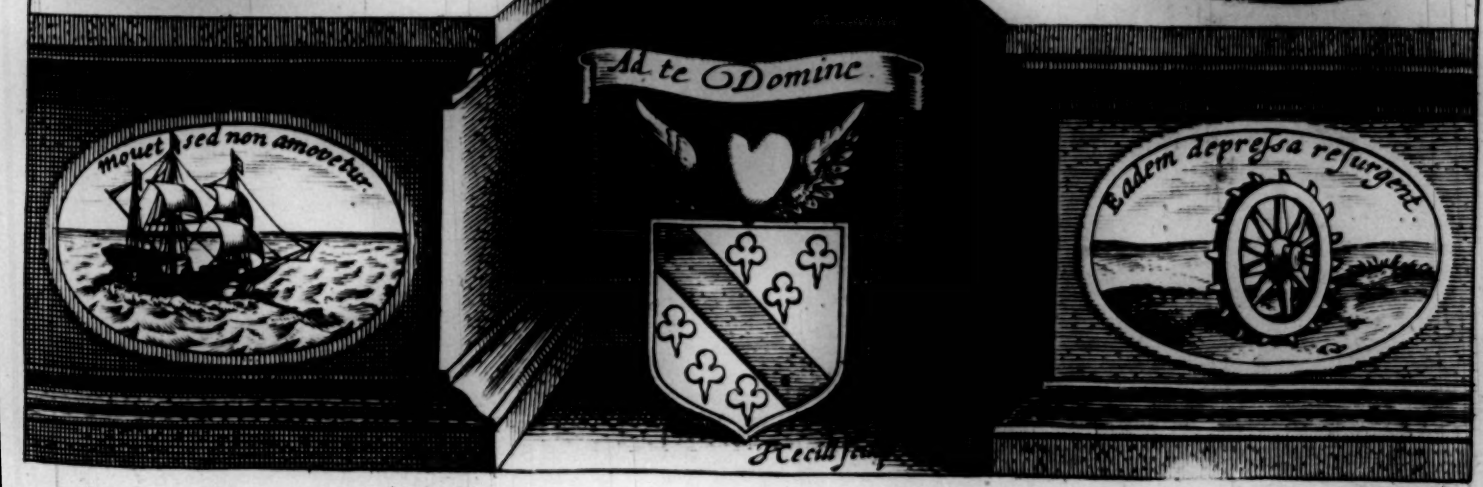
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AN APOLOGIE or Declaration OF THE POWER AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD In the Gouer: nment of the WORLD

By George Hakewill Dr of Diuinitie & Arch Deacon of Surrey.

LONDON
Printed for Robert Allott, at the Beare in Paules Churchyard. 1630.





AN APOLOGIE OR DECLARATION OF THE POVVER AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD.

CONSISTING IN

AN EXAMINATION AND CENSVRE OF THE COMMON ERROVR TOVCHING NATVRES PERPETUALL AND VNIVERSALL DECAY, DIVIDED INTO FOVRE BOOKES.

WHEREOF

The first treates of this pretended decay in generall, together with some preparatiues thereunto.

The second of the pretended decay of the Heavens and Elements, together with that of the Elementary bodies, man onely excepted.

The third of the pretended decay of mankinde in regard of age and duration, of strength and stature, of arts and wits.

The fourth of this pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large proofe of the future consummation of the World from the testimony of the Gentiles, and the vse which we are to draw from the consideration thereof.

By GEORGE HAKEWILL Doctor of Divinity and Archdeacon of *Surrey*.

The second Edition reviſed, and in ſundry paſſages augmented by the Authour; with advertiſements and tables newly annexed in the end of the booke, an Index whereof is preſented in the next page.

ECCLESIASTES 7. 10.

Say not thou, what is the cauſe that the former dayes are better then theſe, for thou doſt not enquire wiſely concerning this.

OXFORD,

Printed by WILLIAM TVRNER Printer to the famous Vniverſity. *Anno Dom.* 1630.

AN INDEX OF THE *ADVERTISEMENTS* AND *TABLES* NEWLY ANNEXED IN THE END OF THE BOOKE.

Advertiſements.

First, *Touching an* Italian *booke Printed in* Venice, 1627. *of the ſame ſubject in moſt of the particular heads, as is the latter part of this enſuing treatiſe.*

Second, *Touching a more exact calculation of the* Roman Seſterce, *occaſioned by a letter receiued from the right Reuerend Father in God the Lord Biſhop of* Hereford.

Third, *Touching ſuch ſpeciall omiſſions as could not be inſerted in their proper places, by reaſon of my remote diſtance at that time from the Preſſe, or ſuch as haue come to my hands ſince.*

Fourth, *Touching mine additions in this ſecond impreſſion and in particular of ſix new Sections added.*

Fifth, *Touching the teſtimonies of ſome Reuerend and Learned men imparted by letter concerning this booke.*

Sixth, *Touching mine intention formerly propoſed about the publiſhing of a ſecond* Declaration *of the* Power *and* Providence *of God in the gouernment of his* Church.

Tables added in the end of the booke, beſides that of the ſeuerall Chapters and Sections ſet in the beginning thereof.

First, *Of the computation and calculation of the* Roman Seſterce *as well by mine owne way, as my L. of* Herefords.

Second, *Of the principall things and matters contained therein, which was in the former edition found wanting, and deſired by many.*

Third, *Of the names of the ſeuerall authours alleaged in this diſcourſe, for the greateſt part whereof I muſt acknowledge my ſelfe beholding to the publique Librarie at* Oxford, *where hee that deſires it may freely conſult them.*

Fourth, *Of the paſſages of holy Scripture, ſpecially thoſe which are ſome way illuſtrated.*

Fifth, *Of the* Errata *which I could wiſh had beene leſſe, but* quod factum eſt infectum eſſe non poteſt.

TO

TO MY VENERABLE MOTHER THE FAMOVS AND FLOVRISHING VNIVERSITIE OF *OXFORD*.

WERE I deſtitute of all other arguments to demonſtrate the *providence of God* in the *preſervation of the VVorld*, and to proue that it doth not *vniverſally* & *perpetually decline*, this one might fully ſuffice for all, that thou, my *Venerable Mother*, though thou waxe old in regard of yeares, yet in this latter age in regard of ſtrength and beauty, waxeſt young againe. Within the compaſſe of this laſt *Centenarie* and leſſe, thou haſt brought forth ſuch a number of worthy *Sons* forpiety, for learning, for wiſedome; & for *buildings* haſt bin ſo inlarged and inriched, that hee who ſhall compare thee with thy ſelfe, will eaſily finde, that though thou bee truly accounted one of the moſt ancient *Vniverſities* in the World, yet ſo farre art thou from withering and wrinkles, that thou art rather become fairer and freſher, and in thine iſſue no leſſe happy then heretofore.

The three laſt *Cardinals* that this Nation had were thine, if that can adde any thing to thine honour. Thoſe thine vnnaturall Sons, who of late dayes forſooke thee, and fledde to thine Enemies campe, *Harding*, *Stapleton*, *Saunders*, *Raynolds*, *Martyn*, *Briſtow*, *Campian*, *Parſons*, even in their fighting againſt thee, ſhewed the fruitfulneſſe of thy wombe, and the

efficacie of that milke which they drew from thy breaſts. What one Colledge ever yeelded at one time and from one Countrey three ſuch *Divines* as *Iewell, Raynolds,* & *Hooker,* or two ſuch great wits & *Heroicall* ſpirits as Sir *Thomas Bodley,* and Sir *Henry Savill.* How renowned in forraine parts are thy *Moore,* thy *Sidney,* thy *Cambden?* What rare lights in the Church were *Humfreyes, Foxe, Bilſon, Field, Abbot?* What pillars thoſe fiue Sons of thine who at one time lately poſſeſſed the fiue principall Sees in the Kingdome? So as if I ſhould in this point, touching the *VVorlds pretended decay,* be caſt by the votes of others, yet my hope is, that by reflecting vpon thy ſelfe, I ſhall be cleared and acquitted by thine.

And in confidence hereof I haue to thy *cenſure* ſubmitted this enſuing *Apologie,* which perchance to the *Vulgar* may ſeeme ſomewhat ſtrange, becauſe their eares haue b. ne ſo long inured vnto, and conſequenly their fancies fore-ſtalled with the contrary opinion. But to thee, I truſt, who judgeſt not vpon report, but vpon tryall, neither art ſwayed by nũber and lowdneſſe of voyces, but by weight of argument, it will appeare not onely juſt and reaſonable in that it vindicates the glory of the Creator, and a truth as large and wide as the world it ſelfe, but profitable and vſefull for the raiſing vp of mens mindes to an endeavour of equalling, yea & ſurpaſſing their noble and worthy *Predeceſſours* in knowledge and vertue; it being certaine that the beſt *Patternes* which we haue in them both, either extant at this preſent, or recorded in monuments of ancienter times, had never beene, had they conceiued that there was alwaies an inevitable declination as well in the *Arts,* as matter of *Manners,* & that it was impoſſible to ſurmount thoſe that went before them.

I do not beleeue that all Regions of the World, or all ages in the ſame Region afford wits alwayes alike: but this I thinke, neither is it my opinion alone, but of *Scaliger, Vives, Budæus, Bodine,* and other *great Clearkes,* that the wits of theſe latter ages being manured by induſtry, directed by precepts, regulated by method, tempered by dyet, refreſhed by exerciſe, and incouraged by rewards, may be as capable of deepe ſpeculations; and produce as *maſculine,* and laſting birthes, as any

any of the ancienter times haue done. But if wee conceiue them to be *Gyants*, and our ſelues *Dwarfes*, if wee imagine all Sciences already to haue receiued their vtmoſt perfection, ſo as wee need not but tranſlate and comment vpon that which they haue done, if wee ſo admire and dote vpon Antiquity as wee emulate and envy, nay ſcorne and trample vnder foot whatſoever the preſent age affords, if we ſpend our beſt time and thoughts in clyming to honour, in gathering of riches, in following our pleaſures, and in turning the edge of our wits one againſt another, ſurely there is little hope that we ſhould ever come nere them, much leſſe match them: The firſt ſtep to inable a man to the atchieving of great deſignes is to be perſwaded that by endeavour hee is able to atchieue it, the next not to be perſwaded that whatſoever hath not yet bin done, cannot therefore be done. Not any one man, or nation, or age, but rather *mankinde* is it which in latitude of capacitie anſweres to the vniverſality of things to be knowne. And truly had our Fathers thought ſo reverently of their predeceſſours, and withall of themſelues ſo baſely, that neither any thing of moment was left for them to be done, nor in caſe there had beene, were they qualified for the doing thereof; wee had wanted many helpes in learning, which by their travell wee now injoy. By meanes whereof I ſee not but wee might alſo advance, improue and inlarge our patrimony, as they left it inlarged to vs: and therevnto the Arts of *Printing* and *Navigation*, the frequencie of goodly *Libraries*, and liberality of *Benefactours*, are ſuch inducements and furtherances, that if we excell not all ages that haue gone before vs, it is onely becauſe we are wanting to our ſelues.

And as our helpes are more and greater for *knowledge* and *learning*, ſo likewiſe for *goodneſſe* and *vertue*, I meane, ſince the beames of *Chriſtian Religion* diſplayed themſelues to the World, which for the rooting out of vice and planting of vertue no *Chriſtian*, I hope, will deny to be incomparably more effectuall then any other Religion that ever yet was heard of in the World: or if others ſhould chance to make a doubt of the certainty of this truth, yet cannot you who preach it, and publiſh it to others. Doubtleſſe being rightly applyed with-

out apiſh *ſuperſtition* on the one ſide, or peeviſh *ſingularity* on the other, it workes vpon the Conſcience more forceably, and conſequently hath a greater power of making men not outwardly and formally, but really and inwardly vertuous. And if wee ſhould looke backe into *Hiſtories*, and compare time with time, wee ſhall eaſily finde that where this Profeſſion ſpred it ſelfe, men haue generally beene more accompliſhed in all kinde of morall and civill vertues then before it tooke place.

It is true indeed that in proceſſe of time, thorow the *ambition, covetouſneſſe, luxury, idleneſſe*, and *ignorance* of them who ſhould haue beene lights in the Church, it too much degenerated from its *Originall* purity, and therevpon manners (being formed by it) were generally tainted, this corruption like a leproſie diffuſing it ſelfe from the head into all the bodie: But together with the reviving of the *Arts* and *Languages*, which for ſundry ages lay buried in barbariſme, the reſt of *ſuperſtition* was likewiſe in many places ſcowred off from Religion, which by degrees had crept vpon it, and fretted deepe into the face of it, and the *Arts* being thus refined, and Religion reſtored to its primitiue brightneſſe, manners were likewiſe reformed even among them, at leaſt in part & in ſhew, who as yet admit not a full reformation in matter of *Religion*. A foule ſhame then it were for vs who profeſſe a thorow reformation in matter of *Doctrine*, to be thought to grow worſe in matter of *manners*, *GOD* forbid it ſhould be ſo, I hope it is not ſo, I am ſure it ſhould not be ſo: *That grace of God which hath appeared more clearely to vs then to our fore-fathers, teaching vs to adorne our profeſſion with a gratious and vertuous converſation, to deny vngodlineſſe and worldly luſts, and to liue ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world: ſoberly* in regard of our ſelues, *righteouſly* in regard of others, and *godly* in regard of religious exerciſes.

If then we come ſhort of our *Anceſtours* in *knowledge*, let vs not caſt it vpon the deficiencie of our wits in regard of the *VVorlds decay*, but vpon our owne *ſloth*; if wee come ſhort of them in *vertue*, let vs not impute it to the *declination of the VVorld*, but to the malice and faintne of our *owne wills*; if we

feele

feele the ſcourges of God vpon our Land by mortality, famine, vnſeaſonable weather, or the like, let vs not teach the people that they are occaſioned by the *Worlds old age*, and thereby call into queſtion the *providence*, or *power*, or *wiſedome*, or *juſtice*, or *goodneſſe* of the Maker thereof; but by their and our *ſinnes*, which is doubtleſſe both the truer and more profitable doctrine, and withall more conſonant to the Sermons of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, and the *Prophets of God* in like caſes. And withall let vs freely acknowledge that *Almighty God* hath beſtowed many bleſsings vpon theſe latter ages, which to the former he denyed, as in ſending vs vertuous and gracious Princes, and by them the maintenance of piety, and peace, and plenty, and the like. Leſt thorow our ingratitude hee withdraw them from vs, and make vs know their worth by wanting them, which by injoying them we vnderſtood not.

But I will not preſume to adviſe where I ſhould learne, only I will vnfainedly wiſh and heartily pray, that at leaſtwiſe your *practiſe* may ſtill make good mine *opinion*, maintained in this Booke, and refute the contrary and common errour oppoſed therein, that you may ſtill grow in *knowledge* and *grace*, and that your vertues may alwayes riſe and increaſe together with your buildings. Theſe latter without the former, being but as a *body without a ſoule*.

Spectemur agendo.

Yours to do you ſervice to the vtmoſt

of his poore abilitie

GEORGE HAKEWILL.

THE PREFACE.

TRuth it is, that this enſuing Treatiſe was long ſince in my younger yeares begunne by me for mine owne private exerciſe and ſatisfaction, but afterward conſidering not onely the rarity of the ſubject, and variety of the matter, but withall that it made for the *redeeming of a captivated truth*, the *vindicating of Gods glory*, the *advancement of learning*, *& the honour of the Chriſtian & reformed Religion*, by the adviſe and with the approbation and incouragement of ſuch ſpeciall friends, whoſe piety, learning, and wiſedome I well know, and much reverence, I reſolved (*permiſſu ſuperiorum* and none otherwiſe) to make it publique for the publique good, and the encountring of a publique errour, which may in ſome ſort be equalled, if not preferred before the quelling of ſome great monſter. Neither doe I take it to lay out of my *profeſsion*, the principall marke which I ayme at throughout the whole body of the Diſcourſe beeing an *Apologeticall defence of the power and providence of God*, his *wiſedome*, his *truth*, his *juſtice*, *his goodnes & mercy*, and beſides, a great part of the booke it ſelfe is ſpent in preſſing *Theologicall* reaſons, in clearing doubts ariſing from thence, in producing frequent teſtimonies from *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, *Schoolemen*, aud *moderne Divines*, in proving that *Antichriſt* is already come, from the writings of the *Romaniſts* themſelues, in confirming the article of our faith touching the Worlds future and totall conſummation by fire, and a day of finall judgement from diſcourſe of reaſon and the writings of the *Gentiles*, and laſtly by concluding the whole worke with a pious *meditation* touching the vſes which we may and ſhould make of the conſideration thereof, ſerving for a terrour to ſome, for comfort to others, for admonition to all. And how other men may ſtand affected in reading, I know not, ſure I am that in writing, it often lifted vp my ſoule in admiring and prayſing the infinite *wiſedome* and *bounty* of the *Creator* in maintaining and managing his owne worke, in the government and preſervation of the *Vniverſe*, which in

truth is nothing elſe but (as the Schooles ſpeake) *continuata productio*, a continuated production: & often did it call to my mind thoſe holy raptures of the *Pſalmiſt*; *O Lord our governour, how excellent is thy Name in all the world? Thou Lord haſt made me glad through thy workes, and I will rejoyce in giving praiſe for the operations of thy hands, O Lord, how glorious are thy workes, and thy thoughts are very deepe. An vnwiſe man doth not well conſider this, and a foole doth not well vnderſtand it.* And againe, *The workes of the Lord are great, ſought out of all them that haue pleaſure therein, His worke is worthy to be prayſed and had in honour, and his righteouſnes endureth for ever.*

Pſal. 8. 1. Pſal. 92. 4 5. 6. 111. 2. 3.

And though whiles I haue laboured to free the world from old age, I feele it creeping vpon my ſelfe, yet if it ſhall pleaſe the ſame great and gratious Lord, I intend by his aſſiſtance ſparing me life and health hereafter to write Another *Declaration of his power and providence in the government of his Church*, which perchance by ſome may bee thought both more proper for mee, and for theſe times more neceſſary; though he that ſhall narrowly obſerue the prints of the *Almighties* footſteppes, traced throughout this enſuing diſcourſe, may not vnjuſtly from thence collect, both comfort and aſſurance; that as the Heavens remaine vnchangeable, ſo doth the Church triumphant in Heaven, and as all things vnder the cope of heaven vary and change, ſo doth the militant heere on earth; it hath its times and turnes, ſometimes flowing and againe ebbing with the *ſea*, ſometimes waxing, and againe waning with the *Moone*, which great light, it ſeemes, the *Almighty* therefore ſet the loweſt in the heavens, and neareſt the Earth, that it might dayly put vs in minde of the conſtancy of the one, and inconſtancy of the other, her ſelfe in ſome ſort partaking of both, though in a different manner; of the one in her ſubſtance, of the other in the copie of her viſage.

And if the *Moone* thus change, and all things vnder the *Moone*, why ſhould we wonder at the change of *Monarchies* and *Kingdomes?* much leſſe petty ſtates & private families: they riſe, and fall, and riſe againe, and fall againe, that no man might either too confidently preſume, becauſe they are ſubject to continuall alteration; or caſt away all hope, & fall to deſpaire, becauſe they haue their ſeaſons and appointed times of returning againe.

Sen.

Nemo confidat nimium ſecundis,
Nemo deſperet meliora, lapſus:
Miſcet hæc illis, prohibetque Clotho
Stare fortunam.

Let him that ſtands take heed leſt that he fall,
Let him that's falne hope he may riſe againe;
The providence divine that mixeth all,
Chaines joy to griefe by turnes, and loſſe to gaine.

I muſt confeſſe that ſometimes looking ſtedfaſtly vpon the preſent face

face of things both at home and abroad, I haue often beene put to a ſtand, and ſtaggered in mine opinion, whether I were in the right or no: and perchance the ſtate of my body, and preſent condition, in regard of thoſe faire hopes I ſometimes had, ſerved as falſe perſpectiue glaſſes to looke through, but when againe I abſtracted and rayſed my thoughts to an higher pitch, and as from a vantage ground tooke a larger view, comparing time with time, and thing with thing, and place with place, and conſidered my ſelfe as a member of the *Vniverſe*, and a *Citizen of the World*, I found that what was loſt to one part, was gained to another; and what was loſt in one time, was to the ſame part recovered in an other; and ſo the ballance by the divine providence over-ruling all, kept vpright. But commonly it fares with men in this caſe, as with one who lookes onely vpon ſome libbet, or end of a peece of *Arras*, he happily conceives an hand or head which he ſees, to bee very vnartificially made: but vnfolding the whole, ſoone findes that it carries a due and juſt proportion to the body; ſo, *qui ad pauca reſpicit, de facili pronunciat* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) he that is ſo narrow eyed as he lookes onely to his owne perſon or family, to his owne corporation or nation, or the age wherein himſelfe liues, will peradventure quickly conceiue, and as ſome pronounce, that all things decay and goe backwards, which makes men murmure and repine againſt *God*, vnder the name of *Fortune* and *Deſtinie*; whereas he that as a part of mankinde in generall, takes a view of the *vniverſall*, compares perſon with perſon, family with family, corporation with corporation, nation with nation, age with age; ſuſpends his judgement, and vpon examination clearely findes, *that all things worke together for the beſt to them that loue God*: and that though ſome members ſuffer, yet the whole is no way thereby indammaged at any time; and at other times thoſe ſame members are againe relieved, as the Sunne when it ſets to vs, it riſes to our *Antipodes*, and when it remooues from the *Northerne* parts of the world, it cheriſhes the *Southerne*, yet ſtayes not there, but returnes againe with his comfortable beames to thoſe very parts which for a time it ſeemed to haue forſaken: *O that men would therefore praiſe the Lord for his goodneſſe, and declare the wonders that he hath done for the children of men*! or at leaſtwiſe cry out in admiration with the *Apoſtle*, *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdome and knowledge of our God, how vnſearchable are his pathes, and his wayes paſt finding out!* Rom. 8. 28. Rom. 11. 33.

Yet the next way, in ſome meaſure to finde them out, (ſo farre as is poſſible for vs poore wormes heere crawling in a miſt vpon the face of the Earth) is, next the ſacred Oracles of ſupernaturall and revealed Truth, to ſtudy the great Volume of the *Creature*, and the *Hiſtories* not onely of our owne, but of forraigne Countreyes, and thoſe not onely of the preſent, but more auncient times. *Enquire I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thy ſelfe to the ſearch of their Fathers, for wee are but of yeſterday, and know nothing, becauſe our dayes vpon earth are but a ſhadow.* Iob. 8. 8 If then, to make my party good, and to waite vpon Divini-

ty, I haue called in ſubſidiary aydes, from *Phyloſophers*, *Hiſtoriographers*, *Mathematitians*, *Grammarians*, *Logicians*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Souldiers*, *Trauellers*, *Lawyers*, *Phyſitians*, and if I haue in imitation of *Tertullian*, *Cyprean*, *Euſebius*, *Auguſtine*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius*, endeavoured to cut the throates of the *Paynims* with their owne ſwords, and pierce them with their owne quills, I hope no learned man, or lover of Learning will cenſure me for this. *Philoſophie* and the *Arts* I muſt account a part of mine owne profeſſion; and for *Phyſicke* and the *Lawes*, I haue therein conſulted the chiefe, as well in this *Vniverſity*, as out of it, of mine owne acquaintance; nay in *Hiſtory*, the *Mathematiques* and *Divinity* it ſelfe, I haue not onely had the approbation of the publique profeſſours therein, for the maine points in my booke, which concerne their ſeverall profeſſions; but ſome peeces I muſt acknowledge as received from them, which I haue made bold to inſert into the body of my diſcourſe; let no man think then that I maintaine a paradoxe for oſtentation of wit, or haue written out of ſpleene, to gall any man in particular, nor yet to humour the preſent times; the times themſelues, mine indiſpoſition that way, and reſolution to ſit downe content with my preſent fortunes; if they ſerue not to giue others ſatisfaction therein, yet doe they fully to cleare mee to my ſelfe, from any ſuch aſperſion: yet thus much, I hope, I ſafely may ſay without ſuſpition of flattery, that by the goodneſſe of GOD, and our gratious Soveraigne vnder GOD, wee yet enjoy many great bleſſings which former ages did not, and were wee thankefull for theſe as we ought, and truely penitent for our exceſſe in all kinde of monſtrous ſinnes (which aboue all, threatens our ruine) I nothing doubt but vpon our returne to our God by humiliation and newneſſe of life, he would ſoone diſſolue the cloud which hangs over vs, and returne vnto vs with the comfortable beames of his favour, and make vs to returne each to other with mutuall imbracements of affection and duety, and our Armies and Fleets to returne with ſpoyle and victory, and reduce againe as golden and happy times, as euer we or our fore-fathers ſaw: but if we ſtill goe on with an high hand, and a ſtiffe necke in our prophaneſſe, our pride, our luxury, our vncharitableneſſe, our vnnaturall diviſions in Church and Common-wealth, there needes no *propheticall* ſpirit to divine what will ſhortly become of vs; *Turne vs; O turne vs againe O Lord God of hoſtes, ſhew the light of thy Countenance and wee ſhall be whole*; ſhew the light of thy Countenance and wee ſhall be provident in counſell, ſucceſſefull in warre, ſober in peace, a terrour to our enemies, and a comfort to our allyes and confederates. *Turne thee againe thou God of hoſtes, looke downe from heaven, behold & viſite this vine, and the place of the vineyard that thy right hand hath planted: and the branch that thou madeſt ſo ſtrong for thy ſelfe.*

We need goe no farther then the nation of the *Iewes* for a notable inſtance in this kinde; who at times more zealous then they in the worſhip of God and the exerciſes of Religion? and who againe at other times more rebellious? It is ſaid of them in the *Pſalme*, *then beleeued*

they

they his words; but presently it followes in the very next verse, *they soone forgot his workes*: and according to their obedience or rebellion, so were they either prosperous or vnfortunate in the course of their affiaires; during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thousand strong; & as much as a great Senate for counsell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwise, if they swerved (as often they did) their wonted courage, & magnanimity forsooke them vtterly; their souldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and sate in counsell for their owne good, that which children might haue seene, their graveſt Senatours could not discerne, their *Prophets* saw darkenesse in steed of visions, and the wise and prudent were as men bewitcht.

If then wee come short of that courage and valour which made our Aunceſtours so renowned by sea and land, not only in *France*, and *Spaine*, and the *Netherlands*, but in *Palæstina* it selfe; sure it is not, because the *World declines*, but because our *luxury* increases, the most evident *symptome* of a declining state; for as all *Empires* haue risen to their greateneſſe by *vertue*, and specially by *sobrietie* and *frugalitie*; so is it cleare that by vice, and specially by *luxury*, (which of neceſſiry drawes on softnes and cowardise) they haue all againe declined and come to nothing; and out of their ashes haue others sprung vp, which likewise within a while (such a *circulation* there is in all things) haue beene turned into ashes againe.

Bartas in hiſ Colonies.

As when the winde the angry Ocean moves,
Waue hunteth waue, and billow billow shoves:
So doe all Nations justle each the other,
And so one people doth pursue another,
And scarce a second hath the first vnhoused,
Before a third him thence againe hath rowsed.

----Sic Medus ademit
Assyrio, Medoq; tulit moderamina Perses,
Subjecit Persen Macedo, ceſſurus & Ipse
Romanis.

Claudian. l. . in laudes Stiliconis.

Thus did the *Medes* root out th' *Assyrian* race,
The *Persian* quickly foyl'd the *Medes*, in place
Of him subdu'd, vp starts the *Macedo*,
Who eftsoones yeeldes vnto the *Roman* foe.

And lastly the *Romans* themselues as by vertue and piety, in their superstitious way they wanne, and mightily inlarged their Empire, so being come to the toppe, they lost it againe by vice and irreligion: so true is that of the *Comicall Poet*,

Hæc niſi vrbe aberunt, centuplex

plautus in Perſa.

Murus rebus ſervandis parum eſt.

Vnleſſe theſe vices baniſht bee.
What euer forts you haue,
An hundred walls together put,
Will not haue power to ſaue.

With whom accords the *Tragicall.*

Seneca in Thyeſte. *---Vbi non eſt pudor,*
Nec cura juris, ſanctitas, pietas, fides,
Inſtabile regnum eſt.

Where is no modeſtie, nor equitie,
Nor ſanctitie, nor pietie,
No nor fidelitie,
In ſuch a Kingdome certainelie
There can be noe ſtability.

Who ſo is wiſe then will ponder theſe things, and they ſhall vnderſtand the loving kindeneſſe of the Lord.

Againe, for matter of *learning* and *knowledge* if we come ſhort of the *Ancients*; we need not impute it to *natures decay*; our owne riot, our idleneſſe and negligence in regard of them, will ſufficiently diſcharge nature, and juſtly caſt backe the blame vpon our ſelues. *Falſa eſt enim atque inepta illa quorundum ſimilitudo, quam multi tanquam acutiſsimam atque appoſitiſsimam excipiunt, nos ad priores collatos, eſſe vt nanos in humeris gigantum: non eſt ita, nec nos ſumus nani, nec illi, homines gigantes, ſed omnes ejuſdem ſtaturæ, & quidem nos altius evecti eorum beneficio: maneat modo in nobis, quod in illis, ſtudium, attentio animi, vigilantia, & amor veri: quæ ſi abſint, jam non nani ſumus, nec in gigantum humeris ſedemus, ſed homines juſtæ magnitudinis humi proſtrati.* For a falſe and fond ſimilitude it is of ſome, which they take vp as a moſt witty and proper one, that wee being compared to the Ancients, are as Dwarfes vpon the ſhoulders of Giants: it is not ſo, neither are we Dwarfes, nor they Giants, but wee are all of one ſtature, ſaue that wee are lifted vp ſomewhat higher by their meanes, conditionally there be found in vs the ſame ſtudiouſneſſe, watchfulneſſe and loue of truth, as was in them: which if they bee wanting, then are we not dwarfes, nor ſet on the ſhoulders of giants, but men of a competent ſtature groueling on the earth.

L. Vives de cauſ. corrupt. artium lib 1.

We wonder (as well we may) at *Ariſtotles* wit expreſſed in his voluminous workes, but his indefatigable paines in ſtudy, we conſider not, holding in his hand when he layde him downe to reſt, a ball of braſſe, which as ſoone as ſleepe overtook him, fell into a baſin of braſſe, purpoſely ſet vnder, that ſo being awakened with the noyſe thereof, he might againe returne to his booke: and though he were, as witneſſeth *Cenſorinus*, of ſo craſie a body (that it is more ſtrange hee ſhould liue to his *Climacterical* yeare, then that he then died) yet by the

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invincible ſtrength of his minde, did he wade thorow a world of difficulties, and hath thereby left ſuch fruites thereof to the world, as hath deſervedly wonne him immortall honour. *Seneca* a man of an admirable vivacity of ſpirit, writes of himſelfe, that one day he heard *Attalus* the Phyloſopher in his publique Lectures, commend a bed which yeelded not to the body, and therevpon addes, *tali vtor etiam ſenex, in qua veſtigium apparere non poſsit*; ſuch a one doe I now vſe, though well ſtricken in yeares, in which my body leaues no print behinde it: hee likewiſe by the perſwaſion of the ſame *Attalus* abſtaine from Oiſters, from wine, from bathings, he fed ſometimes vpon a cruſt of drye bread, ſometimes vpon wild fruit, taken from the hedge, and quenched his thirſt with faire running water, and this hee did for loue of knowledge, in a moſt luxurious age, living in the court it ſelfe, abounding in riches and honour, and hauing all kindes of pleaſures at command. The like doth *Plinius Cæcilius* in his Epiſtle to *Marcus*, write of his vncle Tutour to the Emperour *Veſpaſian*, as was *Seneca* to *Nero*: to his rare naturall endowments, hee added inceſſant watchfulneſſe, and labour in reading and writing, his diet was ſparing and thinne, his ſleepe ſhort and little, in ſo much that his Nephew *Cæcilius* freely confeſſeth of himſelfe: *ſoleo ridere cum me quidam ſtudioſum vocant, qui, ſi comparer illi, ſum deſidioſiſsimus:* I am wont to ſmile when they tearme me hard ſtudent who being compared with him, am in truth a very truant. But to come neere home, King *Alfred* thought to be founder or reſtorer of the Vniverſity of *Oxford* is reported to haue caſt the naturall day, conſiſting of 24 houres, into three parts; whereof the one he ſpent in affaires of ſtate, a ſecond in the ſervice of his body, and the reſidue in prayer, ſtudy, and writing, which ſpaces of time, hauing then none other engine for that purpoſe, he meaſured by a great waxe light divided into ſo many parts, receiving notice by the keeper thereof, as the ſeverall houres paſſed in burning. *Epiſt. 108.*

Such examples as theſe of the *Auncient* wee admire, wee commend, wee willingly reade and recite, but follow the faſhion of our owne times.

Laudamus veteres ſed noſtris vtimur annis.

The common complaint is, that we want time, but the truth is, *Non parum habemus temporis, ſed multum perdimus*, we doe not ſo much want as waſt it, either *malè agendo*, or *nihil agendo*, or *aliud agendo*, either in doing naughtines, or nothing, or impertinencies; we doe *bonas horas malè collocare*, trifle out our pretious houres in eating & drinking, & ſleeping, and ſporting, and gaming, and dreſſing our bodies, and then giue out & perſwade our ſelues, that *Nature* forſooth is decayed, that our bodies cannot endure that ſtudy which our Predeceſſours did: and truely I thinke many juſtly complaine of weake and craſie bodies, but withall that more haue made them ſo, by intemperance then ſtudy, or found them ſo by nature; let vs then lay the fault where it is, and accuſe our *Seneca.* *Idem.*

ſelues, not *Nature*, or rather God vnder that name. And yet what the bodies of men even in theſe latter ages being throughly put to it, are able to endure, the extant workes of *Toſtatus*, *Eraſmus*, *Geſner*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Baronius*, *Bellarmine*, and others ſufficiently teſtifie; it is to this effect a true ſpeech of *Arnoldus Clapmarus* in his *nobile trienniu̇m*, *incredibile eſt quantum breviſsimo tempore humana poſsit aſſequi induſtria*, it is incredible what the induſtry of man in a very ſhort time may attaine vnto. Maſter *Foxe* in his Latine Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed before his *Acts & Monuments*, reports of himſelfe, that having but a ſickly body, in leſſe then eighteene *moneths* ſpace he read authours, conferred copies, ſearched records, gathered matters, digeſted it into order, reviſed it, &c. for that great worke, and this to bee true ſaith he, *noverunt ij qui teſtes adfuerunt, & temporis conſcij, & laboris ſocij*, they know full well who were preſent as witneſſes, being both privie to my time, and companions of my labour; And *Joſeph Scaliger* in the life of his father *Iulius* tels vs likewiſe of himſelfe, that when he began firſt with the *Greeke* tongue, in *one & twenty dayes* he learned over all *Homer* with the *comment*, and within *foure moneths* (to vſe his owne words) *he devoured all the reſt of the Greeke Poets*. They were doubtleſſe great matters which *Peter Ramus* went through in ſhort time, as appeares in his life; yet not ſo much by the quickeneſſe and ſtrength of wit (though therein he excelled) as by his aſſiduity & temperance, which was ſuch, that he would drinke no wine, till by his Phyſitians he was injoyned ſo to doe; and from his youth to his dying day never vſed by his good will any other bedding then ſtraw; and in his ſtudy ſo watchfull hee was, that if he heard in the morning the ſmiths or carpenters, or other artiſans at worke before he were ſtirring, hee would blame himſelfe of negligence and ſloathfulnes, that they ſhould prevent him, and be more diligent in their mechanicall trades, then he in the ſtudie of the liberall ſciences: And (to adde one more) of our rare *Iewell*, Doctour *Humphreyes* teſtifies, that he was *& ſtudioſorum calcar, & ſtudiorum norma, & indefeſſæ diligentiæ ſingulare ſpecimen*, a ſpur to ſtudents, a rule of ſtudies, and a ſingular preſident of vnwearied ſtudiouſneſſe; and againe, *victus nimis ſcholaſticus et ſimplex fuit, corpus macilentum et perimbecillum, vt mireris tot laboribus exhauriendis potuiſſe ſufficere*: his diet was very ſparing, and ſomewhat too ſcholler-like, his bodie thinne and very weake, ſo as a man might juſtly wonder, how it could indure and bring about ſuch and ſo many labours.

And certaine it is (what euer our wits pretend to the contrarie) that never any became excellent in any profeſſion, or was famous for any notable worke, who was not *abſtemious* and *induſtrious*.

> *Multa tulit fecitque puer, ſudavit & alſit.*
> Hee did both doe and ſuffer many things.
> Both heate and cold. &c.

And I verily thinke, did the ſtudents in our Vniverſities, carefully and con-

conſtantly obſerue thoſe houres for prayer (eſpecially in the morning) which our wiſe and godly founders by their locall ſtatutes require in our ſeverall Colledges, we ſhould ſoone by Gods bleſſing find a change both in manners and learning; and thereby ſtop the mouthes of ſuch both at home and abroad, as cry out that wee haue loſt our ancient reputation, and that the *Ieſuites* by the ſtrictnes of their diſcipline haue gotten the ſtart of vs, and wonne the ſpurres from vs. *Antiquitùs ſtrictiſsimè fuit obſervatum vt exceptis graduatis, nemo animi, vel etiam negotij cujuſquam ſui cauſa è Collegio ſuo ſine ſuperioris petita et obtenta licentia, (ſocio etiam aſsignato) egredi poſſet; ingredi civium domos, prandium aut cœnam apud eos ſumere, non niſi maxima vrgente cauſa, & quaſi ex ſpeciali indulto, cuiquam licuit: popinas autem intrare, & in hoſpitijs publicis convivari, vel in ædibus alicujus civis pernoctare periculum erat, nam in his ſi quis deliquiſſet, ex Academia niſi magna aliqua ratio ſubfuiſſet cum dedecore ejiciebatur.* Ineede not *Engliſh* it, but wiſh it practiſed. And conclude this point with that of *Quintilian*, which cannot too often bee remembred; *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, ſed vltra nobis quam oportebat indulſimus, ita non tam ingenio nos illi ſuperârunt, quam propoſito.* Nature hath not made vs more vncapable then our Auncestours, but we haue beene too indulgent to our ſelues, by which meanes it comes to paſſe that they ſurmount vs not ſo much by the goodnes of wits, as ſtudiouſneſſe and endeavour.

Pitſeus Relat. Hiſt. tom. 1. c. 9. de Acad Oxon.

Orat. 2. 5.

Now for the worke it ſelfe I am well aſſured (as all other Bookes and actions) it will be diverſly cenſured, as men ſtand diverſly affected: if but three gueſts meet at a feaſt, they will hardly accord in one diſh; & truely I thinke that as mens fancies (could they be ſeene) would bee found to differ more then their faces; ſo are their judgements more different then their taſts: but this common courteſie (due by the Lawes of civility and humanity) I ſhall craue (which I hope no ingenuous minde will deny mee) that I bee not condemned before I bee vnderſtood.

Nemea dona tibi ſtudio diſpoſta fideli,
Intellecta prius quam ſint, contempta relinquas.

Lucret. lib. 1

Doe not caſt off with furly ſcorne
What heere I offer thee,
Before thou vnderſtand aright
What heere is ſaid by me.

Legant & poſtea deſpiciant, ne videantur non ex judicio, ſed ex odij præſumptione ignorata damnare: firſt read, and then deſpiſe leſt thou ſeeme to condemne that which thou knoweſt not, rather out of malitious prejudice, then adviſed judgement, and if vpon a ſerious peruſall and ballancing of mine arguments any ſhall yet vary from mee, I quarrell him not, but hope wee may both injoy our opinions without

Hieronymus.

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any breach of *faith* or *charity*; onely I ſay that the queſtion is ſurely noble, and worthy to be diſcuſſed by a more learned penne, as being a diſquiſition touching the ſhippe wherein wee all ſayle whether it bee ſtaunch or no, and heerein will be the tryall, *Opinionum commenta dies delet, naturæ judicia confirmat*; time weares out dreames of fancy, but ſtrengthens the dictates of Nature and Truth; as the Sunne beames being impriſoned, as it were, for a time, worke thorough a thicke miſt, though with ſome difficulty, but beeing once broken through, and the miſt diſpelled, they ſhine out and continue cleare.

I haue walked (I confeſſe) in an vntroden path, neither can I trace the prints of any footſteppes that haue gone before mee, but onely as it led them to ſome other way, thwarting, and vpon the by, not directly: ſome parts belonging to this diſcourſe, ſome haue ſlightly handled, none throughly conſidered of the whole: which I ſpeake not to derogate from their worth (it beeing *puerilis jactantiæ accuſando illuſtres viros ſuo nomini famam quærere*; a childiſh kinde of bragging to hunt after applauſe by contradicting famous men) but onely to ſhew that whiles they intended another thing, they might happily in this bee carried away with the common ſtreame: for ſurely ſuch a ſweete harmony there is betweene all the members of this body, ſuch a coherence and mutuall dependance betwixt all the linkes of this chaine, that hee who takes a view of the whole, will eaſily grant that hee might bee deceiued by looking vpon ſome parts thereof.

Hieronymus.

Yet ſome perchance will conceiue, I might haue delivered my minde with leſſe expence of words and time, and truely I muſt acknowledge that *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum*; it cannot bee but in ſpeaking ſo much, ſomewhat ſhould bee ſpoken amiſſe. Yet withall it muſt bee remembred, that beeing to grapple with ſuch a Gyantlike monſter, I could not thinke him dead till I had his head off: and that which to ſome may ſeeme ſuperfluous or impertinent, will happily by others bee thought not vnprofitable or vnpleaſant, the paines is mine, and if it bee over-done, done I am ſure it is; if I haue ſaide more then enough, enough is ſaid to ſerue the turne.

And if any ſhall haue a minde to publiſh any thing againſt that I haue written, I ſhall deſire it may bee done fairely, not by ſucking of the ſoares, and flying over the ſound parts, nor by nibbling vpon the twigges, and vtmoſt branches, but by ſtricking at the roote or body of the tree, or at leaſtwiſe ſome of the principall limbes thereof; and in the meane ſeaſon, I ſay with Saint *Auguſtine*, *Quiſquis hæc legit, vbi pariter certus eſt, pergat mecum; vbi pariter hæſitat, quærat mecum; vbi errorem ſuum cognoſcit, redeat ad me; vbi meum, revocet me*: whoſoever thou art that reads this diſcourſe, where thou art aſſured, go on with me; where thou art in doubt, ſearch with me; where thou doſt acknowledge thine errour, returne to me; where thou findeſt mine, recall me; and conclude with *Lactantius*: *Etiamſi nulli alij, mihi certè proderit, delectabit ſe conſci-*

lib. 1 de Trin. c. 3.

conſciencia, gaudebitque mens in veritatis ſe luce verſari, quod eſt animæ pabulum incredibili quâdam jucunditate perfuſum: If this Treatiſe profit none elſe, yet ſhall it mee, my conſcience ſhall comfort it ſelfe, and my minde bee refreſhed in the light of Truth, which is the foode of the ſoule, mixed with delight incredible.

[***]

Rode caper vites, tamen hic, cum ſtabis ad aras,
In tua quod fundi cornua poſſit, erit.

THE

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CAP. 11.

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Boethius lib. 3. metro 9.

O Qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum Cœlique Sator! qui tempus ab ævo
Ire jubes: ſtabiliſque manens das cuncta moveri,
Da pater auguſtam menti conſcendere ſedem,
Da fontem luſtrare boni, da luce reperta
In te conſpicuos animæ defigere viſus.
Diſſice terrenæ nebulas & pondera molis,
Atque tuo ſplendore mica. Tu namque ſerenum,
Tu requies tranquilla piis, Te cernere, finis,
Principium, vector, dux, ſemita, terminus, idem.

Thou that mad'ſt heaven and earth, whoſe wiſedome ſtill doth
The world, by whoſe command time evermore doth ſlide: (guide
Thou that vnmou'd thy ſelfe, cauſeſt all things to moue:
Grant Father, I may climbe thoſe ſacred ſeats aboue,
Grant, I of good may view the ſpring, that finding light,
My minde perpetually on thee may fixe her ſight.
Diſpell theſe clouds diſcharge this loade of lumpiſh clay,
And ſpread thy beames: for thou to Saints the cleareſt day,
The calmeſt quiet art, and thee to contemplate
Port, paſſage, leader, way, beginning is and date.

AN

AN APOLOGIE OF THE POWER AND PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD:

OR

An Examination and Censure of the common errour touching Natures perpetuall and vniversall decay.

LIB. I.

Which treates of this pretended decay in generall, together with some preparatiues thereunto.

CAP. I.

Of diverse other opinions justly suspected, if not rejected, though commonly receiued.

SECT. I. *In Diuinitie.*

THE opinion of the Worlds decay is so generally receiued, not onely among the Vulgar, but of the Learned both Divines and others, that the very commonnes of it, makes it currant with many, without any further examination: That which is held, not onely by the multitude, but by the Learned, passing smoothly for the most part without any checke or controle. *Nec alius pronior fidei lapsus, quam vbi rei falsæ gravis author extitit*, saith *Pliny*: Men do not any-where more easily erre, then where they follow a guide, whom they presume they may safely trust: They cannot quickly be perswaded, that hee who is in reputation for knowledge and wisedome, and whose doctrine is admired in weighty matters, should mistake in points of lesser consequence; and the greatest part of the World, is rather led

with the names of their Maſters, and with the reverend reſpect they beare their perſons or memories, then with the ſoundneſſe and truth of the things they teach. Wherein that of *Vadianus* in his Epiſtle of *Paradice*, is, and euer will be verified. *Magnos errores magnorum virorum authoritate perſuaſi tranſmittimus:* Wee deliuer over as it were by tradition from hand to hand great errours, being therevnto induced by the authority of great men. Whiles wee are young, our judgment is raw and greene, and when wee are olde, it is foreſtalled, by which meanes it comes often to paſſe, that *inter juvenile judicium, & ſenile præjudicium, veritas corrumpitur*; betweene the precipitancie and raſhneſſe of youth to take whatſoeuer is offered, and the obſtinate ſtiffeneſſe of age in refuſing what it hath not formerly beene acquainted with, truth is loſt. The evidencing of which aſſertion, is the proper ſubject of this Chapter, wherein I hope I ſhall make it appeare, that many opinions are commonly receiued, both in ordinary ſpeech, and in the writings of learned men, which notwithſtanding are by others either manifeſtly convinced, or at leaſtwiſe juſtly ſuſpected of falſehood and errour, and this aſwell in *Divinity*, as in *Philoſophy* and *Hiſtory*.

Quantum præceptum.

First then in *Divinity* (not to meddle with doctrinall points in controverſie at this day) it is commonly receiued and beleeued, that *Iudas* among the other Apoſtles, receiued the bleſſed Sacrament at our Lords hands, of which notwithſtanding, ſayth the learned *Zanchius*, *Etſi multi magni viri hoc docuerint & ſcripſerint, ego tamen nullo modo concedo, aut concedere poſſum, quia aperte pugnat cum hiſtoria Iohannis Evangeliſtæ*: Though many great Clarkes haue taught and written it, yet my ſelfe neither doe nor can by any meanes grant it, inaſmuch as it plainely contradicts the Hiſtory of *Iohn* the Evangeliſt.

Cap. 13. 30.

That the foure *Monarchies* alluded vnto by *Nabuchadnezzars* image, were to endure to the end of the World, of which *Iunius* obſerues; *hanc quidem ſententiam Patres ferè omnes ſequuti ſunt*: this opinion well nigh all the Fathers followed, yet doth himſelfe maintaine, that they reach onely to the firſt comming of Chriſt, and publication of the Goſpell.

That *Melchizedek* ſpoken of in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrewes*, was *Sem* the ſonne of *Noah*: Yet *Pererius* in his Commentarie on the 14 of *Geneſis*, endeavours to overthrow it by many weighty reaſons drawne from the Text.

That it was before the Floud, vnlawfull for men to feede vpon fleſh, whereas *Cajetan* holdes the contrary opinion, & is therein followed by *Franciſcus de Victoria* in his Relection of temperance, & *Dominicus Soto* in his fifth book de *Iuſtitia & Iure*, firſt queſtion and firſt article.

In quartum Gen.

That our firſt Parents ſtood but one day in *Paradice*, of which opinion the ſame Author affirmes, *Pervulgata eſt, eademque vt multorum, ſic imprimis nobilium & illuſtrium Authorum firmata conſenſu*; it is commonly receiued and ſtrengthned by the conſent of many worthy and famous Authors: yet labours hee to diſproue it, in as much as ſo many, and ſo different acts are by *Moſes* recorded to haue paſſed betweene their

Comment. in Ger. cap. 3.

their Creation and Ejection,as could not well be dispatched within the compasse of one day. And *Tostatus*,though he were first of the common opinion,yet afterward vpon better advice he changed it.

That the Prophecie of old *Iacob*, *The Scepter shall not depart from Iudah vntill Shiloh come*,was fulfilled in *Herods* raigne at the birth of CHRIST by the continuance of the government in the Tribe of *Iudah*, till the raigne of *Herod*,reputed the first stranger that tooke vpon him the Kingly office among the *Iewes*: but *Casaubon* in his Exercitations, prooues that neither the kingly government was continued in that Tribe, in as much as it was often interrupted,and at length ended in *Zedechiah*, nor that *Herod* was a stranger,in as much as himselfe,his father,& his grandfather were all circumcised,& yet he confesses of the commō opinion, *hæc sententia ab insignibus pietate,& doctrina viris profecta, vbi semel est admissa sine vlla controversia aut examine apud omnium ætatum eruditos præter admodum paucos semper deinceps obtinuit*; this opinion first set on foote by men of singular piety and learning;and being once generally embraced without any question or examination of it, afterward prevailed with the Learned of all ages,some few onely excepted.

Gen.49.10

Exercit.1 ad apparat.Annal.c.2

That there passed but foure *Passeouers* betweene the Baptisme and Passion of our *Saviour*: yet the same *Casaubon* in his Exercitations vpon *Baronius*,tells vs; *primus quòd sciam nostra memoria assertor quinti Paschatis extitit Gerardus Mercator,insignis Mathematicus, cuius sententiam viri summi & amplexi sunt,& novis argumentis ex Hebraici Kalendarij ratione præcipuè desumptis confirmârunt:* the first (to my knowledge) who stood for a fifth Passeover,was *Gerardus Mercator*, a famous Mathematician, whose opinion the most learned haue both embraced, and confirmed, by arguments drawne chiefly from the computation of the *Hebrew Kalendar*.

Exercit.16.ad.n0.34.num.1

That *Iephtah* slew his daughter,& sacrifized her to the Lord: but *Iunius* in his annotations on that place thinkes hee onely consecrated her by vowing her virginity, which may well stand with the nature of the originall word,and the contrary cannot well stand, either with *Ieptahs* faith,or Gods acceptance.

That by the river *Phison*,mentioned in the second of *Genesis*,the *Indian Ganges* is to bee vnderstood, *Sententia est omnium ferè interpretum ac Theologorum probata consensu*; is an opinion allowed by the consent of almost all Interpreters and Divines,sayeth *Pererius*; yet for himselfe he professeth, *Mihi diligenter omnia consideranti ac perpendenti nunquam visum est probabile Phison esse Gangem*: when I had exactly waighed all circumstances, it neuer seemed to mee so much as probable, that *Phison* should be *Ganges*.

That by the river *Gehon*,*Nilus* is to be vnderstood, *Nullus est ferè omnium interpretuus (tanta in hoc est omnium consensio) qui non pro certo habeat hoc nomine Gehon significatum esse à Mose, Nilum*: there is hardly any one Expositour (so great is the consent of all in this) who doth not holde it for certaine, that vnder *Gehon*, the river *Nilus* is by *Moses* signified, sayeth the same *Pererius*: yet afterwards hee addes, *Sed Gehon non esse Nilum, multa & clara sunt*

indicia; yet that *Gehon* is not *Nilus*, there are many and cleare evidences.

That the Arke rested vpon the hils of *Armenia*; whereas Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is confident, that therein most Writers were vtterly mistaken. Neither was he led so to thinke (as he professeth) out of humour or singularitie, but therein groundeth himselfe vpon the originall, and first truth, which is the word of God, and after vpon reason and the most probable circumstances thereupon depending. And in truth, he that shal consider that the sonnes of *Noah* comming out of the *Arke*, travelled from the *East* into the land of *Shinar* (where they built the towre of *Babell*) and that *Armenia* lies to the Northwest of that plaine, will easily conceiue that it could not well be, that the *Arke* should rest vpon those hils; but the chiefe occasion of the mistake seemes to bee in the vulgar translation, which hath rendred *Armenia* insteed of *Ararat*.

History of the World. part. 1. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Gen. 11.

That of the three sonnes of *Noah*, *Sem*, *Cham*, and *Iaphet*; *Sem* was the eldest, *Cham* the second, and *Iaphet* the yongest; whereas *Iunius* is of opinion that *Iaphet* was the eldest, grounding himselfe vpon the text, *Genesis* 10.21. *Cham* the yongest, which he proues from *Genesis* 9. 24. and that *Iaphet* was the eldest is not his opinion alone, but of *Lyranus*, *Tostatus*, *Genebrard*, and the Hebrew Doctors.

That the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, was an apple: whereas the text specifies no such matter; and it should seeme by the circumstances thereof, that it was rather some other kinde of fruite more pleasant, both to the taste and sight.

Gen. 3. 6.

That the waters of the Red Sea were of colour red: whereas travellers into those parts by sight finde the contrary: it rather borrowing that name from the red bankes and clifts about it, as both *Castro* & *Barros* are of opinion; or from the Coasts of *Idumæa*, by which it passeth, as *Scaliger* first obserued, and after him *Fuller*.

Vide Agathar. ibidem de rubro mari. Dec. 2. lib. 8. cap. 1

To these may be added, that it is commonly belieued, that *Moses* had hornes when he came downe from the mountaine, because they read in the vulgar Latine, *Ignorabat quòd cornuta esset facies sua*: He knew not that his face was horned; whereas the sense is, hee knew not that his face shined, the same word in the Hebrew signifying both an horne, and a shining beame.

Exod. 32. 29.

That our Saviour wore his haire long, because we reade he was a *Nazarite*; whereas the truth is, that he was a *Nazarite*, or rather a *Nazarene*, as with *Beza* our last Translatours read it, by education, not by profession and institution, in regard of the place in which hee was nursed and conversed, not any vow wherevnto he was bound.

Math. 2. 23.

And lastly, that *Absolon* was hung by the haire of the head, whereas the text sayes in plaine tearmes, *his head caught holde of the oke*: in like manner (it seemes) as *Henry*, Grand-childe to the Conquerour, is sayde to haue ended his dayes in the new forrest.

2 Sam. 18. 9. Camden in Hampshire.

SECT.

SECTIO 2. *In Philosophy.*

SEcondly,in Philosophy it is commonly receiued, that the heart is the seate andshopp of the principall faculties of the soule: nay; divine Scripture applying it selfe to the ordinary opinion therein, in many places attributes wisdome and vnderstanding to the heart: whereas those noble pare of Physicians *Hippocrates* and *Galen* haue made it evident by experimentall proofes, that those divine powers of reasoning and discourse are seated in the braine, in as much as they are not hindered by the distemper of the heart, but of the braine, nor recovered being lost by medicaments applyed to the heart, but to the braine.

That the three principall faculties of the soule, the Understanding, the Imagination,and Memory,are distinguished by three several Cells or Ventricles in the braine,the Imagination(as is conceiued)being cõfined to the fore-part,the Memory to the hinder part,and Iudgment or Vnderstanding to the middle part thereof; which opinion *Laurentius* confutes, and *Frnelius* derides, making them all to bee dispersed thorow all the receptacles of the braine, in as much as sometime when the whole braine is disaffected, the operation but of one of those faculties is hurt;and sometimes againe when but one ventricle is hurt, the operation of all the three faculties are hindred. Neither ought it to seeme more strange,that the same ventricle in the braine should be capable of all these three functions, then that the same bone or sinew, and euery part and particle thereof should haue in it(in regard of the nourishment it receiues,and the excrement it driues forth;)an attractiue,a retentiue, an assimulatiue,and an expulsiue vertue. *Hist. Anot. lib. 10.q.2.*

That one hand by nature is more vsefull, & more properly made for action then the other: whereas we finde no such difference betwixt the two eyes,the two eares,the two nostrills; and if men were left to themselues,as many I thinke,if not more, would vse the left hand, as now by education and custome doe the right: And in truth I am of opinion that God and Nature haue giuen vs two hands, that wee should vse both indifferently, that if neede required,the one might supply the losse or defect of the other. Such would *Plato* haue the Cittizens of his Common-wealth to be, and such doe I take those seaven hundred *Beniamites* to haue beene,mentioned in the 20th of *Iudges*; and if either hand should in nature be preferred before other, mee-thinkes in reason it should bee that which is neareſt the heart, the fountaine of life and activity.

That in nature there is an East & a West, which (as to me it seemes) cannot be,since that which to vs is East,is West to our *Antipodes*; and that which is East to them, is West to vs.

That the radicall moisture, and primogeniall heat, naturally ingrafted in vs, wastes alwayes by degrees from the time of our conception, as oyle in a lampe,or wax in a taper: whereas notwithstanding till wee come to the age of consistence, wee still grow in bulke,in strength and

ſtature : which for mine owne part I cannot conceiue how it ſhould bee: if from our infancie our naturall heat and moyſture ſtill decreaſed.

That a man hath a naturall ſpeech of his owne as he is a man, (ſome thinke *Hebrew)* which language he would ſpeake by nature, if hee were not taught ſome other: but this is a dreame, and hath beene twice confuted by a double experiment. The firſt was *Pſammeticus* a King of *Egypt*, who deſiring to vnderſtand which was mans moſt ancient and naturall language, cauſed two children to be ſequeſtred from all ſociety of men, and to be nouriſhed of two ſhe goates, forbidding all ſpeech vnto them: which children continuing for a long time dumbe, at laſt vttered *Bec Bec:* the King being informed, that in the *Phrygian* language *Bec* ſignified *Bread*, imagined that the children called then for Bread, & from thence collected, that becauſe they ſpake that language which no man had taught them, therefore the *Phrygian* language was the naturall ſpeech of man. A weake proofe and ſilly conceit. For the childrens *Bec* (as is probablely collected) was onely that language which they learned of their Goat-Nurces, when they came to ſucke their tetts, who receiuing from them ſome eaſe by their ſucking, ſaluted them with *Bec*, the beſt language they had, from whom the children learned it, and ſo much as they heard, ſo much juſt they vttered, and no more: and if they had not heard it, they could neuer haue pronounced it, as we may evidently ſee in men that are borne deafe. and by another experiment tryed vpon other infants, (which is our ſecond inſtance) by *Melabdim Echebar*, whom they call the *Great Magore* or *Mogul*. Hee likewiſe vpon the fore-named errour, that man hath a certaine proper language by nature, cauſed thirty children to bee brought vp in dumbe ſilence, to finde out the experience, whether all of them would ſpeake one and the ſame language, hauing inwardly a purpoſe to frame his Religion conformable to that Nation whoſe language ſhould bee ſpoken, as being that Religion which is purely naturall vnto man. But the children proued all dumbe, though they were ſo many of them, and therefore they could not ſpeake, becauſe they were not taught: whereby it appeareth that the ſpeaking of any language is not in man by nature; The firſt man had it by divine *Infuſion*, but all his poſterity onely by *Imitation*.

Herodotus lib. 2.

Purcas Pilg. l. 1. cap. 8.

SECT. 3ia. *In Hiſtory Eccleſiaſticall.*

THirdly in Hiſtory; which is *Eccleſiaſticall*, *Ciuill*, or *Naturall*. In Hiſtory *Eccleſiaſticall* it is commonly receiued, that *Simon Peter* encountred with *Simon Magus*, & that the *Magitian* vndertaking to fly vp into the ayre, the *Apoſtle* ſo wrought by prayer and faſting, that he came tumbling downe & brake his necke: but of this ſtory, ſayth S^t *Auguſtine*, *Eſt quidem & hæc opinio plurimorum, quamvis eam perhibeant eſſe falſam plerique Romani:* many are of this opinion, yet moſt of the *Roman* Writers hold it but as a tale. And in another place he calls it *Græcã fabulam*, an invention of the *Græcians*, who were ſo fruitfull in theſe kind of fables, that *Pliny* himſelfe could ſay of them, *mirum eſt quo procedat*

Epiſt. 86. Caſulano.

Hiſt. Natu. lib. 8. cap. 22.

Græca

Græca credulitas, nullum tam impudens mendacium eſt vt teſte careat; it is a wonder to ſee whither the credulity of the *Greekes* carry them, there being no lye ſo ſhamefull, but it findes a patron among them: Nay, the very Latine Poet tooke notice of their immoderate liberty this way:

---Et quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in hiſtoria? *Iuuen. Sat. 10.*
What dares not lying Greece
Inſert in hiſtories?

And ſo did the *Roman* Oratour, *tribuo illis literas; do multarum artium diſciplinam, teſtimoniorum autem fidem & veritatem nunquam iſti coluere*: Learning I grant them, and the knowledge of many Arts, but for the religious credit of teſtimonies they neuer regarded it. *In Orat. pro Flacco.*

That the *Sybils* clearely fore-tolde many things touching the name, the fore-runner, the birth and death of *Chriſt*, the comming of *Anti-chriſt*, the over-throw of *Rome*, and the conſummation of the World, which notwithſtanding, (as *Cauſabon* hath learnedly obſerved) ſeemes to bee contrary to the Word of God, that ſo profound myſteries ſhould bee revealed to the *Gentiles*, ſo long before the Incarnation of *Chriſt*; ſpecially ſince they write more plainely and particularly of thoſe matters, then the Prophets of God themſelues among the *Iewes*; and the greateſt Clarkes among the *Gentiles*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, and others, curious ſearchers into all kindes of learning, neuer ſo much as once mention either their names, or their Writings, nor any of theſe myſteries. While the Church of *Chriſt* was yet in her infancy, many ſuch kinde of bookes were forged, thereby to make the doctrine of the Goſpell more paſſible among the *Gentiles*; and no marvell then that theſe of the *Sybils* paſſed for current among the reſt. *Exer. 1 ad ap. annal. cap. 10.* Epheſ. 3. 9. Coloſſ. 1. 26. Rom. 16. 25.

That *Saint George* was a holy Martyr, and that hee conquered the Dragon; whereas *Doctour Reynolds* proues him to haue beene both a wicked man, and an Arrian, by the teſtimony of *Epiphanius*, *Athanaſius*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*. And *Baronius* himſelfe in plaine tearmes affirmes, *apparet totam illam de actis Georgij fabulam, fuiſſe commentum Arrianorum*, It appeares that the whole ſtory of *George* is nothing elſe but a forgery of the *Arrians*; yet was hee receiued (as wee know) as a Canonized Saint through *Chriſtendome*, and to be the Patron both of our Nation, and of the moſt honorable order of Knighthood in the World. *De Eccl. Rom. Idol. l. 1. cap. 5.*

That the Wiſe men which came out of the *Eaſt* to worſhip our Saviour, were *Kings*, and from hence (their bodies being tranſlated to *Cullen*,) they are at this day commonly called the three Kings of *Cullen*, and the day conſecrated to their memory, is by the French tearmed *Le jour de trois Rois*, the day of the three Kings. Yet *Mantuan* a Monke, feares not to declare his opinion to the contrary, and giues his reaſons for it.

Nec reges vt opinor erant, neque enim tacuiſſent
Hiſtoriæ ſacræ Authores Genus illud honoris,

Inter

Inter mortales quo non ſublimius vllum,
Adde quod Herodes vt magnificentia Regum
Poſtulat, hoſpitibus tantis regale dediſſet
Hoſpitium, ſecumque lares duxiſſet in amplos.

Had they beene Kings, nor holy Hiſtory
Would haue conceal'd their ſo great Majeſty,
Higher then which on Earth none can be named;
Herods magnificence would eke haue framed
Some entertainment fitting their eſtates,
And harbour'd them within his Royall gates.

SECT. 4. *In Hiſtory Ciuill.*

IN Hiſtory *Ciuill* or *Nationall*; it is commonly receiued, that there were foure, and but foure *Monarchies* ſucceeding one the other; the *Aſſyrian*, the *Perſian*, the *Grecian*, and the *Roman*; Yet *Iohn Bodin*, a man of ſingular learning, ſpecially in matter of Hiſtory, dares thus to begin the ſeventh Chapter of his *Method: Inueteratus error de quatuor Imperijs, ac magnorum Virorum opinione pervulgatus, tam altè radices egit, vt vix evelli poſſe videatur*; that inveterate errour of foure Empires, made famous thorow the opinion of great men, hath now taken ſuch deepe roots, as it ſeemes it can hardly bee pluckt vp; and thorow a great part of that Chapter labours hee the Confutation of thoſe who maintaine that opinion.

That the *Saxons* called the Remainder of the *Brittaines*, *Welch*, as being *ſtrangers* vnto them: whereas that word ſignifies not a *ſtranger* either in the high or low Dutch, as *Verſtegan*, a man skilfull in thoſe Languages hath obſerved; & that the *Saxons* gaue them the name of *Welch*, after themſelues came into *Brittaine*, is altogether vnlikely. For that inhabiting ſo neere them as they did, to wit, but over againſt them on the other ſide of the Sea, they could not want a more particular and proper name for them, then to call them ſtrangers. It ſeemes then more likely, that the *Brittaines* being originally deſcended from the *Gaules*, the *Saxons* according to their manner of ſpeech, by turning the *G* into *W*, inſteed of *Galliſh*, termed them *Walliſh*; & by abbreviation *Walch* or *Welch*, as the *French* at this day call the *Prince of Wales*, *Prince de Galles*.

Cap. 5.

That *Brute* a *Troian* by Nation, and great grand-child to *Æneas*, arriued in this Iland, gaue it the name of *Brittaine* from himſelfe, heere raigned, and left the government thereof divided among his three ſonnes, *England* to *Loegrius*, *Scotland* to *Albanak*, and *Wales* to *Cambr:* Yet our great *Antiquary* beating (as he profeſſeth) his braines, & bending the force of his wits to maintaine that opinion, hee found no warrantable ground for it. Nay by forcible arguments (produced as in the perſon of others diſputing againſt himſelf) he ſtrongly proues it (in my judgment) altogether vnſound and vnwarrantable. *Boccace*, *Vives*, *Adryanus*, *Iuntus*, *Polydorus*, *Buchanan*, *Vignier*, *Genebrard*, *Molinæus*, *Bodin*, and other Writers of great account, are all of opinion, there was no ſuch man as this ſuppoſed *Brute*: And among our own ancient Chroniclers,

Camden: Britan: de primis Incolis.

Iohn

Iohn of Wethamsted, Abbot of S. Albon, holdeth the whole narration of *Brute* to haue beene rather Poeticall, then Historicall, which me thinkes is agreeable to reason, since *Cæsar, Tacitus, Gildus, Ninius, Bede, William of Malmesbery*, and as many others as haue written any thing touching our Countrey, before the yeare 1160, make no mention at all of him, nor seeme euer so much as to haue heard of him. The first that euer broached it, was *Geffrey of Monmoth*, about foure hundred yeares agoe, during the raigne of *Henry* the second, who publishing the *Brittish* story in Latine, pretended to haue taken it out of ancient monuments written in the *Brittish* tongue: but this Booke assoone as it peeped foorth into the light, was sharply censured both by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William of Newberry*, who liued at the same time; the former tearming it no better, then *Fabulosam historiam*, a fabulous history; and the latter, *ridicula figmenta*, ridiculous fictions, and it now stands branded with a black coale among the bookes prohibited by the Church of *Rome*. *In granario, anno* 1440.

That the *Pigmies* are a Nation of people not aboue two or three foot high, and that they solemnely set themselues in battle array to fight against the *Cranes* their greatest enemies: of these notwithstanding witnesseth *Cassanion*, *Fabulosa illa omnia sunt quæ de illis vel Poetæ, vel alij Scriptores tradiderunt*: all those things are fabulous, which touching them either the Poets or other Writers haue deliuered. And with him fully accordeth *Cardan* in his eight Booke *De rerum varietate*: *Apparet ergò Pigmeiorum historiam esse fabulosam, quod & Strabo sentit, & nostra ætas, cùm omnia nunc firmè orbis mirabilia innotuerint, declarat*. It appeares then that the History of the *Pigmies* is but a fiction, as both *Strabo* thought, & our age, which hath now discouered all the wonders of the world, fully declares. *Gellius* also, and *Rhodogin*, referre those *Pigmies* (if any such there be) to a kinde of Apes. *De Gygantibus Cap. ultimo.* *Cap. 4.* 9.4. 4.3.

SECT. 5. *In History Naturall.*

IN *Naturall* History, it is commonly receiued, that the *Phœnix* liues fiue hundred or sixe hundred yeares, that there is of that kinde but one at a time in the World, that being to dye, hee makes his nest of sweet spices, and by the clapping of his wings sets it on fire, and so burnes himselfe: and lastly, that out of the ashes arises a worme; and from that worme another new *Phœnix*: Neither am I ignorant that sundry of the Fathers haue brought this narration to confirme the doctrine of the Resurrection: but rather, as I beleeue, to fight against the *Gentiles* with their owne weapons, and to pierce them with their owne quils, or from them to borrow an illustration; then as giuing credite to the truth of the story, which was originally coyned in *Egypt*, as fruitful in fables, as *Africa* in monsters, and from thence deriued to the *Grecians* and *Romans*: one of them is said to haue beene brought to *Rome* by the commaund of *Claudius Cæsar*, and exposed to publique view, as appeareth vpon record, *Sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret*, saith *Pliny*, no man need make any doubt of it, but that he was counterfeit; and in the same Chapter, *haud scio an fabulosè, unum in toto orbe, nec visum magnoperè*, *Nat. hist. 10.2.*

I doubt it is but a fiction, that there is but one of the kinde in the whole World, and that ſo ſeldome ſeene. With whom accord *Tacitus*, & *Cardan*, & *Scaliger*, and reaſon it ſelfe drawne both from *Diuinity* and *Philoſophy*: in *Diuinity*, in as much as two at leaſt of euery kinde came into the *Arke*, *male* and *female*, as they at firſt were created: from *Philoſophy*, in as much as without more *individuals* then one, the whole kinde by a thouſand caſualties, muſt needes be in danger of vtter extinguiſhment, and therefore where we finde but one of a kinde, as the *Sunne* and the *Moone*, God and Nature haue ſet them out of gun-ſhot, farre enough from any reach of malice, or feare of danger.

Lib. 6 Annal. cap. 7. *Lib. 10. de ſub. Exercit. 233.*

That the whelpes of *Beares* are at firſt littering, without all forme or faſhion, and nothing but a little congealed blood, or lumpe of fleſh, which afterward the dame ſhapeth by licking, yet is the truth moſt euidently otherwiſe, as by the eye-witneſſe of *Ioachimus Rheticus*, & others, it hath beene proued. And heerein as in many other fabulous narrations of this nature, (in which experience checkes report) may wee juſtly take vp that of *Lucretius*,

Geſnerus.

----- *Quid nobis certius ipſis*
Senſibus eſſe poteſt, quo vera & falſa notemus?
What can more certaine be then ſence,
Diſcerning truth from falſe pretence?

That the *Bever* being hunted, and in danger to be taken, biteth off his ſtones, knowing that for them onely his life is ſought, and ſo often eſcapeth: hence ſome haue deriued his name, *Caſtor à caſtrando ſeipſum*, from gelding himſelfe, and vpon this ſuppoſition, the *Egyptians* in their *Hieroglyphickes*, when they will ſignifie a man that hurteth himſelfe, they picture a *Bever* biting off his owne ſtones, though *Alciat* in his *Emblemes*, turne it to a contrary purpoſe, teaching vs by that example, to giue away our purſe to theeues rather then our liues, & by our wealth to redeeme our danger: but this relation touching the *Bever*, is vndoubtedly falſe, as both by ſenſe and experience, and the teſtimony of *Dioſcorides* it is manifeſted. Firſt, becauſe their ſtones are very ſmall, and ſo placed in their body as are a *Bores*, and therefore impoſſible for the *Bever* himſelfe to touch or come by them: and ſecondly, they cleaue ſo faſt vnto their backe, that they cannot bee taken away, but the beaſt muſt of neceſſity loſe his life: and conſequently moſt ridiculous is their narration, who likewiſe affirme, that when he is hunted, hauing formerly bitten off his ſtones, he ſtandeth vpright, and ſheweth the hunters that hee hath none for them, and therefore his death cannot profite them, by meanes whereof they are averted, and ſeeke for another.

Lib. 2. cap. 23.

That *Swans* a little before their death, ſing moſt ſweetly, of which notwithſtanding, *Pliny* thus ſpeakes, *Olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus, falſo vt arbitror aliquot experimentis*: Swans are ſaid to ſing ſweetly before their death, but falſely, as I take it, being led ſo to thinke by ſome experiments. And *Scaliger* to like purpoſe, *de Cigni verò cantu ſuaviſſimo, quem cum mendaciorum parente Græcia jactare auſus es ad Luciani tribunal, apud quem aliquid novi dicas, ſtatuo te*: Touching the ſweet ſinging of the Swan, which with *Greece* the mother of lies, you dare to publiſh, I cite

Natur. hiſt. 10. 23.

Exercit. 23

you

you to *Lucians* tribunal, there to set abroach some new stuffe. And *Ælian, cantandi studiosos esse iam communi sermone pervulgatum est: ego verò cigni nunquam audivi canere fortasse neque alius*, that Swans are skilfull in singing, is now rife in euery mans mouth; but for my selfe I neuer heard them sing, and perchance no man else. *Lib. 10. c. 14.*

That the *Salamander* liues in the fire, yet both *Galen* and *Dioscorides* refute this opinion. And *Mathiolus* in his commentaries vpon *Dioscorides* affirmes, that by casting many *Salamanders* into the fire for tryall, hee found it false. The same experiment is likewise avouched by *Iouber tus*. *De Temp. lib. 3.* *Lib. 2. cap. 56. De erreurs Populaires.*

That the *Mandrakes* represent the shape and parts of a man, yet the same *Mathiolus*, a very famous Physician affirmes of them, *Radices porrò Mandragoræ humanam effigiem repræsentare vt vulgò creditur fabulosum est:* that the rootes of the Mandrake represent the shape of a man, as it is cõmonly beleeued, is fabulous, calling them cheating knaues & quack-salvers that carry them about to be solde, therewith to deceiue barren women. *In comment: in Dioscoridem.*

That *Bees* in stinging, lose their stings, and so become drones, whereas *Virgil* tels vs, that together with their stings they lose their life. *animamque in vulnere ponunt.* And Mr *Butler* a great Bee-Master, in his *Faminine Monarchie* hath obserued, that the drones are such by kinde, not by accident.

That *Vipers* in their birth, kill their mother of whom they are bred: *Scaliger* out of his owne experience assures vs the contrary, *Viperas* saith he, *ab impatientibus moræ fœtibus numerosissimis, atque idcirco erumpentibus rumpi atque interire, falsum esse scimus, qui in Vincentij Camerini ligneatheca vidimus enatas Viperillas parente salvâ*: that Vipers are rent and slaine by the nũber of their yong ones, impatient of delay, & striuing to get forth, we know to be false, who in a woodden boxe belonging to *Vincentius Camerinus*, haue seene the yong newly brought forth, together with the olde one, safe & sound. True indeed it is, that the *Viper* bringing sometime twenty or more, and being delivered but of one a day, the hindermost impatient of so long delay, sometimes gnawes thorow the tunicle or shell of the egge in which they are inclosed, and so come forth with a part of it vpon them; which *Aristotle* truly affirming, thereupon it seemes hath growne the mistake, that they gnaw thorow the belly of the damme, which is vndoubtedly false. The derivation then of the word *Vipera quasi vi pariens*, is but a tricke of wit, grounded vpon an erroneous supposition; it being rather (as I conceiue) from *vivum pariens*; there being no other kinde of serpent which brings foorth her young hatched out of the egge, but onely the *Viper*. *Exercit. 201.* *Vide Angelum Abbatium de Viperæ natura & Bustamentinum de animantibus S.S.*

That *Women* so borne, haue afterward changed their sexe, & become men: *Hoc credidit antiquitas, & hodie medici ferè omnes idem sentiunt*, sayth *Laurentius:* thus antiquity beleeued, & almost all Physicians are at this day of the same opinion, yet doth he professe himselfe to be of another minde. *Lib 7 quæst. 3*

That the *Hare* is one yeare a *male*, and another a *female:* whereas *Rondeletius* affirmes, that they are not stones which are commonly taken to be so in the *female*, but certaine little bladders filled with matter, such

ſuch as are vpon the belly of a *Bever*, wherein alſo the vulgar is deceiued, taking thoſe bunches for ſtones, as they doe theſe bladders. Now the vſe of theſe parts both in *Bevers* and *Hares* is this, that againſt raine both the one and the other ſexe, ſuck there-out a certaine humour, and annoint their bodies all ouer therewith, which ſerues them for a defence againſt raine.

That a *Wolfe* if he ſee a man firſt, ſuddenly ſtrikes him dumb, whence came the proverbe, *Lupus eſt in fabula*: and that of the Poet,

Lupi Mœrim videre priores,
The Wolues ſaw Mœris firſt.

Meditat. Hiſtor. cap. Yet *Philip Camerarius* profeſſeth, *fabuloſum quod vulgo creditur, hominem a Lupo præviſum ſubitò conſternari, & vocem amittere*: That it is fabulous which is commonly beleeued, that a man being firſt ſeen by the Wolfe, is therevpon aſtoniſhed, and loſeth his voyce; And that himſelfe hath *Veritat. 44.* found it by experience to be a vaine opinion: which *Scaliger* likewiſe affirmes vpon the ſame ground. *Vtinam tot ferulis caſtigarentur mendaciorum aſſertores iſti quot à Lupis viſi ſumus ſine jactura vocis*: I wiſh thoſe Patrons of lies were chaſtiſed with ſo many blowes, as at ſundry times I haue beene ſeene of Wolues, without any loſſe of my voyce.

Nat. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 22. That men are ſometimes transformed into *Wolues*, and againe from Wolues into men: touching the falſhood whereof, *Pliny* himſelfe is thus confident, *homines in Lupos verti, rurſumque reſtitui ſibi, falſum eſſe conſidenter exiſtimare debemus; aut credere omnia quæ fabuloſa tot ſæculis comperimus*: that men are changed iuto Wolues, & againe reſtored to themſelues, that is, to the ſhape of men, wee ought aſſuredly beleeue to bee falſe, or to giue credite to whatſoeuer wee haue found fabulous in the courſe of ſo many ages. And with *Pliny* doth our renowned *Camden* heerein accord in his deſcription of the Kingdome of *Ireland*: in that (ſayeth hee) the *Iriſh*, and euen thoſe who would ſeeme worthy credit, affirme, that in the Countie of *Tippararie*, ſome are yeerely turned into Wolues, *fabuloſum ſane exiſtimo*, truly I holde it fabulous; *nec ego aliud de Lycaonibus illis in Livonia tranſmutatis, de quibus multi multa produnt, affirmare auſim*; neither durſt I affirme any other thing of the tranſmutation of thoſe *Lycaons* in *Livonia*, touching whom, many haue written many things. But *Sabin* in his Commentaries vpon the ſeaventh Booke of the *Metamorphoſis*, tells vs vpon his owne knowledge, a prettie ſtory to this purpoſe. That certaine men are yeerely turned into Wolues, and againe, returne to their former ſhapes, is a matter (ſayth hee) commonly beleeued: ſuch *Herodotus* mentions among the *Neurians*, a people of *Scythia*; and it is generally reported, that the like are here to be found among the *Boruſſians*, of whom, one was lately taken & brought by the Boores of the Countrey, before the Duke of *Pruſsia*, whoſe Cattle hee was ſuppoſed to haue devoured; hee was indeed a deform'd man, and not much vnlike a wilde beaſt, hauing woundes in his face, which hee was ſaide to haue receiued from the teeth of dogges during his change; this fellow being by ſome examined (whom the Prince deputed to that buſineſſe)

buſineſſe affirmed that hee was twice in the yeare ſoe changed, namely about *Chriſtmas*, and againe about *Midſommer*; wherevpon beeing kept cloſe priſoner in the Caſtle, and narrowly obſerued, it was by tryall found that notwithſtanding his owne confeſſion he ſtill retained the ſame ſhape, *atque is fuit exitus fabulæ*, ſayth my Author, here was the epilogue of this Comœdie.

Now that which hath given occaſion to this opinion might bee as I ſuppoſe, either an *illuſion* of Sathan in regard of the beholders, or a ſtrong melancholie *imagination* in the patients, or the *education* of men among Wolues from their very infancie. For that the Devill canne at his pleaſure tranſubſtantiate, or transforme one ſubſtance into another, I hold it no ſound divinity.

That the *Pellican* turning her beake againſt her breſt therevvith pierceth it till the blood guſh out, wherewith ſhee nouriſheth her young: whereas the *Pellican* hath a beake broade and flat, much like the ſlice of Apothecaries and Chirurgions, with which they ſpreade their plaiſters, no way fit to pierce, as *Laurentius Ioubertus* Counſellour and Phyſition to *Henry* the fourth of *France* in his booke of *Popular errours*, hath obſerved.

That the cauſe of the increaſe of *Nilus*, was the melting of the ſnow, and the fleeting thereof from the toppes of the mountaines of *Æthiopia*; of this opinion was *Anaxagoras*, and him followed *Aeſchylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*: nay *in eadem opinione omnis vetuſtas fuit*, ſayth *Seneca*, the whole body of antiquity was of the ſame minde; *ſed falſum eſſe plurimis argumentis patet*, ſayth the ſame *Seneca*, but that to bee falſe is apparent by many arguments. *Nat.qu.4.13.*

That the *Lion* trembles at the Crowing of the *Cocke*, but I haue heard by credible report that King *Iames* vpon tryall found this to bee fabulous.

That there were ſuch creatures as *Nymphs*, and *Satyres*, and *Syrens*, and *Sphinges*, and *Remoraes*, and *Vnicornes*, of which kindes notwithſtanding, none are now to be found.

Laſtly, that the *Mole* hath no eyes, nor the *Elephant* knees; both which notwithſtanding by dayly and manifeſt experience are found vntrue.

SECTIO 6.

An Application of what hath beene ſayd to the preſent purpoſe.

MAny more inſtances might bee giuen both in *Diuinity*, *Phyloſophy* and *Hiſtory*, to ſhew that t'is a thing neither new nor vnjuſtifiable by the practiſe of wiſe men to examine & impugne receiued opinions, if they be found erroneous, ſuch as I take this to bee of *Natures vniverſall decay*. So that I hope it ſhall neither ſeeme vnpleaſing nor vnprofitable nor yet impertinent that I haue dwelt ſo long vpon this point. I know that of *Chryſoſtome* tobe moſt true: *The hardeſt leſ-*

ſon is to vnlearne, and therefore haue I harped ſo long vpon this ſtring to make it cleare that men may erre, ſpecially where that falls out which *Iuſtin* in his dialogue with *Tryphon* hath obſerved, that *poſteriores ſequuntur priores ſecuri examinis*, that the latter follow the former without examination: Cuſtome with moſt men prevailes more then Truth: though *Chriſt* hath ſayd, as *Tertullian* rightly noteth, *I am Truth and not Cuſtome*: yea ſuch is the force thereof, that according to the inbred notions and preconceptions, which it hath formed and imprinted in our mindes, for the moſt part we ſhape the diſcourſe of Reaſon it ſelfe. Thus *Pythagoras* by bringing vp his Schollers in the ſpeculatiue knowledge of *numbers*, made their conceits ſo ſtrong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes how the element of *number* gaue eſſence and being to the workes of *Nature*. A thing in reaſon impoſſible, which notwithſtanding thorow their miſſaſhi oned preconceite, appeared vnto them no leſſe certaine then if Nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the Creatures of God.

Divine is that ſpeech of *Ariſtotle* in his *Metaphyſickes*; *Quantam autem vim habeat conſuetudo leges declarant, in quibus fabuloſæ & pueriles narrationes plus valent cognitione vera earum rerum propter conſuetudinem.* what is the ſtrange force of Cuſtome, the Lawes themſelues declare; in which childiſh and fabulous narrations are preferred before the true knowledge of the ſame thing, and not onely through cuſtome. From which (to draw neerer to our preſent purpoſe) the great Lawyer *Panormitan* wiſhes that the ſeverity of the ancient *Canons* bee not too farre preſſed vpon delinquents, becauſe men of latter ages (ſaith he) *are no way matchable with the Ancients, as not in ſtrength nor ſtature, ſo neither in wit nor manners.* But I much maruell that ſo great a Clearke ſhould bee ſo eaſily carried away with ſo vaine a ſhew, and by making men beleeue that they were not able to obſerue the *Canons*, make them vnable indeed: which together with the greedy deſire of gaine, hath beene no doubt the ground, or at leaſt the pretence of ſuch a multiplicity of *diſpenſations* in latter ages; men chooſing rather to ſtretch their purſe-ſtrings, and to buy out a diſpenſation for their money then to inproue their endeavours for the doing of that which the *Canon* requires. And hence the *Lenten faſt* duly kept with much eaſe by our Predeceſſours, is with moſt men now adayes made ſo impoſſible, notwithſtanding the obſervation thereof conduce ſo much to the publique good.

Durarenus de Beneficiis. 8. 6.

CAP. 2.

Of the Reaſons inducing the Author to the writing and publiſhing of this Diſcourſe.

SECT. 1.

Whereof the firſt is the redeeming of a captivated truth.

SVch is the admirable beauty and ſoveraignty of *Truth* in it ſelfe, and ſuch infinite content doth it yeeld the Soule being found and embraced, that had I purpoſed no other End to my ſelfe in this enſuing

enſuing Treatiſe then the diſcovery and vnfolding thereof, I ſhould hold it alone a very ample recompence, and ſufficient reward of my labour. The *Greekes* call it θεόπνευστα, which by an eaſie and vnſtrained derivation implies the *breath of God:* ſo that as *Minerva*, by which is meant the *Arts*, is fained to haue ſprung from the head of *Iupiter*: ſo *Truth* vndoubtedly flowes from the mouth of the *Creator*, not onely that *ſupernaturall* and revealed *Trueth*, which concernes our ſpirituall and ſupernaturall good, but that which concernes our good either *morall* or *naturall*. For as *every good thing*, ſo far as it is good, *is from God*, the Author and originall cauſe of all goodneſſe; ſo every Truth is from the ſame God, the Fountaine of all Truth: Howbeit hee impart the diverſe kindes thereof after a different manner; the Truth of *Experience* by ſenſe, of *Reaſon* by diſcourſe of the intellectuall power, of *Religion* by faith. Theſe are as ſeverall lines drawne from the ſame Center, or ſeverall beames from the ſame Sunne: All which notwithſtanding in their ſeverall rankes and degrees carry in them, or rather haue ſtamped and printed vpon them, ſome character or reſemblance of the Divine Excellencie. Iam. 1.17.

And as *Truth* is the *breath of God*, ſo is the *Soule* of man too, which may well be thought to be in part, the cauſe that the *Soule* is ſo wonderfully taken and affected with the loue and liking of it. All the Kingdomes in the world, and the glittering pompe of them cannot ſo much refreſh and delight a ſtudious minde, as this one ineſtimable Iewell of *Truth*, which *Lucretius* hath liuely deſcribed: Gen. 2.7.

Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis, &c. Lib. 2. 1.

It is a view of delight, ſayth hee, to ſtand or walke vpon the ſhore ſide, & to ſee a ſhip toſſed with tempeſts vpon the Sea; or to be in a fortified towre, and to ſee two Armies joyne battle vpon a plaine: but it is a pleaſure incomparable for the minde of man to be ſettled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of *Truth*, and from thence to deſcry and behold the errours, perturbations, labours and wandrings vp and downe of other men. We ſee in all other pleaſures there is ſatietie, and after they be vſed their verdure departeth, which ſheweth well they bee but deceits of pleaſure, and not pleaſures, and that it was the novelty that pleaſed, and not the quality. But of the contemplation of *Truth* there is no ſatiety, but ſatisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and certainly the more contentment and comfort doe wee reape therein. For that the apprehenſion of *Truth* helpes to repaire that Image of God which by the fall of man was in that very part ſorely batter'd and bruiſ'd, I meane in regard of the knowledge of naturall Truths; but in regard of ſupernaturall vtterly defaced.

Now ſuch being the condition of *Truth*, both in regard of *God, it ſelfe, and vs*, wee may not part with it at any tearmes, nor can wee purchaſe it at too deare a rate; *buy the truth, but ſell it not*. Some perchance in this very point may ſuppoſe, that the opinion maintaining *Natures decay* argues in the maintainers more modeſty and humility, and is apter to breed in men a religious feare and devotion, being perſwaded as well by ſenſe and reaſon, as by Scripture and faith, that the World Prov. 23.23.

muſt haue an end, & that in appearance the end thereof cannot be farre off. Which though it were ſo, yet may it not be vpheld with an vntruth, *Recte placet laudem humilitatis in parte non ponere falſitatis, ne humilitas conſtituta in parte falſitatis perdat præmium veritatis*, ſayth S. *Auguſtine*. We deſire not to ſettle the praiſe of humility vpon falſe grounds, leſt being built vpon falſhood, it looſe the reward of Truth. If evill be in no caſe to be done that good may come there of, no, not the leaſt evill for the greateſt good, if a lye may not bee made for the winning of a mans Soule, no, nor for the gaining of a world of Infidels to the faith, as *Divines* truely teach; then may not the defence of any vntruth be vndertaken, what faire pretence ſoever of piety, or charity, or humility it may put on. For as wee are to ſpeake *veritatem in charitate*, the truth in loue, ſo are wee to follow *charitatem in veritate*, loue grounded vpon truth. It being one of the properties of true charity *to rejoyce in truth*. *Truth* then and true piety, *Truth* and true charity, *Truth* and true humility, being inſeparable companions; *let none preſume to put them aſunder, whom God hath thus linked and joyned together. Will yee talke deceitfully for Gods cauſe*, ſayth *Iob*, *will yee make a lye for him?* if we may not vtter an vntruth for Gods cauſe and the advancement of his glory, much leſſe for the beſt good of man, the glory of God being as much and more to bee preferred before the beſt ſpirituall good of mans, as mans ſpirituall good before his temporall. *Abſit à me, vt veritatem per mendacium velim ri confirmatam*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, farre bee it from mee to attempt the ſtrengthning of truth by falſhood. The reaſon hereof is well yeelded by *S. Auguſtine*, *fracta vel leviter imminuta authoritate veritatis, omnia dubia remanebunt*, the credit and ſoueraignty of trueth being never ſo little crackt, or the practiſe of lying never ſo little countenanced, a man can build vpon nothing, but all things will be full of doubt and diſtruſt. And againe, *nunquam errari tutiùs exiſtimo, quàm cùm in amore nimio veritatis, & rejectione nimia falſitatis erratur*, a man cannot lightly erre more ſafely, then in too much loue of Trueth and hatred of lies, whether they ariſe from errour and miſtake, or malice and forgery, whether they conſiſt in the diſagreement and diſconformity betwixt the ſpeech and the conception of the minde, or the conceptions of the minde and the things themſelues, or the ſpeech and the things.

Ibi de Nat. & Gratia c. 36.

Epheſ. 4. 15.

1. Cor. 13. 6.

Iob. 13. 7.

In Matthæum.

De Mendacio ad Conſentium.

SECTIO 2.

The ſecond is the vindicating of the Creators honour.

AS my *firſt Reaſon*, for the writing and publiſhing this Diſcourſe, was for *the redeeming of a captivated truth*: ſo my *ſecond* is for *the vindicating of the Creators honour*, the reputatiō of his *wiſdome*, his *juſtice*, his *goodneſſe*, and his *power*; being all of them in my judgement by the opinion of *Natures decay* not a little impeached and blemiſhed. His *wiſdome*, for that intending (as by the ſacred Oracles of his word hee hath in ſundry paſſages cleerely manifeſted it) to put an end to the World *by fire*, it cannot I thinke, be well conceiued why hee ſhould ordaine or admit ſuch a dayly vniverſall and irrecoverable conſumption in

in all the parts of Nature which *without fire*, or any other outward meanes would vndoubtedly bring it to that finall period.

His *iuſtice*, for that withdrawing from latter ages that ſtrength and ability of performing religious duties, and practiſing morall vertues, which to the former hee granted, yet to demand and expect no leſſe from the latter then he did from the former, what is it but to *reape where he ſowed not*, to require as much of him that hath but *fiue talents*, as of him that had *tenne*, or to deale as *Pharaoh* did with the *Iſraelites*, ſtill to exact the ſame taske of bricke, and yet to withhold the wonted allowance of ſtraw? Neither can wee with that confidence reprehend the raigning vices of the times if wee caſt the reaſon thereof not ſo much vpon the voluntary malice and depravation of mens wils, as vpon the neceſſity of the times preordained by God, which vpon the matter, what is it but to lay the burden vpon God, and to accuſe him, that ſo wee may free and excuſe our ſelues? Ex. 5. 7. 8.

His *Bounty* and *Goodneſſe*, as if out of a nigardly and ſparing diſpoſition he envied the ſucceeding generations of the World, that happines which vpon the preceding he freely and richly conferred; whereas I am rather of opinion, that as in *holy Scripture*, for the moſt part, he accepted and preferred the younger brother before the elder, and as *Chriſt our Saviour* turned the water into wine towards the end of the feaſt, which farre excelled that in the beginning: ſo the gifts and graces of God, haue beene more plentifully powered out vpon mankinde in this latter age of the World, then ever ſince the firſt *Creation* therof. As was foretold by the *Prophet* in the old teſtament, and remembred by the *Apoſtle* in the New; *And it ſhall come to paſſe in the laſt dayes* (ſaith *God*) *I will power out of my ſpirit vpon all fleſh.* Ioh. 2. 10. Ioel. 2. 28. Act. 2. 17.

Laſtly, the reputation of his *Power* is thereby moſt of all ſtained and wounded, as if his treaſury could at any time be emptied and drawne dry, as if hee had but one bleſſing in ſtore, or were forced to ſay with old *Iſaack* when hee had bleſſed *Iacob*, *with corne and wine haue I bleſſed him, & what ſhall I do now to thee my ſonne?* No, no, his arme is not ſhortned neither is his mighty power any way abated; yet they who thus complaine of *natures decay*, what doe they elſe but inplicitly impeach and accuſe his *Power*, which in truth is nothing elſe but *Natura Naturans* (as the *Schoole* Phraſe is) *Actiue Nature*, and the creature the workmanſhip thereof, *Natura Naturata*, *Nature Paſſiue*; That which the Samaritans ignorantly and blaſphemouſly ſpake of *Symon Magus*, may properly and truely be ſpoken of Nature, that it is *the great power of God*, or *the power of the Great God*, as is divinely obſerved by the witty *Scaliger* againſt *Cardan*, in that exercitation which in its front beares this inſcription, oppoſed to *Cardanes* aſſertion: *Non ex fatigatione mundum ſolutum iri*, that the world ſhall not deſolue by being tired, *quaſi natura* (ſayth hee) *ſit aſinus ad molas, non autem Dei Opt. Max. poteſtas; quæ eodem nutu gubernat infinito quo creauit*, we may not conceiue that Nature is as an aſſe waſted and wearied out, at the mille; but the power of the Mighty God which governes all things with the ſame infinite cōmand wherewith they were created. And with him accords *Valeſius* diſcourſing Gen. 17. 1. Exercit. 77.

ſing of the Worlds end towards the end of his booke *de ſacra Philoſophia, Quæ à Deo ipſo per ſe ac ſine cauſa ſecunda compacta ſunt, non poſſunt ab alia cauſa ſolvi, ſed ſolum ab eo ipſo à quo ſunt coagmentata*: Thoſe things which are made of God himſelfe immediately by himſelfe without the concurrence of ſecõd cauſes, cannot be vnmade by any inferiour cauſe, but by him alone by whom they were firſt made. And againe, *Certè ita eſt, virtutem divinam apponi neceſſe eſt, vt deleatur quod Deus ipſe fecit*; there needes no leſſe then a divine power, for the aboliſhing of that which the *Deity* it ſelfe hath wrought; which hee ſeemes to haue borrowed from *Plato in Timæo* where he thus ſpeakes of the world. *Ita aptè cohæret vt diſſolvi nullo modo queat, niſi ab eodem à quo eſt colligatus*, ſo proportionably doth each part anſwer other, that it is indiſſoluble, but only from his hand who firſt framed it. As then *Almighty God* created all things of nothing by the *power of his word.* So doth hee ſtill vphold them and will till the diſſolution of all things in their eſſenſes, faculties, and operations by the *Word of his* Power, *reaching from one end to the other mightily, and diſpoſing all things ſweetely*. Indeed with the workes of man it is not ſoe, when he hath imployed about them all the cunning, and coſt, and care that may be, hee can neither preſerue them nor himſelfe, both they and hee moulder away & returne to their duſt, *but I know* ſayth the *Preacher, that whatſoever God doth, it ſhall bee for ever, nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it.* Add the ſonne of *Sirach. Hee garniſhed his workes for ever, and in his hand are the chiefe of them vnto all generations, they neither labour nor are weary, nor ceaſe from their workes, none of them hindreth another, and they ſhall never diſobey his word.*

Heb. 1.; Wiſdome. 8. 1.

Eccleſ. 3. 14.

16. cap. 27. 28. ver.

SECTIO 3.

The third is for that the contrary opinion, quailes the hopes, and blunts the edge of vertuous endeavours.

MY *third reaſon* for the penning and publiſhing of this diſcourſe is, that *the contrary opinion thereunto ſeemes not a little to rebate and blunt the edge of mens vertuous endeavours.* For being once throughly perſwaded in themſelues, that by a fatall kinde of neceſſity and courſe of times, they are caſt into thoſe ſtraites, that notwithſtanding all their ſtriving and induſtry, it is impoſſible they ſhould riſe to the pitch of their noble and renowned predeceſſours, they begin to yeeld to the times & to neceſſity, being reſolved that their endeavours are all in vaine, and that they ſtriue againſt the ſtreame; nay the *Maſter* himſelfe of Morality, the great *Patriarch* of Philoſophers, hath told vs, that *circa impoſſibilia non eſt deliberandum*, it is no point of wiſdome for a man to beate his braines, and ſpend his ſpirits about things meerely impoſſible to be atchiued, and which are altogether out of our reach. The way then to excite men to the imitation of the vertue, and the exploits of their famous Anceſtours, is not (as I conceiue) to beate downe their hopes of parallelling them, & ſo to clip the wings of their aſpiring deſires: but rather to teach them that there wants nothing therevnto but

their

their owne endeavour, and that if they fall ſhort, the fault is not in the age, but in themſelues. The ſpies that were ſent by *Moſes* to diſcover the land of *Canaan*, at their returne told the people, that the inhabitants therof were much ſtronger then themſelues, that they were *Gyants* the ſonnes of *Anak*, and themſelues but as *Graſhoppers* in compariſon of them, by meanes of which report, the hearts of the people *melted* within them, and they were vtterly *diſcouraged* from marching forward, though the diſcoverers reported withall, that the land from whence they came flowed with milke and honey; and the pomegrannats, the figges, the wonderfull cluſters of grapes brought from thence, for a taſt and evidence of the goodneſſe of the ſoyle, pleaſed them exceeding well. Thus when our Anceſtours are painted forth as Gyants, not only in ſtature and ſtrength, but in wit and vertue, though the acts wee finde recorded of them, pleaſe vs marveilous well, yet wee durſt not venture, or ſo much as once thinke vpon the matching of them, becauſe we are taught and made to beleeue, that wee forſooth are but as pigmies, and dwarfes in regard of them; and that it were as poſſible to fit a childes ſhooe to *Hercules* foote, as for vs any way to come neere them, or to trace their ſtepps, *Poſſunt, quia poſſe videntur*: They can becauſe they ſeeme they can.

Certainly the force of imagination is wonderfull, either to beget in vs an ability for the doing of that which wee apprehend we can do, or a diſability for the not doing of that which wee conceiue wee cannot do: which was the reaſon that the *Wiſards* and *Oracles* of the *Gentiles* being conſulted, they either returned an hopefull anſwer, or an ambiguous, ſuch as by a favourable conſtruction, might either include or at leaſtwiſe not vtterly exclude hope. *Ageſilaus* (as I remember) clapping his hande vpon the Altar, and taking it off againe, by a cunning device, ſhewed to his ſouldiers *victory*, ſtamped vpon it, whereby they were ſo encouraged, and grew ſo confident, that beyond all expectation, they indeed effected that, whereof by this ſleight, they were formerly aſſured. *Prognoſtications* and *Propheſies* often helpe to further that which they foretell, and to make men ſuch as they beare them in hand they ſhall bee; nay by an vnavoidable deſtinie muſt bee. *Francis Marqueſſe* of *Saluzzo* yeelds vs a memorable example in this kinde, who beeing Lieuetenant generall to *Francis* the firſt King of *France* over all his forces which he then had beyond the mountaines in *Italy*, a man highly favoured in all the Court, and infinitly obliged to the *King* for his *Marqueſate* which his brother had forfeited, ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo farre affrighted & deluded, (as it hath ſince bin manifeſtly proued) by *Prognoſtications*, (which then throughout all *Europe* were giuen out to the advantage of the *Emperour Charles* the *fifth* and to the prejudice of the *French*,) that hauing no occaſion offered, yea his owne affections contradicting the ſame, he firſt began in ſecret to complaine to his private friends of the inevitable miſeries which hee foreſaw prepared by the *Fates* againſt the *Crowne* of *France*: And within a while after (this impreſſion ſtill working in him) hee moſt vnkindly revolted from his Maſter, and became a turne-coate to the *Emperours* ſide, to the aſtoniſh-

Guicciardin.

Idem.

ment

ment of all men, his owne great disgrace, and the no lesse disaduantage to the *French* enterprize: on the other side I dout not but that the prophesies of *Savanarola*, as much assisted *Charles* the eight to the conquest of *Naples*, which he performed so speedily and happily, as hee seemed rather with chalke to marke out his lodging, then with his sword to winne them.

Idem.

To like purpose was that Custome among the Heathen of deriving the pedegree of valiant men from the Gods, as *Varro* the most learned of the Romanes hath well obserued. *Ego hujusmodi à Dis repetitas origines vtiles esse lubens agnosco, vt viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, se ex Dijs genitos credant, vt eo modo animus humanus veluti diuinæ stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præsumat audaciùs, agat vehementiùs, & ob hæc impleat ipsa securitate fœliciùs.* (for my part (sayth he) judge those pedegrees drawne from the Gods not to bee vnprofitable, that valiant men) though in truth it be not so) beleeuing themselues to be extracted from divine races, might vpon the confidence thereof vndertake high attempts the more boldly, intend them the more earnestly, and accomplish them the more securely and successiuely. And of the *Druides Cæsar* hath noted, that among other doctrines, they taught the *soules immortality* by propagation, because they thought, *hoc maximè ad virtutem excitari homines metu mortis neglecto*, that by meanes of this apprehension men were natably spurred forward and whetted on to the adventuring and enterprising of commendable actions, through the contempt of death: Which same thing *Lucan* hath likewise remarked.

Augustin de Civit. Dei lib. 3. c. 4.

De bello Gallico, lib. 6.

lib. 1.

---Vobis authoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ, (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est: certè populi quos despicit Arctos,
fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud vrget Lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum est redituræ parcere vitæ.

--Your doctrin is,
Our ghost's goe not to those pale realmes of Stygian Dis,
And silent *Erebus*: the selfe same soules doth sway
Bodyes else-where, and death (if certaine truth you say)
Is but the mid'st of life. Thrice happy in your error
Yee Northerne wights whom Death, the greatest Prince of ter-
Nothing affrights. Hence are your Martiall hearts inclin'd (ror
To rush on point of sword, hence that vndaunted minde
So capable of Death, hence seemes it base and vaine
To spare that life which will eft soones returne againe.

By all which wee see the admirable efficacie of the *imagination*, either for the elevating or depressing of the minde, for the making of it more abject and base, or more actiue and generous: and from thence infer, that the doctrine of *Natures* necessary *decay*, rather tends to make men worse then better, rather cowardly then couragious, rather to draw

draw them downe to that they muſt bee, then to lift them vp to that they ſhould and may bee, rather to breede ſloath then to quicken induſtry. I will giue one inſtance for all, and that home-bredde, the reaſon why wee haue at this day no *Vineyards* planted, nor wine growne in *England* as heretofore, is commonly aſcribed to the *decay* of *Nature*, either in regard of the Heavens or Earth or both, and men poſſeſſed with this opinion ſit downe and trye not what may be done; whereas our great *Antiquary* imputes it to the *Lazineſſe* of the Inhabitants rather then to any defect or diſtemper in the *Climat*, and withall profeſſes that hee is no way of the minde of thoſe grugding ſloathfnll husbandmen, (whom *Columella* cenſures) who thinke that the earth is growne *weary* and *barren* with the exceſſiue plenty of former ages. I haue ſomewhere read of a people ſo brutiſh and barbarous, that they muſt firſt be taught and perſwaded that they were not beaſts but men, and capable of reaſon, before any ſerviceable or profitable vſe could bee made of them. And ſurely there is no hope, that ever wee ſhall attaine the height of the worthy acts and exploits of our Predeceſſours, except firſt we be reſolued that Gods Grace & our owne endeavours concurring, there is a poſſibility wee ſhould riſe to the ſame degree of worth. *Si hanc cogitationem homines habuiſſent vt nemo ſe meliorem fore eo qui optimus fuiſſet arbitraretur, ij ipſi qui ſunt, optimi non fuiſſent*, if men had alwayes thus conceiued with themſelues that no man could bee better then he that then was beſt, thoſe that now are eſteemed beſt, had not ſo beene. They bee the words of *Quintilian*, and therevpon hee inferres, as doth the *Apoſtle* 1. *Corinth.* 12. at the laſt verſe, *Nitamur ſemper ad optima, quod facientes, aut evademus in ſummum, aut certè multos infra nos videbimus*, Let vs covet earneſtly the beſt gifts, and propoſe to our ſelues the matching at leaſt, if not the paſſing of the moſt excellent patternes, by which meanes we ſhall either gaine the toppe, or ſee many beneath vs. *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, ſed vltra nobis quàm oportebat indulſimus, ita non tam ingenio illi nos ſuperarunt quàm propoſito*, ſayth the ſame *Author* in another place. Nature hath not made vs more vncapable then our Anceſtours, but wee haue beene too indulgent to our ſelues, by which meanes it comes to paſſe that they ſurmount vs not ſo much in wit as in endeavour.

Camden in Glocester ſhire.

Orat. 12. 10.

Lib. 2. c. 5.

SECT. 4.

The fourth is, that it makes men more careleſſe as in matter of repentance, ſo likewiſe both in regard of their preſent fortunes, and in providing for poſterity.

AS the opinion of the *worlds vniverſall decay quailes the hopes and blunts the edge of mens endeavours*, ſo doth it likewiſe of our exhortations and threatnings, when men are perſwaded that famines and peſtilences, and vnſeaſonable weather, and the like, are not the Scourges of God for ſinne, but rather the diſeaſes of waſting & decrepit Nature, not procured ſo much by the vices and wickedneſſe of

of men, as by the old age and weakeneſſe of the world. And this opinion beeing once throughly rooted and ſetled in them, they neither care much for repentance, nor call vpon God for grace, thereby either to prevent theſe heavy judgments, hanging over their heads, or to remoue them having ſeiſed vpon them: but the Prophets of God (I am ſure) tooke another courſe, they told not the people that theſe plagues were the ſymptomes and Characters of the worlds declining and decreaſing, but the markes and rods of Gods vengeance for their tranſgreſſions and rebellions, and that the onely way both to prevent and remoue them, was to remoue their haynous and grievous ſinnes out of Gods ſight, the onely meanes to turne them from themſelues, was for themſelues to returne and be reconciled to their God: beſides the ſame opinion ſerues to make men *more careleſſe both in regard of their preſent fortunes, and in providing for poſterity.* For when they conſider how many thouſand yeares *nature* hath now beene, as it were, in a fever *Hectique*, daylie conſuming and waſting away by degrees; they inferre that in reaſon ſhe cannot hold out long, and therefore it were to as litle purpoſe to plant trees, or to erect laſting buildings, either for *Civill*, *Charitable*, or *Pious* vſes, as to provide new apparrell for a ſicke man, that lies at deaths dore, and hath already one foote in the graue: *I beſeech you brethren*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, *by the comming of the Lord Ieſus, and by our gathering together vnto him, that yee bee not ſoone ſhaken in minde or bee troubled, neither by ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letters, as from vs, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no man deceiue you by any meanes.* What a ſolemne preface doth hee make vnto it? and with how ſerious a concluſion doth he ſeale it vp? Now among other reaſons yeelded by *Divines* for this his earneſtneſſe heerein, one ſpeciall one is, that men might not laviſh out, and ſcatter their eſtates, vpon a vaine ſuppoſition of the approach of that day. As *Phillip Camerarius* a learned man, and Councellour to the ſtate of *Norinberg*, reports vpon his owne knowledge, that a *Pariſh Prieſt* in thoſe parts skilfull in *Arithmetique* preſumed ſo farre vpon his Calculations and the numerall letters of that prediction in the *Goſpell*, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt*, they ſhall looke vpon him whom they pierced, that hee confidently aſſured his pariſhoners, not onely of the *yeare*, but the very *day* and *houre* of the worlds end, and our Saviours comming to judgement. Wherevpon ſuch as gaue credit to him careleſſely waſted their meanes, perſwading themſelues that they ſhould now haue no further vſe of them. At the day & houre prefixed they all met in a Chappell to heare their *Prophet* preaching and praying, during which time there aroſe a great tempeſt with fearefull thunder and lightning, in ſoe much as all preſent looked out every minute, for the fullfilling of the prophecie: but a while after the ſtorme cleering vp, and the day appearing faire, the ſilly people findeing themſelues to be thus abuſed, for very indignation they ruſh vpon their falſe Prophet, and would haue ſlaine him or vſed him ſhamefully as hee deſerved, had he not ſlipped out of their fingers, and the fury of the inraged multitude beene appeaſed by ſome of the wiſer ſort. The like is reported by *Eſpencæus* out of Bullinger of the *Hutites* a branch

2. Theſ. 2. 1.

Medic. Hiſt. cap. 41.

1562.

of

of the ſect of *Anabaptiſts*, in his Commentaries on the third chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie*: ſo dangerous a thing it is to predetermine the laſt day, or to ſet a period to the courſe of *Nature*. It is moſt certaine that wee are by many hundreths of yeares neerer the worlds end, then was the *Apoſtle* when hee wrote that exhortation to the *Theſſal.* and yet when that end ſhall bee, is ſtill as vncertaine to vs, as it was to them. Vpon which point *S. Auguſtine* I remember hath an excellent meditation, comparing the ſeverall ages of the world to the ages of man; not ſo much as I conceiue in regard of growth or declination, as in regard of progreſſion, making the *infancie* thereof from *Adam* to *Noah*, the *Childhood* from *Noah* to *Abraham*, the *Youth* from *Abraham* to *David*, the *mans eſtate* from *David* to *Chriſt*, the *old age* from *Chriſt* to the *end* of it. And as the duration in all the other ages of man is certaine, but the laſting of *old age* vncertaine: ſo is it in the World. And as *Chryſoſtome* well noteth, we call not the end of the yeare the laſt houre, or day, or weeke thereof, but the laſt moneth or quarter: ſo wee call this laſt age of the World the End thereof. But how long this age ſhall laſt, it is ſtill doubtfull, it being one of thoſe ſecrets which the Almighty hath lockt vp in the cabinet of his owne counſell, a ſecret which is neither *poſſible* nether *profitable* for vs to know, as being not by God revealed vnto vs in his Word, much leſſe then in the booke of Nature.

It is agreed vpon on all ſides by Divines that at leaſt two ſignes forerunning the Worlds end, remaine vnaccompliſht; the *Subverſion of Rome*, and the *Converſion of the Iewes*. And when they ſhall bee accompliſht God onely knowes, as yet in mans judgment there being little appearance of the one or the other. *It is not for vs to know the times and ſeaſons which the father hath put in his owne power: In his owne power they are*, they depend not vpon the law of *Nature*, or chance of ſecond Cauſes, but vpon his will and pleaſure, who as he made the World by his word, ſo by his beck can and will vnmake it againe. *Sola religione mihi perſuadetur mundum cæpiſſe, atque finem incendio habiturum*, ſaith *Scaliger*: it is only faith and religion that aſſures man that as the World had a beginning, ſo it ſhall haue an end; And Divine *Bartas*,

Act. 1. 7.

Exercit. 62.

Sept. iour. 1

L'immuable decret de la bouche divine,
Qui Cauſera ſa fin, Cauſa ſon origine.
Th'immutable divine decree, which ſhall
Cauſe the Worlds end, cauſ'd his originall.

Let not then the vaine ſhadowes of the Worlds *fatall decay* keepe vs either from looking backward to the imitation of our noble *Predeceſſors*, or forward in providing for *poſterity*, but as our *predeceſſors* worthily provided for vs, ſo let our *poſterity* bleſſe vs in providing for them, it being ſtill as vncertaine to vs what generations are yet to enſue, as it was to our predeceſſors in their ages. I will ſhut vp this reaſon with a witty *Epigram* made vpon one who in his writings vndertooke to foretell the very yeare of the Worlds conſummation.

Owen vpon Napier.

Nonaginta duos durabit mundus in annos
Mundus ad arbitrium ſi ſtat obitque tuum.

Cur

Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis, vt ne
Ante obitum mendax arguerere? ſapis.
Ninety two yeares the World as yet ſhall ſtand,
If it do ſtand or fall at your command.
But ſay why plac'd you not the Worlds end nigher?
Leſt ere you dyed you might be prou'd a lyer.

SECT. 5.

The fifth and laſt reaſon, is the weake grounds which the contrary opinion is grounded vpon.

THE *fifth* and *laſt reaſon* which moued mee to the vndertaking of this Treatiſe was, the *weake grounds which the contrary opinion of the Worlds decay is founded vpon.* I am perſwaded that the *fictions* of *Poets* was it which firſt gaue life vnto it. *Homer* hath touched vpon this ſtring, with whom *Virgill* accords, and they are both ſeconded by *Iuvenal* and *Horace:* But aboue all, that *pretty invention* of the *foure Ages* of the World compared to foure mettals, Gold, Silver, Braſſe, and Iron, hath wrought ſuch an impreſſion in mens mindes, that it can hardly be rooted out. For ancient *Philoſophers* and *Divines*, I finde not any, that are ſo much as alleaged in defence of it, but *Pliny* and *Cyprian*, to whom ſome haue added *Gellius* and *Auguſtine:* but how truly it ſhall appeare God willing when we come to ſpeake of their teſtimonies in their proper places. And for *Scripture* proofe, it is both very ſparing and wreſted.

That which aboue all (as I conceiue) hath made way for this opinion is the *moroſity* and crooked diſpoſition of old men, alwayes complaining of the hardneſſe of the preſent times, together with an exceſſiue admiration of *Antiquity*, which is in a manner naturall and inbred in vs, *vetera extollimus, recentiũ incurioſi,* The ancient we extoll being careleſſe of our owne times. For the former of theſe, old men for the moſt part being much changed from that they were in their youth in complexion and temperature, they are fill'd with ſad melancholy thoughts, which makes them thinke the World is changed, whereas in truth the change it in themſelues. It fares with them in this caſe as with thoſe whoſe taſt is diſtempered, or are troubled with the Iaundiſe, or whoſe eyes are bloodſhot, the one imagining all things bitter or ſowre which they taſte, and the other red or yellow which they ſee.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 2. verbis vltimis.

Virg Æn. 3.

---Terræque Vrbeſque recedunt.

Themſelues being launched out into the deepe, the trees and houſes ſeeme to goe backward, wheras in truth the motion is in themſelues, the houſes and trees ſtill ſtanding where they were. *Seneca* tels vs a pleaſant tale of *Harpaſte* his wiues foole, who being become ſuddēly blinde, ſhee deemed the roome in which ſhee was to be darke, but could by no meanes be perſwaded of her owne blindneſſe. Such for the moſt part is the caſe of old men themſelues being altered both in diſpoſition of body and condition of minde, they make wonderfull narrations of the change of times ſince they remember: which becauſe they cannot bee

Epiſt. 50.

controlled,

controlled; paſſe for currant.

Such a one it ſhould ſeeme was that *Cæcilian*, of whom the *Epigrammatiſt* thus writes: *Mart. epig. lib. 2. epig. 51.*

Dixerat O mores! O tempora! Tullius olim,
Sacrilegum ſtrueret cum Catilina nefas:
Cum gener atque ſocer diris concurrerit armis,
Mæſtaque civili cæde maderet humus.
Cur nunc O mores? cur nunc O tempora dicis?
Quod tibi non placeat Cæciliane, quid eſt?
Nulla ducum feritas, nulla eſt infamia ferri,
Pace frui certâ lætitiâque licet;
Non noſtri faciunt tria quod tibi tempora ſordent,
Sed faciunt mores Cæciliane tui.

Oh times! oh manners! once old *Tully* ſaid,
When *Catiline* his helliſh plot had layd:
When warres did ſonne and Father-Law div die,
And *Rome's* ſad earth in civill ſlaughter dy'd:
Why now O times! O manners! cry'ſt thou man?
What is't diſpleaſes thee *Cæcilian?*
No Generalls rage, no ſwords of traytors now,
But peace and joy doe plentifully flow;
'Tis not the ages manners, but thine owne
Haue made the age to thee ſo hatefull growne.

The other pioner, as I may ſo call it, which by ſecret vndermining, makes way for this opinion of the Worlds decay, is an exceſſiue admiration of Antiquity, together with a baſe and envious conceit of whatſoeuer this preſent age affordes, or poſſibly can afford in compariſon thereof. *Vetulam præferunt immortalitati*, they preferre the wrinkles of Antiquity, before the rareſt beauty of the preſent times, *Cicero of Vlyſſes.*

--Cunctis ſua diſplicet ætas
Spernimus in commune omnes præſentia. *Auſon. Ed. 5.*

Our preſent age doth vs diſpleaſe,
And preſent things wee all deſpiſe.

The common voice every-where is, and ever hath beene, and will be to the Worlds end.

Fælix nimium prior ætas
Contenta fidelibus arvis.--
-Vtinam quoque noſtra redirent
In mores tempora priſcos. *Boetius lib. 2. metro 5.*

Thrice happy former ages and bleſſed
With faithfull fields content and pleaſed.
Would our age alſo had the grace
Againe old manners to embrace.

Yet if we will ſpeake properly and punctually, Antiquity rather conſiſts in the olde age, then infancie or youth of the World. But take it as

commonly vnderstood, I thinke it will not bee denied by any that vnderstand the course of times, but that in latter ages, many abuses haue beene reformed, many Arts perfected, many profitable Inventions discovered, many noble and notable acts atchieved,

Multa dies variusque labor mutabitis ævi
Rettulit in melius.
Time and much toyle of this vnsteddie World
Hath bettered many things.

As truly *Virgil*, and elegantly *Claudian*,

De raptu Proserp. lib. 3. ---*Rerumque remotas*
Ingeniosa vias paulatim explorat egestas:
Wittie necessitie by degrees traceth out
Of things the prints and windings most remote.

But let vs heare what the wisest man that ever lived of a meere man hath determined in this point: Eccles. 7. 10. *Say not thou, what is the cause that the former dayes were better then these: for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this.* Vpon which words saith *Isidorus Clarius*, *Quia manifestum est habuisse priora tempora, sicut & hæc nostra habent incommoda sua*; because it is evident that former times had their mischiefes and miseries waiting vpon them as well as ours. *Yet becausse* for the most part, the best of former times is recorded, and the worst concealed from vs, as the Sieue lets goe the finest flowre, but retaines the bran, *or becausse* we are generally more sensible of the crosses, then the blessings of our times; *or lastly becausse* the sight and presence of things diminisheth that reputation which we conceiued of them: Such is the disease and malignity of our nature, *Vitium malignitatis humanæ*, as *Tacitus* cals it, *vt vetera semper in laude, præsentia sint in fastidio.* Minuit præsentia famam. Lib. de Oratorib.

---*Et nisi quæ terris semota suisque*
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit, & odit.
Sed redit ad fastos, & virtutem imputat annis,
Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit. Horat lib. 2. ep. 1.
Saue what removed is by place, nor lacks,
Antiquity to warrant it, he lothes and hates:
Vertue he counts by yeares and Almanacks,
Wonders at nought but what death consecrates.

But as the same Poet wittily speakes, comparing the *Græcians* with the *Romans*, the same may we demaund, comparing our selues and *latter ages* generally with the *ancients*.

Quod si tam antiquis novitas invisa fuisset
Quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus, aut quid haberet
Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus vsus? Essayes l. 2. c. 10.
If ancients had envied as much as wee,
Things that are new, what now would ancient bee,
Or could be read and vsed publicklie?

It was the cunning of *Michael Montaigne*, as himselfe witnesseth, to vse a similitude of *Plutarches*, or a sentence of *Senecaes* as his owne, that so it might appeare how men censured that in him, which in those ancient Authours they highly applauded: but very witty was the device

vice of *Michael Angelo* a moſt famous moderne painter, who drawing a table after the *Antique* manner, hid it in a corner of a friends houſe, where he thought it would ſoone bee diſcovered, and withall, ſet his owne *name* in a corner of it, but in letters ſcarce diſcernable. The table being found, he was quickly ſent for, ſhewed him it was by the maſter of the houſe, and commended for an exquiſite peece, farre beyond any of the preſent age; but when the Authour of it challenged it to bee his owne, and for proofe thereof ſhewed him his *name* in it, hee craved pardon of him, and acknowledged his errour. Such is the advantage which Antiquity hath againſt the preſent times, that if wee meete with any thing which excells, wee thinke it muſt be *ancient*, or if with any thing that is *ancient*, it cannot but excell. Nay therefore wee thinke it excells, becauſe wee thinke it *ancient*, though it be not ſo.

Vt quidam artifices noſtro faciunt ſæculo,
Qui pretium operibus majus inveniunt, novo
Si marmori adſcripſerent Praxitelen, ſuo
Detrito Myronem argento.

Pinarus l. 5. Fabal. in prologo.

As ſome artificers in theſe our dayes,
Who ſell their workes at a farre dearer rate,
If on new marble they Praxiteles,
Or Myron write, vpon their battered plate.

I haue ſeene, ſaith *Ludovicus Vives*, the verſes of a man then living, which becauſe they were found in a very ancient Library, covered with duſt, and eaten with mothes, hee that tooke them vp, in a manner adored them bare-headed, as being *Virgils*, or ſome one of that age. And another with diſdaine caſt away an epiſtle of *Tullies*, before which there was of purpoſe prefixed a *French* name: *Addito etiam convitio barbariei Tranſalpinæ:* adding this ſcoffe withall, that it ſavoured of Tranſalpine barbariſme. Which perverſe and partiall judgement I conceiue not to ſpring ſo much from a due reſpect to the ancient Authors, as an envious diſeſteeming of the preſent. *To the beſt and wiſeſt while they liue, the world is continually a froward oppoſite, a curious obſerver of their defects, and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth.*

De Cauſis Corrupt. Art. lib. 7.

Hooker 5.7.

Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

Hor. l. 3. od. 24

Vertue growing in our ſight w'envy
Remov'd from hence wee ſtraight wayes deifie.

Though flattery and envy are at defiance each with other, yet doe they both agree in this, that they feede vpon liuing bodies, but leaue them being dead:

Paſcitur in vivis livor poſt fata quieſcit,
Tum ſuus ex merito quemque tuetur honor.

Ovid. amor. lib. primi.

As envy ſtill on living bodies feedes,
So honour after death doth crowne their deedes.

When *Hercules* had vanquiſhed ſo many fierce monſters,

Comperit invidiam ſupremo fine domandam.

Idem l. 2. epiſt.

He grapled laſt with envy as the worſt.

Martial.l.5 epig. 10.

Esse quid hoc dicam vivis quod fama negatur,
Et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat.
Hi sunt invidiæ nimirum (Regule) mores
Præferat antiquos semper vt illa novis.

Whence is't that Poets liuing are misprized,
And few doe like the workes of their owne times?
Through Envie (*Regulus*) are they despised,
Which still to new preferres the elder rimes.

Men read the Authors of their owne times, either as *inferiours* or punies to themselues, with a kinde of scorne to learne of them:

Horat.l.2.ep.1.

--- Quia turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ
Imberbes didicêre, senes perdenda fateri.

To younger then themselues to yeeld great shame they hold,
And what they learne in youth t'vnlearne when they are old.

Or as their *Equalls*, in whose persons or manners, because happily they espy some imperfections, they judge accordingly of their workes. Eccles 10.1. *For as dead flies cause the oyntment of the Apothecary to send forth a stinking savour: so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisedome.* Which was in a manner the Apostles case, *his letters* (say they) *are weighty and* 2 Cor. 10.10. *powerfull: but his bodily presence is weake, and his speech contemptible.* And no doubt but to those who thus conceiued of him, his very letters were not so powerfull and weighty, as otherwise they would haue beene, and as now they are to vs, who know not what his person or speech was. Or if no exception bee to bee taken to them, yet wee holde it a kinde of disreputation or disparagement vnto vs, by yeelding them their due (though worthily and justly merited,) to preferre them before our selues, *Ingenio qui vult cedere nullus erit.*

In wit will no man yeeld: which is the onely reason that the same men, being while they liue, mightily maligned and impugned, they are after their death, and that many times by the same corrivals, as highly honoured and commended.

Horat.l.2.ep.1.

Vrit enim fulgore suo, qui prægravat artes
Infra se positas, extinctus amabitur idem.

Who others doth in acts and skill surmount,
With brighter beames inferiour spirits doth vex,
But being dead is held of great account.

Which *Martial* verifies in the practice of *Vacerra*,

Lib.8.epig.69.

Miraris veteres Vacerra solos,
Nec laudas nisi mortuos Poetas,
Ignoscas petimus Vacerra, tanti
Non est vt placeam Tibi perire.

Old Poets only thou doest praise,
And none but dead ones magnifie;
Pardon *Vacerra*, thee to please
I am not yet in minde to die.

Hee is a happy man saith the great *Scaliger*, (and that not so much out of his reading, as his owne sense and feeling,) who while he liues, is made partaker of those deserved praises.

Quas

Quas vita non dat, funus ac cinis dabunt. In fine Cyclop. Elementorum.

What life grants not, death and the graue will giue.

Even *Tully* himselfe, the *patterne* of eloquence to all succeeding ages, and one of the most absolute, and eminent in his profession, that evet the world yeelded, was notwithstanding sharply censured, and taunted at by his coevalls, *vt tumidiorem, & Asianum, & redundantem, & in repetitionibus nimium, & in salibus aliquando frigidum, & in compositione fractum, exultantem ac penè quod procul absit, viro molliorem :* as swelling after the Asiatique manner, too redundant and frequent in repetitions, in jests sometime too cold, and in the composure of his matter broken and effeminate. Nay *Virgil* the Prince of Poets, was not without his corrivals and opposites in his life-time, such as were *Carbilius Pictor, Voperanus, Herennius, Faustinus*, and others, in so much, that one wrote a booke intituled *Anti-bucolica*, another *Æneido-mastix*, one collected his *faults*, another his *stealths*, as *Donatus* in his life hath observed. To like purpose *Velleius Paterculus* speaking of a notable exploit of *Sextius Saturninus*, obserues the same humorous disposition in those of his time, *Quid ego factum*, saith he, *cuiliber veterum Consulum gloria comparandum reor, nisi quod naturaliter audita visis laudemus libentius, & præsentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione prosequimur, & his nos obstrui, illis instrui credimus:* which noble exploit of his I could justly cõpare with the most famous and glorious acts of the ancient *Consulls*; but that out of a naturall inclination we more willingly commend things wee receiue by heare-say, then by sight, prosecuting things present with *envie*, but being past with *veneration*; as being perswaded that we are *affronted* by the one, but *instructed* by the other.

Quintil. Orat. 12.10.

Lib. 2. c. 92.

For my selfe, I professe with *Pliny* the younger, *Sum ex ijs qui miror antiquos, non tamen vt quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio; neque enim quasi lassa aut effœta natura, vt nihil jam laudabile pariat:* I am one of the number of those who admire the ancients, yet not as some, doe I despise the wits of our times, as if *Nature* were tired and barren, and brought foorth nothing now that were praise-worthy. To which passage of *Pliny*, *Vives* seemes to allude, *malè de natura censet quicunque vno illam aut altero partu effœtam arbitratur*, hee that so thinkes or sayes, is doubtlesse injurious and ingratefull both to God and Nature: And *qui non est gratus datis, non est dignus dandis*, hee that doth not acknowledge the peculiar and singular blessings of God bestowed vpon this present age in some things beyond the former, is so farre from meriting the increase of more, as hee deserues not to enjoy these. And commonly it falls out, that there the *course* and descent of the graces of *God* ceases, and the spring is dryed vp, where there is not a correspondent *recourse* and tide of our thankfulnesse. It is a good booke to this purpose which *Iohannes Rivius* hath composed and published in Latine: *of the happinesse of this our age, and of the ingratitude of men to God for his benefites.* Let men then suspend their rash judgements, *nec perseverent suspicere præteritos, despicere præsentes*, onely to admire the Ancients, and despise those of the present times. Let them rather imitate *Lampridius* the Oratour, of whom witnesseth the same *Sy-*

Lib. 6. ep. 21.

Sydonius lib. 3. ep. 8.

Lib. 8. epist. 11.

donius, that hee read good Authors of all kindes, *cum reverentia antiquos, ſine invidia recentes:* the old with reverence, the new without envy. I will conclude this point and this chapter, with that of *Solomon, He hath made euery thing beautifull in his time:* anſwereable whereunto is that of the *ſonne of Syrach* (which may well ſerue as a Commentary vpon thoſe wordes of *Solomon*) *All the workes of the Lord are good; and hee will giue every needfull thing in due ſeaſon: ſo that a man cannot ſay, this is worſe then that: therefore praiſe yee the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and bleſſe the name of the Lord.*

Eccleſ. 3. 11.

Eccleſiaſticus 39. 33. 34. 35.

CAP. 3.

The Controverſie touching the Worlds decay ſtated, and the methode held thorow this enſuing Treatiſe propoſed.

SECT. 1.

Touching the pretended decay of the mixt bodies.

LEaſt I ſhould ſeeme on the one ſide to fight with ſhaddowes, and men of ſtraw made by my ſelfe, or on the other to maintaine paradoxes, which dayly experience refutes, it ſhall not bee amiſſe in this Chapter, to vnbowell the *ſtate* of the queſtion, touching the *Worlds decay*, and therewithall to vnfolde and lay open the ſeverall knots, and joynts thereof, that ſo it may appeare wherein the adverſe party agrees, and wherein the point controverted conſiſts, where they joyne iſſue, and where the difference reſts. It is then agreed on all hands, that all ſubcœleſtiall bodies, *individualls*, I meane, vnder the circle of the Moone, are ſubject not onely to *alteration*, but to *diminution* and decay; ſome I confeſſe, laſt long, as the Eagle and Rauen among *birds*, the Elephant and Stagge among *beaſts*, the Oake among *Vegetables*, ſtones and mettalls among thoſe treaſures which Nature hath laide vp in the *boſome of the earth:* yet they all haue a time of *growth* and increaſe, of *ripeneſſe* and perfection, and then of *declination* and decreaſe, which brings them at laſt to a finall and totall *diſſolution*. *Beaſts* are ſubject to diſeaſes, or at leaſt to the ſpending of thoſe naturall ſpirits, wherewith their life and being, as the Lampe with oyle, is maintained, *Vegetables* to rottenneſſe, *ſtones* to mouldering, and *mettals* to ruſt and canker, though I doubt not but ſome haue layen in the bowells of the earth vntainted ſince the *Worlds Creation*, and may continue in the ſame caſe till the *Conſummation* thereof: Which neede not ſeeme ſtrange, ſince ſome of the *Egyptian Pyramides* (ſtones drawne from their naturall beds and fortreſſes, and expoſed to the invaſion of the aire, and violence of the weather) haue ſtood already well nigh *three thouſand* yeares, and might (for ought wee know) ſtand yet as long againe. And I make no queſtion but *glaſſe*, and *golde*, and *chriſtall*, and *pearle*, and *precious ſtones* might ſo bee vſed, that they ſhould laſt many thouſand yeares, if the world ſhould laſt ſo long. For that which *Poets* faigne

faigne of *Time*, that it eates out and devoures all things, is in truth but a *poeticall fiction*, since *Time* is a branch of *Quantity*, it being the measure of motion, and *Quantity* in it selfe is no way *actiue*, but meerely *passiue*, as being an accident flowing from the matter. And thereupon *Conterenus* in his fourth booke, & eight Chapter, of the perfection of things, hauing touched vpon that passage of the Poet, *Tempus edax rerum*, Time eates out all things, presently adds, *Quæ sententia vt propius ad vulgus accedat, ita est remotior à veritate*; which opinion as it approacheth neerer to the vulgar, so is it from the truth more remote. It is then either some *inward* conflict, or outward assault which is wrought in *Time* that eates them out; *Time* it selfe without these, is toothlesse, and can neuer doe it. Nay euen among *Vegetables* it is reported by Mr *Camden*, that whole trees lying vnder the Earth, haue beene, and daylie are digged vp in *Cheshire*, *Lancheshire*, and *Cumberland*, which are thought to haue layen there since *Noahs* floud. And *Verstegan* reports the like of *firre* trees digged vp in the *Netherlands*, which are not knowne to grow any where in that Countrey, neither is the soyle apt by nature to produce them, they growing in cold hillie places, or vpō high mountaines, so that it is most likely, they might from those places (during the deluge) by the rage of the waters be driven thither. Yet all these consisting of the Elements, as they doe, I make no doubt, but without any outward violence in the course of Nature, by the very inward conflict of their principles whereof they are bred, would by degrees, though perchance for a long time insensibly, yet at last feele corruption. For a Body so equally tempered, or evenly ballanced by the Elements, that there should be no *predominancie*, no struggling or wrastling in it, may be imagined; but surely (I thinke) was neuer really subsisting in Nature, nor well can be. Cap. 4.

SECT. 2.

Touching the pretended decay of the Elements, in regard of their quantity and dimensions.

I Come then in the next place from the *mixt* Bodies, to the *Elements* themselues, whereof they are mixed. Of these it is certaine, that they decay in their *parts*, but so, as by a *reciprocall compensation* they both lose and gaine, sometime losing what they had gotten, and then againe getting what they had formerly lost, *Egregia est in elementis quaternarum virtum compensatio, æqualibus iustisque regulis ac terminis vices suas dispensantium*, saith *Philo* in his booke *de Mundi incorruptibilitate*, there is in the Elements a singular retribution of that foure-folde force that is in them, dispensing it selfe by even bounds and just rules. The Element of the *fire*, I make no doubt, but by condensation it sometimes loses to the *aire*, & the *aire* againe by rarefaction to it. Again, the *aire* by condensation loses to the *water*, and the *water* by rarefaction to it. The *earth* by secret conveyances, sucks in, & steales away the *waters* of the Sea, but returnes them again with full mouth. And these two incroach likewise & make

make inrodes interchangeably each vpon other. The ordinary depth of the ſea is commonly anſwerable to the ordinary hight of the main land aboue the water: and the whirle-pooles & extraordinary depths anſwerable to the hight of mountaines aboue the ordinary hight of the Earth. The *Promontories* and necklands which butt into the Sea, what are they but *ſolide creekes*? and the *creekes* which thruſt forth their armes into the Land, but *fleeting promontories*? The *Ilands* what are they but *ſolide lakes*, and the *lakes* againe but *fleeting Ilands*? Nay, *Ilands* ſometimes are ſwallowed vp by the *Sea*, ſometimes new riſe out of the *Sea*. Sometimes parts of the *Continent* are recouered out of the *Sea*, as was a place in *Egypt* called *Delta*, *Ammania regio*, and others, nay, the greateſt part of the *Netherlands* was ſo recovered, as appeares by their finding innumerable ſhels of ſea-fiſh almoſt in every place where they dig, and other parts againe irrecoverably loſt by the *inundation* thereof, as it fell out in the ſame Countryes, about foure hundred yeares ſince, in the raigne of our King *Henry* the firſt, the ſteeples and towres which yet appeare aboue the water, ſhewing to Paſſengers the revenge of that vnmercifull Element vpon a part for the loſſe of the whole land. *Helice* likewiſe, and *Bura* citties of *Greece*, were drowned (as it ſeemes in *Ogyges* floud, of which thus the Poet,

Ariſt. 1. Meteor.

Ovid. Met. 15.

Si quæras Helicen & Buram Achaidos Vrbes
Invenies ſub aquis.

Bura and Helice on Achaian ground,
Are ſought in vaine, but vnder water found.

Cap. 25.

And *Seneca* in the ſixth booke of his Naturall queſtions, thus ſpeakes of theſe two Citties, *Helicen, Burimque totas mare accepit, ſupra oppida duo navigatur, duo autem quæ novimus, quæ in noſtram notitiam memoria literis ſervata perduxit, quam multa alia alijs locis merſa ſunt?* *Helice* and *Buris* the Sea hath wholly ſwallowed vp, ſo that now wee ſayle over two Townes, two I ſay which are come to our knowledge by the memory of ancient records, but how many other trow wee may bee ſwallowed vp in divers other places, which we never heard of? *Inter Inſulas nulla jam Delos*, ſayth *Tertullian* in his booke *de Pallio*, among the Ilands there is now no ſuch thing to be found as *Delos*: and againe *Acon in Atlantico Lybiam aut Aſiam adæquans quæritur nunc.* *Acon* in the *Atlantick* Sea equalling *Africke* or *Aſia*, is now found wanting. The ſtory of King *Arthur*, and the Knights of the round table, is but an idle Booke, yet it was not (it ſeemes) without cauſe that he calls the *Corniſh Triſtram*, *Sir Triſtram de Lioneſſe*, inaſmuch as Maſter *Carew* of *Antony*, in his *Survay of Cornewall* witneſſeth, that the Sea hath ravened from that Shire, that whole Country of *Lioneſſe*; and that ſuch a Country of *Lioneſſe* there was, he very ſufficiently proueth by many ſtrong reaſons. Mr *Camden* in his Geographicall deſcription of the *Britiſh* Ilands, reports out of ancient records, that vpon the *Kentiſh* Coaſt, not farre from *Tanet*, is a ſandy dangerous place (which the inhabitants call *Goodwin ſands*) where an Iland (being the patrimonie of Earle *Goodwin*) was ſwallowed vp in the yeare 1097. Sometimes dry Townes become Havens, and ſometimes againe Haven-townes haue become dry, as *Hubert Thomas*, a man of very

Surv. lib. 1.

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ry good parts, chiefe Secretary to *Fridericke* the third, *Count Palatine* of *Rhene*, and *Prince Elector*, in his deſcription of the Country of *Liege*, affirmeth, that the Sea hath in time come vp to the wals of *Tongres*, now well nigh an hundreth Engliſh miles from the Sea; which among other reaſons he proues by the great iron rings there yet to bee ſeene, vnto which the ſhips that there ſometimes arrived, were faſtned. Alſo *Forum Iulium*, a Towne ſeated in *littore Narbonenſi*, the preſent eſtate whereof is deſcribed very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellour of *France*, *Michael Hoſpitalis*: Epiſt. lib. 5.

Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus,
Atque vbi portus erat ſiccum nunc littus & horti.

The ruines of an ancient Haven appeares to bee,
But where the Haven was, now gardens may you ſee.

In like manner the river *Arno* now falleth into the ſea ſixe miles from *Piſa*, whereby it appeareth, that the Land hath there gotten much vpon the Sea in this Coaſt, for that *Strabo* in his time reporteth, it was but 20 furlongs (which is two miles and an halfe) diſtant from the Sea. Laſtly, ſometimes *Ilands* haue beene annexed to the *Continent*; as *Samos*, which (as witneſſeth *Tertullian*) is become ſand, and *Pharos* which in *Homers* time was an *Iland*, but in *Pliny's*, annexed to the *Continent* by the ſlime of *Nilus*. And ſometimes againe peeces haue beene cut off from the *Continent*, and made *Ilands*, as *Sicily* which was ſeparated from the maine of *Italy*. Survay of Tuſcany.

Hæc loca vi quondam, & vaſta convulſa ruina,
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetuſtas)
Diſſiluiſſe ferunt, cùm protinùs vtraque tellus
Vna foret, venit medio vi pontus & vndis
Heſperium Siculo latus abſcidit, arvaque & vrbes
Littore deductas, anguſto interluit æſtu.

Virg. Æn. lib. 3.

Theſe places by huge force with ruine violent,
(So great a change in things long tract of time can make)
Sundred they ſay, which erſt were both one Continent,
Till in betweene the Sea with force impetuous brake,
And with his mighty waues th'Heſperian did divide
From the Sicilian ſhore, and now twixt townes and fields
Thus rent aſunder ebbes and flowes a narrow tide.

Sic & Hiſpanias à contextu Africæ mare eripuit, ſaith *Seneca*. Thus did the Sea ſnatch away *Spaine* from the Continent of *Africa*. And this *Iland*, as *many* imagine, was likewiſe broken off from the Continent of *France*, grounding themſelues partly vpon private *reaſons*, and partly vpon the *authorities* of *Antonius Volſcus*, *Dominicus Marius Niger*, and *Servius Honoratus*, who ſeekes to proue it from that of *Virgil*, Nat. quæſt. lib. 6. c. 29. Camden. Twine. Verſtegan.

Et penitùs toto diviſos orbe Britannos.

Eclog. 1.

And Britaines wholly from the World divided.

And of *Claudian* in imitation of *Virgil*,

----Noſtro deducta Britannia mundo.

Britaine from our World ſever'd.

Of both theſe as well Ilands annexed to the Continent, as peeces of the Continent

Continent broken off from it by force of the Sea, and made Ilands; *Pliny* hath written at large in the ſecond Booke of his Naturall Hiſtory, *cap.*85,86,87. And *Ovid* in the 15. of his *Met.* toucheth them both:

Fluctibus ambitæ fuerant Antiſſa, Pharoſque,
Et Phæniſſa Tyros, quarum nunc Inſula nulla eſt.
Antiſſa, Pharos, and Phæniſſian Tyre,
Now are not, but with Seas ſurrounded were.

And on the other ſide,

Leucada continuam veteres habuere coloni
Nunc freta circumeunt, Zancle quoque juncta fuiſſe
Dicitur Italiæ: donec confinia pontus
Abſtulit, & media tellurem repulit vnda.
Th'old inhabitants of Leucadian Iles
Conjoyned to the Continent them found.
And Zancle joyned was to Italy,
Which now cut off by Sea the waues ſurround.

By reaſon of which mutuall traffique and interchange, the Elements may truly be ſaid to remaine alwayes the ſame in regard of their intire bodies, as *Theſeus* his ſhip ſo renowned in antiquity, was held by the ſchollers of *Athens* to bee the ſame, though it were renewed in every part thereof, and not a planke or pin remained of the firſt building. Or as a river may properly be ſaid to bee the ſame, though it vary from it ſelfe by the acceſſe of freſh ſupplies every moment.

Horat. lib. 1. ep. 2

Ruſticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at iſte
Labitur & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.
The Clowne waites till the foord be ſlidden all away,
But ſtill it ſlides, and will for euer and a day.

SECT. 3.

Touching the pretended decay of the Elements in regard of their qualities.

THere is no feare then of the naturall decay of the *Elements* in regard of their *quantity* and dimenſions; all the controverſie is in regard of their *quality*, whether the *aire* and *water* be ſo *pure* and *wholeſome*, and the *earth* ſo *fertile* and *fruitfull* as it was ſome hundreths or thouſands of yeares ſince. Touching the former, I thinke I ſhall make it appeare, that the World in former ages hath been plagued with more *droughts*, *exceſsiue raines*, *windes*, *froſts*, *ſnowes*, *hailes*, *famines*, *earth-quakes*, *peſtilences*, and other contagious diſeaſes, then in latter times: all which ſhould argue a greater diſtemper in the *Elements*; and for the *fruitfulneſſe* of the *earth*, I will not compare the preſent with that before the *fall* or before the *floud*: I know and beleeue that the one drew on a curſe vpon it, (though ſome great *Divines* hold that curſe was rather in regard of mans enſuing labour in dreſſing it, then of the Earths enſuing barrenneſſe) and the other by waſhing away the ſurface and fatneſſe thereof, and by incorporating the ſalt waters into it, much abated the natiue & originall

Gen. 3. 17. 18. *Pererius in locum.*

originall fertility thereof, and conſequently the vigour and vertue of plants,as well in regard of nouriſhment,as medicine. Upon which occaſion (it ſeemes) after the *Floud*, man had leaue giuen him to feede vpon the fleſh of beaſts,and fowles,and fiſhes,which before the *Floud*(as it is commonly thought)was not lawfull. Neither can it be denied, that Gods extraordinary fauour or curſe vpon a land (beſide the courſe of Nature) makes it either fruitfull,or barren, *A fruitfull land makes hee barren*,ſaith the Pſalmiſt, *for the wickedneſſe of them that dwell therein*; And on the other ſide,*hee turneth the wilderneſſe into a ſtanding water, and dry ground into water ſprings*. Though ſome grounds then are more barren, yet are others more fruitfull,as *Barkelay* in his *Icon animorum* hath truly obſerved, *fœcunditatem aut ſqualorem non modo non vbique, ſed nec perpetuò impoſuit Deus, olim fœlices proventibus terræ, nunc ſterilibus arenis informes ac vaſtæ ſunt; & quæ quondam crudo aere horrebant, non tantum jam in fruges, ſed & in voluptatum inſtrumenta luxuriant*. As God hath not every-where ordained either fruitfulnes or barrennes, ſo neither alwaies to indure; ſome fruitfull lands in former ages, are now nothing elſe but waſte & ſandie deſarts: and ſome others againe, which by reaſon of the rawneſſe of the aire lay waſte, doe not onely abound in corne,but in all kinde of pleaſant delights. And for grounds which are continually rent and wounded with the plow-ſhare, worne and waſted with tillage,it is not to be wondred if they anſwere not the fertility of former ages: But for ſuch as haue time & reſt giuen to recouer their ſtrength, and renew their decayed forces,or ſuch as yet retaine their virginity without any offence offered vnto thē,I doubt not but experience & tryall will make it good,that they haue loſt nothing of their primitiue goodnes, at leaſtwiſe ſince the Floud,

Gen.9.3.

Pſal.107.34. 35.

Requietus ager benè credita reddit. Ouid.art.am.1.

Giue but thy grounds the craued reſt,
They will thee pay with intereſt.

As on the other ſide,

Continuâ meſſe ſeneſcit ager. Idem ibidem.

Thy fields with reſtleſſe tillage,
Grow barren as with old age.

And conſequently there is in the earth it ſelfe by long laſting, no ſuch perpetuall and vniverſall decay in regard of the fruitfulneſſe thereof,as is commonly imagined.

And if not in the earth it ſelfe,then ſurely not in the *trees* and *hearbs*, and *plants*,and *flowres*,which ſuck their nouriſhment from thence, as ſo many infants from their mothers breaſt: Let any one kinde of thē that ever was in any part of the world ſince the Creation, bee named,that is vtterly loſt; no,God and Nature haue ſo well provided againſt this,that one ſeede ſometimes multiplies in one yeare many thouſands of the ſame kinde. Let it be proued by comparing their preſent qualities with thoſe which are recorded in ancient writers,that in the revolution of ſo many ages, they haue loſt any thing of their wonted *colour*, their *ſmell*, their *taſte*,their *vertue*,their *proportion*,their *duration*. And if there be no ſuch decay as is ſuppoſed to bee found in the ſeverall kindes of *vegetables*, what reaſon haue wee to beleeue it in *beaſts*, ſpecially thoſe that make *vegetables* their food. If *Ariſtotle* were now aliue,ſhould he neede

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to chmpoſe ſome new treatiſe *De hiſtoria Animalium*? in thoſe things where he wrote vpon certaine grounds & experimentall obſervations? haue the beaſts of which he wrote any thing, altered their diſpoſitions? Are the wilde become tame, or the ſtrong, feeble? no certainly. It was true in all ages both before and ſince which the Poet hath,

Horat. lib. 4. od. 4.

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis,
Eſt in juvencis, eſt in equis patrum
Virtus, nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ Columbam.

From Nobles noble ſpirits proceed,
Steeres, Horſes like their Sires do proue,
The Eagle fierce doth never breed
A timorous and fearefull Doue.

Hath the *Lyon* forgotten his majeſtie, or the *Elephant* his ſagacity, or the *Tyger* his fierceneſſe, or the *Stagge* his ſwiftneſſe, or the *Dogge* his fidelitie, or the *Foxe* his wilineſſe? were the *Oxen* then of the ſame Countrey ſtronger for labour, the *horſes* better featured, or more ſerviceable then now? doubtleſſe theſe leſſons, as their *Miſtreſſe* cannot but teach them, ſo theſe ſchollers cannot but learne them, neither is it in their power to forget them.

SECT. 4.

Touching the pretended decay of mankind, in regard of manners and the Arts.

WIth *man* it is otherwiſe: for he hauing a free-will (at leaſtwiſe in *morall* and *naturall* actions) by reaſon of that liberty varieth both from his kinde & from himſelf, more then any other creature beſides. And hence is it (other circumſtances concurring) that in the ſame countrey, men are ſometimes generally addicted to vertue, ſometimes to vice; ſometimes to one vice, ſometimes to another; ſometimes to civility, ſometimes to barbariſme; ſometimes to ſtudiouſneſſe and learning, ſometimes to caſe and ignorance; ſometimes they are taller of ſtature, ſometimes lower; & laſtly, ſometimes longer, ſometimes ſhorter lived; and this I ſay ariſeth partly frō the *Liberty* of mans will, & partly frō *Gods providence* over-ruling & diſpoſing all things according to the ſecret counſel of his owne vnſearchable wiſdome.

Boeth. de Conſol. lib. 1. Met. 6.

Signat tempora proprijs
Aptans officijs Deus,
Nec quas ipſe coercuit
Miſceri patitur vices

To proper offices
God hath each ſeaſon bounded:
And will not that the courſes
He ſets them, be confounded.

Hæc omnia mutantur, ſaith S^t *Auguſtine*, *nec mutatur divinæ providentiæ ratio, qua fit vt iſta mutentur.* All theſe things are changed, and yet the reaſon

ſon of the Divine Providence, by which they are changed, changeth not. To affirme then that humaine affaires remaine alwaies in the ſame eſtate, continually drawne out as by an even thread, without variation, is *vntrue*: and on the other ſide to ſay that they allwaies degenerate and grow worſe and worſe, is as *vnſound*. For ſurely had it beene ſo ſince the Creation or the fall of man, civill ſociety, nay the world it ſelfe could not haue ſubſiſted, but would long ſince haue beene brought to vtter ruine and deſolation. *Omne in præcipiti vitium ſtetit*, vice was at higheſt, and neere its downefall ſtood. And as *Bodin* hath both rightly obſerued and learnedly expreſſed. *Quod ſi res humanæ in deterius prolaberentur, jampridem in extremo vitiorum ac improbitatis gradu conſtitiſſemus, quo quidem antea perventum eſſe opinor: Sed cum flagitioſi homines nec vlterius progredi nec eodem loco ſtare diutius poſſent, ſenſim regredi neceſſe habuerunt, vel cogente pudore qui hominibus ineſt à natura, vel neceſſitate, quòd in tantis ſceleribus ſocietas nullo modo coli poterat, vel etiam quod verius eſt, impellente Dei bonitate.* If men ſhould allwayes grow worſe and worſe, wee had long ſince ariued at the vtmoſt point and higheſt pitch of villany, to which it may bee men haue already attained, but when they could neither make a farther progreſſe, nor longer abode in the ſame ſtate, they muſt needes by degrees returne againe, either very ſhame conſtraining them, which is implanted in man by nature, or meere neceſſity, in as much as humane ſociety could not ſtand with ſuch an height of wickedneſſe, or elſe which I rather beleeue, the Grace and goodneſſe of God mouing and leading them therevnto.

Iuuenal Satyr. 1. Method. Hiſt. cap. 7.

With *Bodin* doth *Barkley* heerin fully accord, *omnia ſæcula* (ſayth hee) *genium habent, qui mortalium animos in certa ſtudia ſolet inflectere; quædam ætates præcipue armis exercitæ, mox omnia in quietem compoſita; tum Regnorum, tum Rerumpublicarum in populis amor; nunc veluti in barbariem homines naſci, deinde facilioribus animis manſueſcere, & poſt ſæcula aliquot ad ſtipatum prima caligine ingenium redire; ita ſæpius orbis cultis hominum moribus enituit; ſubſidenſque deinde induſtria, velut quadam nube ſubducta eſt.* All ages haue their proper *genius* which inclines the mindes of men to certaine ſtudies and courſes, ſometimes are they wholly exerciſed in armes, and within a while after all things are compoſed for peace, now men are in loue with Monarchies and then with Democracies, ſometimes are they naturally diſpoſed to barbarouſneſſe, and then againe to ciuility, and after the revolution of a few ages they returne to their former roughneſſe: thus hath the world often ſhined in neatenеſſe of manners, and then againe induſtry being ſlackned by degrees, it hath beene overſhadowed as it were with a thicke and blacke cloud.

Icon anim. cap.

Vice ſometimes aboundes in one nation, and ſometimes in another, and in the ſame nation the ſame vice doth not allwayes equally abound: but it either riſeth or falls, raignes or vaniſheth according to the diſpoſition of Rulers, and execution of lawes: As is well and wiſely noted by a late *Hiſtoriographer* of our owne in the very entrance of his *Hiſtory* of *England*, *we ſhall find* (ſaith he) *the ſame correſpondencies to hold in*

S. D.

the actions of men, vertues and vices the same, though rising and falling according to the worth or weakenesse of Governours; the causes of the ruines and mutations of states to bee alike, and the traine of affaires carried by president in a course of succession vnder the like colours; and that which he obserues in the *history* of this nation is no doubt true in all. Wee neede go no farther then that of the *Iewes* for a notable instance in this kinde: who at times, more zealous then they in the worship of *God*, and the exercises of religion? and who againe, at other times more rebellious? It is sayd of them in the *Psalme*, *then beleeued they his words*, but presently it followes in the very next verse, *They soone forgot his workes*: and according to their obedience or rebellion so were they either prosperous or vnfortunate in the course of their affaires: during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thousand strong, & as much as a greate Senate for counsell in peaceable deliberations: contrariwise if they swerued, (as they often did) their wonted courage and magnanimity forsooke them vtterly, their souldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword, when they entred into mutuall conference and sate in counsell for their owne good, that which children might haue seene, their gravest Senatours could not discerne, their *Prophets* saw darkenesse in steed of *Visions*, and the wise and prudent were as men bewitcht.

Psal. 106. 12. V. 13. 14.

Now that which is spoken touching the revolutions and returnes of *vertues* and *vices*, is likewise true in *Arts* and *Sciences*. *Hinc factum est* (sayth *Contarenus*,) *vt quibusdam ætatibus acerrima hominum ingenia vigere, alijs tanquam flaccescere videantur*. Hence it is that in some ages the wits of men seeme wonderfull sharpe, and againe in others flat & blunt. And it is a true obseruation which *Ramus* to this purpose hath, *commigrationes gentium variæ commemorantur, commigrationes literarum & disciplinarum commemorari possent, non minores*: wee reade of diverse commigrations or remoualls of Nations, and surely no lesse of Arts and Sciences might be obserued. Wherevpon *Aristotle* who held the Arts Eternall, as hee did the world, yet tells vs there was allwayes a rising and a falling of them as of the starres: so as sometimes they flourished in one place and age, and sometimes in another: as the starres sometimes shine in our *Hemisphere*, sometimes in the other. Where was there ever more learning and science then in *Greece*, and where is there now in the world more barbarisme? what most excellently learned men, pillars & lightes of the Church of Christ hath *Africa* brought forth? as *Tertullian*, *Minutius*, *Optatus*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius* his Master, *Fulgentius*. S^t *Cyprian*, and S^t *Augustine*? and with what learned men is *Africa* in our time acquainted? Contrariwise in the flourishing dayes of the *Romans*, how vtterly without all knowledge of letters were the *Germans* and *Netherlanders*, & how do they now a daies flourish in all kind of learning & cunning? While the Arts through the Christian world lay in a manner buried in negligence and obscurity, then did their lustre shine forth most clearely in *Ireland*, thither did our *English Saxons* repaire as to a Faire or Market of good letters: whence of the holy men of those times wee often reade in our Ancient writers. *Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam*.

De perfectione Rerum Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

. De cœlo. & . Meteor.

Camden in Hibernia.

He

He was ſent into *Ireland* to ſtudie there. And in the life of *Sulgen*, who liued about ſix hundred yeares agoe.

Exemplo Patrum commotus amore legendi
Iuit ad Hybernos ſophia mirabile claros :
And for to skill and learning hee aſpired
Treading the ſteps of Anceſtours he ſayled
To Ireland, then for wiſdome much admired.

Iacobus Curio, l. 2. Rer. Cyon.

And it may ſeeme, that the *Engliſh Saxons* borrowed from them the manner of forming their letters, ſince they vſed the ſame character which the *Iriſh* vſe at this day, yet now when learning is as it were reviued againe from the graue, thorow all Chriſtendome, onely this part of it (which was then as another *Goſhen* in *Ægypt*) remaines for the moſt part vnlightned, in the darkeneſſe of *ignorance*, *incivility*, and *ſuperſtition*, ſaue that Dr *Vſher* the Reverend and Worthy Primate thereof; and ſome other of their learned and graue Divines ſhine there as cleere lights, and giue ſome hope of reducing their former glory. Thus Almighty *God* in ſundry ages and in ſeverall places caſts abroade the ſeeds of *learning* & *knowledge*, which in their due time grow vp & ſpread abroade to the glory of his owne name, and the behoofe of mankinde. Neither canne I heere let paſſe the words of *Bodin* to like effect touching the *Arts* and *Inventions* of wit, as were thoſe before alleaged touching *vertue* and *vice*; *Hæc illa eſt*, (ſayth hee) *rerum omnium tam certa converſio, vt dubitare nemo debeat quin idem in hominum ingenijs, quod in agris eveniat, qui majori vbertate gratiam quietis referre ſolent.* This is that certaine wheeling about of all things, ſo that no man neede doubt but the ſame befalls mens wits that doth their grounds, which are wont to recompence the favour of their reſt with the more plentious croppe.

SECT. 5.

Touching this pretended decay in regard of the duration of mens liues their ſtrength and ſtature.

THe ſame viciſſitude and revolution as is in *Arts* and *wits*, is likewiſe to be found in the *ages* of men, & the *duration* of their liues; as my Lord of S. *Alban* hath truly noted, *decurſus ſæculorum & ſucceſſio propaginis nihil videntur omnino demere de diuturnitate vitæ.* The courſe of times and ſucceſſion of progenies ſeeme to abate nothing from the laſting of mens liues. Certaine times there are in all Regions in which the thread of mens liues is either drawne vp longer or contracted to a ſhorter ſcantling. For the moſt part they liue *longer* when the times are more *barbarous*, *their diet* more ſimple, and the *exerciſe* of mens bodies more in vſe : but *ſhorter* when the times are more *Civill* and men more giuen to *luxury* and *eaſe*, which paſſe and returne by turnes, *Succeſſion* it ſelfe effects nothing therein, alone: in caſe it did,

Hiſtoria vitæ & mortis, pag. 156.

the *first man* in reason should haue liued longest, and the son should still come short of his fathers age : so that whereas *Moses* tells vs that *the*
Psal.90.10. *dayes of mans age* in his time *were threescore yeares and tenne*, by this reckoning they might well enough by this time bee brought to *tenne*, or *twenty*, or *thirty* at the most. It cannot bee denyed but that in the first ages of the world both before and after the *floud* men vsually liued longer then we finde they haue done in latter ages: But that I should rather choose to ascribe to some *extraordinary privilegde* then to the *ordinary course of nature*. The world was then to bee repleniſhed with inhabitants, which could not so speedily bee done but by an extraordinary multiplication of mankinde: neither could that bee done, but by the long liues of men. And againe Arts and sciences were then to bee planted, for the better effecting whereof, it was requisite, that the same men should haue the experience and obseruation of many ages. For as many
Arist. Analyt. 2. cap. vlt. *Sensations* breed an *experiment*, so do many *experiments* a *Science*.

Per varios vsus artem experientia fecit,
Exemplo monstrante viam.

Manilius l. 1. Through much experience Arts invented were,
Examples shewing way.

Specially it was requisite men should liue long for the perfecting of *Astronomy*, ond the finding out of the seuerall *motions* of the heauenly bodies, whereof some are so slow, that they aske a long time precisely to obserue their periods and reuolutions. It was the complaint of *Hippocrates*, *Ars longa vita brevis*. And therefore Almighty *God* in his wisedome then proportioned mens *liues* to the length of *Arts*; and as God gaue them this speciall priuiledge to liue long: so in likelihood he gaue them withall a temper and constitution of body answerable therevnto. As also the *food* wherewith they were nourished, specially before the *floud*, may well be thought to haue beene more *wholesome* and nutritiue, and the Plants more *medicinall*: And happily the *influence* of the heauens was at that time, in that clymate where the *Patriarches* liued, more fauourable and gratious. Now such a *reuolution* as there is in the *manners*, *vit*, and *ages* of men, the like may well bee presumed in their *strength* and *stature*. *Videtur similis esse ratio in magnitudine corporum*
Hist. vit. & mort. pag. 158. *sive statura quæ nec ipsa per successionem propaginis defluit*. There seemeth to be the like reason in the growth & bigness of mens bodies, which decreaseth not by succession of offspring; but men are sometimes in the same nation taller, sometimes of a shorter stature, sometimes stronger, and sometimes weaker; as the times wherein they liue, are more temperate or luxurious, more given to labour or exercise, or to ease and idleness. And for those narrations which are made of the *Gyantlike* statures of men in former ages, many of them were doubtlesse merely *poeticall* and fabulous. I deny not but such men haue beene, who for their *strength* and *stature* haue beene the *miracles* of nature, the worlds wonders, *whom God would therefore haue to bee*, (sayth S. *Austine*) *that hee might shew, that as well the bigness as the beauty of the body, are not to bee ranged in the number of things good in themselues, as beeing common both to good and badde*. Yet may wee justly suspect that which *Suetonius* hath

not

not ſpared to write that the *bones of huge beaſts, or ſea-monſters, both haue and ſtill do, paſſe currant for the bones of Gyants.* A very notable ſtory to this purpoſe haue wee recorded by *Camerarius*, who reports that *Francis* the firſt, king of *France*, who reigned about an hundred yeares ſince, being deſirous to know the truth of thoſe things, which were commonly ſpread, touching the *ſtrength* and *ſtature* of *Rouland*, nephew to *Charlemaine*, cauſed his ſepulchre to bee opened, wherein his bones and bow were found rotten, but his armour ſound, though covered with ruſt, which the king commanding to bee ſcoured off, and putting it vpon his owne body, found it ſo fit for him, as thereby it appeared that *Rouland* exceeded him little in bigneſſe and ſtature of body, though himſelfe were not exceſſiue tall or bigge.

In Auguſto, cap. 72. Medit. Hiſt. 82.

SECT. 6.

The precedents of this chapt. ſummarily recollected, and the methode obſerved in the enſuing treatiſe propoſed.

NOw briefely and ſummarily to *recollect* and as it were to winde vp into one clue or bottome what hath more largely beene diſcourſed thorow this *chapter*, I hold firſt that the *heavenly bodies* are not at all, either in regard of their *ſubſtance, motion, light, warmth*, or *influence* in the *courſe of nature* impared, or ſubject to any impairing or decay: *Secondly*, that all *individuals* (vnder the Cope of heaven) mixed of the elements are ſubject to a *naturall declination* and *diſſolution*: *Thirdly*, that the *quantity* of the *Elements* themſelues is ſubject to impairing in regard of their *parts*, though not of their *intire bodies*: *Fourthly*, that the *ayre* and *earth* and *water*, are at diverſe ſeaſons diverſely affected, ſometime for the better, ſometime for the worſe, and that either by ſome ſpeciall *favour* or *judgment* of *God*, or by ſome *cauſe in nature, ſecret* or *apparent*: *Fiftly*, that the ſeverall kindes of *beaſts*, of *plantes*, of *fiſhes*, of *birds*, of *ſtones*, of *mettals*, are as many in *number*, as at the Creation, & every way in Nature as *vigorous*, as at any time ſince the *floud*: *Sixtly*, and *laſtly* that the *manners*, the *wits*, the *health*, the *age*, the *ſtrength*, and *ſtature* of men dayly vary, but ſo as by a *viciſſitude* and *revolution* they *returne* againe to their former points from which they declined, & againe *decline*, and againe *returne*, by alternatiue and interchangeable courſe, *Erit hic rerum in ſe remeantium orbis, quamdiù erit ipſe orbis*, This circle and ring of things returning alwayes to their principles will never ceaſe as long as the world laſts.

Lipſius de conſtant. 1. 16.

Repetunt proprios cuncta recurſus
Redituq; ſuo ſingula gaudent
Nec manet vlli traditus ordo
Niſi quod fini junxerit ortum
Stabilemq; ſui fecerit orbem.

Boetius lib. 3. Met. 2.

To their firſt ſpring all things are backeward bound
And every thing in its returne delighteth
Th'order once ſetled can in nought be found

But what the end vnto the birth vniteth
And of its ſelfe doth make a conſtant round.

And conſequently there is no ſuch vniverſall and perpetuall decay in the frame of the Creatures as is commonly imagined, and by ſome wrongly maintained.

The *methode* which I propoſe is firſt to treate hereof in *generall*, that ſo a cleerer way, and eaſier paſſage may bee opened to the *particulars*; then of the *Heavens*, as being higheſt in *ſituation*, and the nobleſt in outward *glory* and *duration*, as alſo in their *efficacie*, and *vniverſality* of operation, and therefore doth the *Prophet* rightly place them next *God* himſelfe, in the order of *Cauſes*, *it ſhall come to paſſe in that day, ſayth the Lord, that I will heare the heavens, and they ſhall heare the earth, and the earth ſhall heare the corne, and the wine and the oyle, and they ſhall heare Iſrael.* Hoſea 2. 21. From that wee may deſcend to the foure *Elements*, which as a muſicall inſtrument of foure ſtrings is both tuned and touched by the hand of heaven: And in the next place thoſe bodies, which are *mixed* and tempered of theſe Elements offer themſelues to our conſideration, whether they be without life, as *ſtones* and *mettals*, or haue the life of *vegetation* onely, as *plants*; or both of *vegetation* and *ſenſe*, as *beaſts* and *birds* and *fiſhes*, and in the laſt place, *man* preſents himſelfe vpon this *Theater*, as being created laſt, though firſt intended, the *maſter* of the whole family, & chiefe Commaunder in this great houſe, nay the maſter-peece, the abridgment, the mappe and modell of the *Vniverſe*. And in him wee will examine this pretended decay, *firſt* in regard of *age* and length of yeares, *ſecondly* in regard of *ſtrength* and *ſtature*, *thirdly* in regard of *wits*, and *Arts*, and *fourthly* and laſtly in regard of *manners* and *conditions*, to which all that is in man is or ſhould bee finally referred, as all that is in the world is, vnder God, finally referred to man. And becauſe it is not ſufficient to poſſeſſe our owne fort, without the diſmantling and demoliſhing of our enemies, a principall care ſhall bee had throughout the whole worke, to anſwere, if not all, at leaſt the principall of thoſe *objections* which I haue found, to weigh moſt with the adverſe part. And in the laſt place, leaſt I ſhould any way bee ſuſpected to ſhake or vndermine the ground of our *Chriſtian* religion, or to weaken the *article* of our beliefe touching the *conſummation* of the world, by teaching that it decayes not; to wipe off that aſpertion, I will endeavour to proue the *certainty* thereof, not ſo much by *Scripture*, which no *Chriſtian* can be ignorant of, as by force of *Reaſon* and the teſtimony of *Heathen* writers; and *finally* I will conclude with an *exhortation* grounded therevpon for the ſtirring of men vp, to a preparation of themſelues againſt that day, which ſhall not onely *end the world*, but *iudge their actions*, and diſpoſe of the everlaſting eſtate of their perſons.

CAP. 4.

CAP. 4.

Touching the worlds decay in generall.

SECT. 1.

The three first generall reasons that it decayes not.

THe same *Almighty* hand which created the worlds massie frame and gaue it a being out of *nothing*, doth still support and maintaine it, in that being, which at first it gaue, *for by him all things consist*, & should he withdraw himself but for a mom̄et, the whole frame would instantly returne into *nothing*, which before the Creation it was, as *Gregory* hath rightly obserued, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum diffluerent vniversa.* *God* by his presentiall Essence giues vnto all things an Essence, so that if he should withdraw himselfe from them, as out of nothing they were first made, so into nothing they would bee againe resolued. To which testimony of *Gregory* wee may adde that of *Iustin Martyr*, *Vt id quod ortum est nunquam extitisset nisi ipse jussisset, Fiat: Sic neque permanerent nisi idem præcepisset ijs quidem quæ non intereunt vt semper starent, ijs quæ oriuntur & intereunt, vt semper crescerent & multiplicarent:* As that which is made had never beene, had not hee commanded, *let it bee:* so neither had they continued vnlesse he had giuen the charge to those which perish not, that they should still remaine, to those which rise and fall that they should increase and multiply. And herein with *Iustin Martyr* doth S. *Augustine* accord in his fourth booke and 12. chap. *de Gen. ad literam: Creatoris potentia, et omnipotentis atque omnitenentis virtus, Causa est subsistendi omni Creaturæ, quæ virtus si ab eis quæ Creata sunt aliquando cessaret, simul cessaret eorum species omnisque natura concideret:* The power of the Creator and the strength of him who is able to doe all things and supports them all, is the cause of subsistence to every creature, which power should it cease from those things which are Created, there kindes likewise would instantly cease and there whole nature come to nothing. Now this dependence of the Creature vpon the Creator, *Thomas* resembles to the light in the aire which vpon the remouall of the Sunnes inlightning is presently extinct; *Contarenus* to the figure of a seale imprinted vpon the water, which being withdrawne the impression is instantly defaced. *Gerson* to a vessell containing and figuring the water which it containes, by meanes whereof it is kept from fleeting abroade, and so from spilling: *Sic Deus in se Creaturæ labilitatem continet, ita vt ejus actio conservetur, ne pereat in nihilum recidendo.* So God supports the weakenesse of the creature, that being by him conserved, it perish not by relapsing into nothing. In the preservation then of the *Creature*, wee are not so much to consider the *impotencie*, and weakenesse thereof, as the *goodnesse*, *wisedome*, and *power* of the *Creator*, in *whom*, and by *whom*, and for *whom*, they *liue*, and *moue*, and *haue their beeing*. *The spirit of the Lord filleth the world,*

Col. 1. 17.

Contra Gen. lib. 3. cap. 24. De perf. rerum lib. 2. cap. 5. De vita Spiritu. lect. 1.

(faith

Cap. 1. 7. (ſayth the Author of the *wiſedome of Solomon*) And againe, *Thine incorruptible* Spirit is in all things, and the ſecret working of this ſpirit, which thus pierceth through all things, hath the *Poet* excellently expreſt,

Æneid. 6.

Principio cœlum ac terras camposq; liquentes
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaneaque aſtra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem & magno ſe corpore miſcet.
The heaven, the earth, and all the liquide maine,
The Moones bright globe, and ſtarres Titanian
A ſpirit within maintaines, and their whole maſſe,
A minde which through each part infuſ'd doth paſſe,
Faſhions and workes and wholly doth tranſpierce
All this great body of the Vniverſe.

This *Spirit* the *Platoniſts* call the *Soule* of the World, by it, it is in ſome ſort quickned and formaliz'd, as the body of man is by its reaſonable Soule. There is no queſtion then, but this *Soule* of the World, (if wee may ſo ſpeake) being in truth none other then the *immortall Spirit* of the *Creator*, is able to make the body of the World *immortall*, and to preſerue it from diſſolution, as hee doth the *Angels*, and the *Spirits* of *men*: and were it not that he had determined, to diſſolue it by the ſame *ſupernaturall* and extraordinary power, which at firſt gaue it exiſtence, I ſee not but by the *ordinary* concurrence of this ſpirit it might everlaſtingly endure: and that conſequently (to driue it home to our preſent purpoſe) there is no ſuch *vniverſall* and *perpetuall decay* in the *courſe* of *Nature*; as is imagined: and this I take to bee the meaning of *Philo*, in that booke which he hath compoſed *De Mundi incorruptibilitate*, of the Worlds incorruptibility; there being ſome who haue made the World eternall without any beginning or ending, as *Ariſtotle*, and the *Peripatetickes*; others giue it a beginning, but withont ending, as *Plato* and the *Academickes*, whom *Plato* ſeemes to follow; and laſtly others both beginning and ending, as *Chriſtians* and other Sects of Philoſophers, whom *Ariſtotle* therefore flouts at, ſaying that he formerly feared his houſe might fall down about his eares, but that now hee had a greater matter to feare, which was the diſſolution of the world. But had this pretended vniverſall and perpetuall decay of the World beene ſo apparant as ſome would make it, his flout had eaſily beene returned vpon himſelfe, and his opinion by dayly and ſenſible experience as eaſily confuted, which wee may well wonder none of thoſe Philoſophers who diſputed againſt him, (if they acknowledged and beleeued the truth thereof) ſhould any where preſſe in defence of their owne opinions, it being indeede the moſt vnanſwerable and binding argument that poſſibly could bee enforced againſt him, were there that evident certainty in it as is commonly imagined, whereas he in the ſharpeneſſe of his wit ſeeing the weakeneſſe thereof, would not ſo much as vouchſafe it a ſerious anſwere, but puts it off with a jeaſt. For mine owne part I conſtantly beleeue that it had a beginning, and ſhall haue an ending, and hold him not worthy the name of a Chriſtian who holds not as much:

much: yet ſo as I beleeue both, to bee matter of *faith*; *through faith wee vnderſtand that the Worlds were framed by the word of God*; and through the ſame *faith* wee likewiſe vnderſtand that they ſhall be againe *vnframed* by the ſame word. *Reaſon* may grope at this truth in the darke; howbeit it can never cleerely apprehend it; but inlightned by the beame of *faith*. I deny not but *probable*, though not *demonſtratiue* and convincing arguments, may bee drawne from diſcourſe of reaſon to proue either the one or the other, and among the reſt that taken from the Worlds *decay*, to proue the finall conſummation thereof, I take to bee moſt *vnſound*, in as much as it begges a *principle*, which is not to be graunted, and ſuppoſeth ſuch a *decay*, which in my judgement to the worlds end and the day of Iudgment will never be ſoundly and ſufficiently proved. Heb. 11. 3.

I remember the *Philoſophers* propoſe a queſtion, *Vtrum Mundus ſolo generali concurſu Dei perpetuò durare poſſit?* Whether the World by the ordinary and generall cooperation of Gods power and providence could ſtill laſt or no? and for the moſt part they hold it affirmatiuely, even ſuch as profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion, and for proofe of their aſſertion they bring in effect this reaſon: The Heavens, ſay they, are of a nature which is not capable in it ſelfe of *corruption*, the loſſe of Elements is recouered by *compenſation*, of mixt Bodies without life by *accretion*, of liuing Bodies by *ſucceſſion*, the fall of one being the riſing of the other, as *Rome* triumphed in the ruines of *Alba*, and the depreſſion of one *Scale* is the elevation of another, according to that of *Solomon*, *One generation paſſeth away, and another generation commeth, but the earth abideth for ever.* Ruvio de Cœlo & mundo lib. 1. cap. 12. Eccleſ. 1. 4.

----Mutantur in ævum
Singula, & inceptum alternat natura tenorem,
Quodque dies antiqua tulit, poſt auferet ipſa.
Each thing in every age doth vary
And Nature changeth ſtill the courſe ſhe hath begun,
And will eftſoones vndoe what ſhe erewhile hath done.

Pontanus cap. 48. meteor.

Againe, all ſubceleſtiall bodies (as is evident) conſiſt of *matter* and *forme*; Now the *firſt matter* having nothing contrary vnto it, cannot by the force of nature bee deſtroyed, and beeing created immediately by God, it cannot bee aboliſhedby any inferiour agent. And as for the *formes* of naturall bodies, no ſooner doth any one abandon the matter it informed, but another inſtantly ſteps into the place thereof, no ſooner hath one acted his part & is retired, but another preſently comes forth vpon the ſtage, though it may be in a different ſhape, and to act a different part; ſo that no portion of the matter is, or at any time can be altogether voide and empty, but like *Vertumnus* or *Proteus* it turnes itſelfe into a thouſand ſhapes, and is alwayes ſupplyed and furniſhed with one forme or other.

Nec ſic interimit mors res, vt materiaï
Corpora conficiat, ſed cœtum diſſipat ollis:
Inde alijs aliud conjungit & efficit, omnes
Res vt convertant formas, mutentque colores

Lucret. lib. 2.

Et

Et capiant ſenſus, & puncto tempore reddunt:
Vt noſcas referre eadem primordia rerum.

Death doth not ſo deſtroy things
As it the matter to nought brings.
It onely doth diſſolue the frame,
And ſo it leaues to be the ſame.
And joyning other things it changeth,
Their ſhape, forme, colour, and ſo rangeth
Their being at times, that you may know
They all from like principles do flow.

Philo in his booke of the worlds *incorruptibilitie* alleageth to this purpoſe the verſes of a *Greeke Tragick Poet*, whom I take to bee *Euripides*, which the Tranſlator thus renders,

---genitum nihil emoritur,
Sed tranſpoſitum vltro citroque
Formam priorem alterat.

Nothing that borne is doth die,
But being remooued to and fro
Puts on another forme and ſhow.

Neither in truth in the courſe of *Nature* can it poſſibly bee otherwiſe, ſince it intends not the *abolition* of any thing, as being a defect, and contrary to it's owne good, but for the ſucceſſion and *generation* of ſome other thing in the roome thereof. As *Nature* then cannot *create* by making ſomething out of nothing: ſo neither can it *annihilate* by turning ſomething into nothing. When it conſequently followes as there is no *acceſſe*, ſo there is no *diminution* in the vniverſall, no more then there is in the Alphabet by the infinite combination and tranſpoſition of letters, or in the waxe by the alteration of the ſeale ſtamped vpon it. If a man ſhould but take one drop of water in the whole yeare from the Ocean, or but one ſand from the ſea ſhore, or but one graſſe from the earth without any new ſupply, nay without a ſupply proportionable, that the addition may fully countervaile and repaire the ſubſtraction, their ſtore muſt in continuance of time of neceſſity bee emptied and vtterly exhauſted, and in like manner the World being finite, and there being no acceſſe to the whole, if there ſhould bee any ſuch perpetuall and vniverſall decay and decreaſe in all the parts thereof, as is pretended, it muſt needes at laſt by degrees bee annihilated and brought to nothing, which is both in reaſon, and by the conſent of all Divines, as incommunicably the effect of a power divine and aboue nature, as is the worke of the Creation it ſelfe, ſo as whatſoever is taken from one, muſt of neceſſity be giuen to another.

Lucret. lib. 2. *Ne res ad nihilum redigantur protinus omnes.*

Leſt things ere long to nothing ſhould bee brought.

Put the caſe then that ſome principall part of the World ſhould ſtill decreaſe, ſurely ſome others muſt thereupon continually increaſe, or there would follow ſome diminution, and conſequently ſome annihilation in reſpect of the whole, & if vpon the continuall decreaſe of ſome, others ſhould ſtill increaſe, there would likewiſe thervpon follow ſuch a diſ-

proportion,

proportion and jarring,as they could never well accord,and in the end the whole would bee turned into thoſe which gained by the loſſe, and grew great by the fall of others, & conſequently they would proue the ruine both of others and themſelues; as the ſplene growing and ſwelling to an immoderate bigneſſe vpon the pining of other parts, in the end ruines both itſelfe and them: as then a due proportion is held betwixt the parts as well in the naturall body of man as the body politique of the ſtate for the vpholding of the whole,ſo is there likewiſe by the divine providence in this vaſt body of the World; not that any of the limbs or members thereof (the heavens onely excepted) remaine without their alteration or diminution, but becauſe they mutually by turnes and exchanges both take one from another, and again repay one to another what they formerly tooke, by which meanes neither is any thing loſt in the whole,nor any one part ſo either infeebled by decreaſe, or by increaſe over ſtrengthned as they looſe that proportion which makes the muſicke of the whole, or that vſe and ſervice which to the whole they all ſtand obliged to performe,and to this purpoſe it is ſurely as a divine oracle, for the wiſedome and truth thereof, which the Poet hath put into the mouth of *Pythagoras*.

Nec ſpecies ſua cuique manet: rerumque novatrix Ovid. Met. 15.
Ex alijs alias reparat natura figuras.
Nec perit in tanto quidquam (mihi credite) mundo:
Sed variat, faciemque novat: naſcique vocatur
Incipere eſſe aliud, quàm quod fuit ante: morique
Deſinere illud idem: cùm ſint huc forſitan illa,
Hæc tranſlata illuc, ſummâ tamen omnia conſtant.

They hold not long their ſhares,but ſoone *Dame Nature*,
Of one ſhape loſt,brings forth another feature;
Beleeue it,in ſo great and huge a maſſe
Nothing doth periſh,but change and vary face;
Wee ſay a thing then new borne is, when as
It doth become another then it was:
And ſo wee ſay,a thing doth ſuffer death
When it the forme forſakes;as men their breath.
And though the counters be plac't lower or higher;
Yet ſtill the totall ſumme doth ſtand entire.

SECT. 2.

Fourth reaſon for that ſuch a decay as is ſuppoſed would in time point out the very day of the worlds expiration, and conſequently of the ſecond comming of Chriſt.

ANother ſpeciall *reaſon* mouing mee to beleeue that the *Worlds ſuppoſed decay* is but *imaginary*,is *that it would in time point out the very date of its expiration*, ſo that men ſhould be able from the extremity of the diſorder and confuſion (into which it would by degrees degenerate) by the rule of proportion, as it were by the euen decreaſe of ſand or water in an houre-glaſſe prognoſticate the inſtant beyond which

which it could not long ſubſiſt: whereas before the *Vniverſall Deluge* which ſwept away every living ſoule breathing vpon the face of the Earth,(except *Noah* and his Family, and the beaſts which lodged with him vnder the roofe of the ſame *Arke*) wee reade of no ſuch *fore-running declination* which was the reaſon that men tooke no notice of it till it over tooke them, and as it was then, ſo ſhall it bee at the ſudden,and vnexpected comming of the ſecond *deluge by fire*. *For as in the daies which were before the flood,they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage vntill the day that Noah entred into the Arke, and knew not vntill the floud came and ſwept them all away: ſo ſhall alſo the comming of the ſonne of man bee: it ſhall bee like the comming of the theefe in the night, when men ſhall ſay, Peace and ſafety, then ſudden diſtruction ſhall come vpon them.*

Math.24.38.

2.Pet.3.10. 1.Theſſ.5.3.

The more I wonder what ſhould make the Author of the *Scholaſticall hiſtory* thus to write, *Tradunt Sancti quod quadraginta annis ante judicium non videbitur arcus cœleſtis, id quod etiam naturaliter oſtendet deſiccationem aeris.* Holy men affirme that forty yeares before the day of Iudgment no rainebow ſhall appeare, which ſhall ſerue as a naturall ſigne of the drought in the ayre already begun. Thoſe *Holy men* he names not, neither can I ſo much as conjecture who they ſhould bee, ſince no ſuch opinion,nor any mention thereof(as I preſume) is to bee found in the writings of any of the Ancient *Fathers* now extant,neither in truth is it any way grounded,either vpon *Scripture* or ſhew of *reaſon* drawne from thence. And beſides it aſſumes that as yeelded, which is not onely *vncertaine*, but *certainely falſe*, that *the conflagration of the world ſhall bee wrought,or at leaſtwiſe prepared by ſecond and naturall cauſes,whereas it ſhall doubtleſſe bee the ſupernaturall worke of Gods omnipotencie, as was likewiſe the drowning of it.* Howbeit *Henricus Meclinienſis* ſcholer to *Albertus Magnus* in his *Commentaries* vpon the great *Coniunctions* of *Albumazer*, ſeemes to referre it to the *watery conſtellations* then reigning, as ſome others doe,the future generall combuſtion to the predominance of *fiery conſtellations:* whereas notwithſtanding they aſcribe the vniverſall *declinations* and dotage of nature to the *want of that warmth* which former age enjoyed: So that according to their groundes following the courſe of nature,the world ſhould rather haue beene *burned* in *Noahs* time, it being then in the prime & ſtrength of naturall heate,and reſerved for a *floud* at the laſt day, it being now according to their opinion ſeazed vpon with cold and wateriſh humours,as at leaſt their feigned fiery conſtellations would better haue ſuted with thoſe times, and the wateriſh with ours. But thus wee ſee how curioſitie intangleth, and errour ever croſſeth and contradicteth it ſelfe. *Hæc eſt mendaciorum natura vt cohærere non poſſint*(ſayth *Lactantius*) Such is the property of falſehoods that they can never hang together.

In Libr.Gen. Cap.35.

At nulla eſt diſcordia veris,
Semperque ſibi certa cohærent.
In true things diſcord is there none,
They friendly ſtill agree in one.

Boethius lib 5. Metr.3.

SECT.

SECT. 3.

Fifth reaſon, that vpon the ſuppoſition of ſuch a decay, the vigour of the World muſt needs long ſince haue beene exhauſted and worne out.

A *Fifth reaſon* which makes mee thinke that *Nature* neither hath nor doth *degenerate* and pine away in the ſeverall kindes of Creatures in regard of their *number, dimenſions, faculties or operations*, is, that in the courſe of ſo many ages already paſt, the vigour and ſtrength of it muſt needes haue beene *vtterly exhauſted and worne out*. If in every *Centenary* of yeares from the *Creation*, or ſince the *floud*, ſome ſmall abatement onely ſhould haue beene made, (which notwithſtanding the *Patrons* of the adverſe opinion hold to be great, as will appeare when we come to the examination of the particulars,) and if we ſhould queſtion a man of *an hundred yeares of age* about this point, what a wonderfull change will he tell you of, ſince his remembrance: ſo that if we ſhould goe backward, and proportionably allow the like change within the like *compaſſe of yeares*, ſince the beginning of the world, it could not poſſibly ſubſiſt at this day. But put the caſe, as I ſay, that not ſo great as is imagined, but ſome ſmall abatement ſhould bee made for every *Centenary*, ſurely even in that *proportion* nothing elſe could now be left vnto vs but the very *refuſe* and *bran*, the *droſſe* and *dregges* of *nature*: and as heavy things ſinke in rivers, but ſtrawes and ſtickes are carried downe the ſtreame; ſo in this long current of time, the *kernell* and *pith* of *Nature* muſt needes haue beene ſpent and waſted, onely the *rinde* and *ſhells* ſhould haue beene left to vs. The *Heavens* could not by their warmth and influence haue beene able ſufficiently to cheriſh the *earth*, nor the *earth* to keepe the plants from ſtarving at her breaſts, nor the *plants* to nouriſh the *beaſts*, nor could the *beaſts* haue beene ſerviceable for the vſe of *man*, nor *man* himſelfe of abilitie to exerciſe the right of his dominion over the *beaſts* and other *Creatures*. The *Sunne* by this time would haue beene no brighter then the *Moone* or *Starres*, *Cedars* would haue beene no taller then *ſhrubs*, *Horſes* no bigger then *Dogges*, *Elephants* then *Oxen*, *Oxen* then *Sheepe*, *Eagles* then *Pigeons*, *Pigeons* then *Sparrowes*, and the whole race of mankinde muſt haue become *Pigmies*, and muſtered themſelues to encounter with *Cranes*.

If we ſhould allow but *one inch of decreaſe* in the growth of men for every *Centenary*, (& leſſe cannot well bee imagined) there would at this preſent be abated almoſt *fiue foote* in their *ordinary ſtature*, which notwithſtanding was held the *competent height of a man*, aboue *ſixteene hundred yeares ſince*, & ſo ſtill cõtinues, ſo that the *ordinary ſtature* of the men of the *firſt age* ſhould haue by this rule haue beene about *ten foote*; which exceedes that of *Goliah* by ſome *inches*. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who in ſundry places poſitiuely defends *Nature's vniverſall decay*, which (I muſt confeſſe I ſomewhat marvell at, in a man of that piercing wit and cleare judgment, but that as others he tooke it vp vpon truſt, without bringing it to the touchſtone) to proue men to be but reedes now a dayes, as hee

History of the World, *part.* 1. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

termeth them, in compariſon of the *Cedars* of former ages, giues vs an inſtance, drawne from the times and practiſe of *Galen* in compariſon of ours, telling vs that *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud, *ſixe pound weight*, whereas wee (ſaith hee) for the moſt part ſtop at *ſixe ounces*. The truth of his allegation touching *Galens* practice, I ſhall heereafter haue fitter occaſion to examine, in the chapter purpoſely dedicated to the conſideration of *mens decay in ſtrength*; at this time I will onely touch the matter of *proportion*. There is ſome doubt among *Chronologers*, of the preciſe time wherein *Galen* lived, as appeares by *Geſner* in his life; but in this they all agree, that hee practiſed at leaſt *two hundred yeares* ſince *Chriſt*, ſo that taking our levell from thence, wee may ſafely affirme, that he flouriſhed about *fourteene hundred yeares* ſince, in the compaſſe of which time, men haue loſt by that almoſt halfe a pound of bloud for every *Centenary*, which proportion of loſſe, if wee ſhould obſerue in the like diſtances of time before *Galen* from the *Creation*, it were nor poſſible that ſo much as a *drop of bloud* ſhould bee left in any mans body at this day From theſe *particulars* wee may gueſſe at the reſt, as retaylers doe of the *whole peeee*, by taking a view of the *ends* thereof, or as *Pythagoras* drew out the meaſure of *Hercules* whole body from the *ſcantling* of his *foote*.

SECT. 4.

Sixth argument taken from the authority of Solomon, and his reaſon drawne from the Circulation of all things as it were in a ring.

TO theſe *reaſons* may be added the weighty *authority* of the *wiſeſt* man that ever lived, of a *meere man*; how often doth hee beat vpon the *circulation* and *running round of all things as it were in a ring*: how earneſtly and eloquently doth he *preſſe* it, and *expreſſe* it as it were in liuely colours in that moſt divine booke of the *Preacher*. *The Sunne* (ſaith he) and *the Sunne goeth downe*, and haſteth to the *place where he aroſe*. Which *Boetius* diſcourſing vpon the ſame Theme, hath elegantly ſet forth:

Cap. 1. & cap. 5. 6. 7.

Cdit Heſperias Phœbus in vndas
Sed ſecreta tramite rurſus
Curſum ſolitos vertit ad ortus.

Lib. 3. Met. 2.

The Sunne doth ſet in Weſterne maine,
But yet returnes by ſecret wayes
Unto his wonted riſe againe.

But the *Preacher* ſtayes not there. *The winde goeth toward the South, and turneth about toward the North, it whirleth about continually, and returneth againe according to his circuites. All the rivers runne into the Sea, yet the ſea is not full. Vnto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they returne* v. 9. 10. *againe*. Wherevpon hee inferres, *the thing that hath beene, it is that that ſhall bee, and that which is done, is that which ſhall be done, and there is no new thing vnder the Sunne. Is there any thing whereof it may be ſaid, beholde this is new? it hath beene already of olde time before vs*; & againe, *that which hath*

beene

beene, is now; and that which is to bee, hath already beene, and God requireth that which is paſt. Now this *wheeling* about of all things in their ſeaſons and courſes, and their ſuppoſed *perpetuall decreaſe*, are in my vnderſtanding *incompatible*, they cannot poſſibly ſtand together, nor be truly affirmed of the ſame ſubject. For if they returne againe to their times and turnes, to the ſtate from which they declined, as *Boetius* ſpeakes of a bowed twigge. Cap. 3. 15. Lib. de Con. Phil. 3. Met. 2.

Validis quondam viribus acta
Pronum flectit virga cacumen:
Hanc ſi curvans dextra remiſit
Recto ſpectat vertice cælum.

The tender plant by force and might
Conſtrain'd its top doth downward bend:
Remoue the hand which bowed it,
And ſtraight to heav'n-wards will it tend.

If (I ſay) they thus returne to their former condition, as hath bin more at large proved by *Ludovicus Regius*, a *French* man, in a booke which he purpoſely intitles, *De la Viciſsitude des choſes*, and dedicates it to *Henry* the third King of *France*, then can it not bee they ſhould alway grow *worſe and worſe*; as on the other ſide if they alway degenerate and grow *worſe and worſe*, it cannot be they ſhould haue ſuch *returnes*, as *Solomon* ſpeakes of, *wiſe* and learned men in all ages haue obſerved, and experience dayly confirmes. The Poets faigne, that *Saturne* was wont to devoure his ſonnes, and then to vomite them vp againe, which fiction of theirs (ſaith *Rhodogin*) the wiſer ſort vnderſtand to be referred to time, ſhadowed vnder the name of *Saturne*, *à quo vicibus cuncta gignantur & abſumantur quæ renaſcantur denuò*, becauſe as all things ſpring from time, and by it are conſumed, ſo in it they are renewed and reſtored againe. And by this meanes the world for the intire is ſtill preſerved ſafe and ſound, Louys le Roy. Lib. 7. c. 42.

Exutæ variant faciem per ſecula gentes,
At manet incolumis mundus, ſuaque omnia ſervat
Quæ nec longa dies auget, minuitque ſenectus:
Nec motus puncto currit, curſuve fatigat.
Idem ſemper erit, quoniam ſemper fuit idem,
Non alium videre patres aliumve nepotes
Aſpicient.

Manilius l. 1.

The people chang'd, at times the face doth vary,
The world ſtands ſound, and alwayes holdes it owne,
Nor by long dayes encreaſ'd, nor age leſſe growne,
Runnes round, yet moues not, nor by running's weary,
Was ſtill the ſame, and ſtill the ſame ſhall bee,
That which our grandſirs ſaw, our ſonnes ſhall ſee.

And from hence it is, that a minde well ſeaſoned, like a ſquare body, ſtands vpright in all fortunes.

Sperat infeſtis metuit ſecundis
Alteram ſortem, benè præparatum

Hor. car. lib. 2. od. 10.

Pectus, informes hyemes reducit
Iupiter idem
Summouet, non si malè nunc, & olim
Sic erit.

It hopes in ſtormes, in calmes it feares
A breaſt well arm'd, and both it beares
As Iove the winter backe doth bring,
And then remoues it by the Spring,
Though now the chance that fall be hard,
Yet art thou not from better barr'd.

CAP. 5.

Generall arguments making for the Worlds decay, refuted.

SECT. 1.

The firſt generall objection drawne from reaſon, anſwered.

HOwbeit, as the great *Patriarch* of *Philoſophers* hath taught vs, that *Verum eſt index ſui & obliqui*, Truth may ſerue as a ſquare or rule both for it ſelfe and falſhood, as a right line diſcovers the obliquity of a crooked, yet becauſe

Sen. Medea. Act. 2.
Qui ſtatuit aliquid parte inaudita altera,
Æquum licet ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuit:
Who but one party heares, yet doth decree,
Iuſt is he not, though juſt his ſentence bee.

Let vs ſee what the *Adverſe part* can ſay for themſelues. Their *generall arguments* then for the Worlds decay are drawne, partly from *reaſon*, and partly from *authority*. The *maine argument* drawne from *reaſon*, vpon which all the reſt, in a manner, depend, ſo as I may call it, the *Pole-deede* of their evidence, is this, *That the Creature the neerer it approaches to the firſt mould, the more perfect it is, and according to the degrees of its removall and diſtance from thence, it incurres the more imperfection and weakeneſſe, as ſtreames of a fountaine the farther they runne thorow vncleane paſſages, the more they contract corruption.* For the looſing of which knot, I ſhall craue pardon if I inlarge my ſelfe, and make a *full anſwere* thereunto, conſidering that in the ſtriking off of this head, the *body* of the oppoſite reaſons fall to the ground; and at the ſhaking of this foundation, the whole building totters. *Firſt* then I will examine the truth of this propoſition, *whether every thing the farther it departs from its originall, the more it loſes of its perfection, becauſe* vpon it the weight of the argument is grounded; and *ſecondly I will conſider how iuſtly is is applyed to this preſent purpoſe.* For the *firſt*, whether wee behold the workes of *Art*, or *Nature*, or *Grace*, wee ſhall finde that they all proceede by certaine ſteps from a more imperfect and vnpoliſhed being, to that which is more abſolute and perfect. To begin with the workes of *Grace*; in the courſe of Chriſtianity wee grow both in *knowledge* and *vertue*, in *illumination* and

ſancti-

ſanctification, as the blinde man in the *Goſpell* having recovered his ſight, firſt ſaw men walking like trees confuſedly and indiſtinctly, but afterwards more clearely: in *knowledge* wee grow, *by leaving the principles of the doctrine of Chriſt, and going on vnto perfection, by leaving milke fit for babes, and vſing ſtronger meate belonging to them that are of full age, who by reaſon of an habite, haue their ſenſes exerciſed to diſcerne both good and evill.* In *vertue* wee grow, not onely by adding vertue to vertue, as it were linke to linke; but by increaſing in thoſe vertues, as it were by inlarging the linke, *that the man of God may be made perfect, thorowly furniſhed vnto every good worke.* For the workes of *Arts* wee ſee the *Limmer* to beginne with a rude draught, and the *Painter* to lay his grounds with ſhadowes and darkeſome colours, the *Weaver* out of a ſmall threed, makes a rich & faire peece, and the *Architect* vpon rubbiſh layes a goodly pile of building, which at firſt conſiſts of naked walles, but at laſt is furniſhed with variety of houſhold ſtuffe, and garniſhed with hangings and pictures. Laſtly for the workes of Nature, out of what a confuſed *Chaos* was the goodly Frame of this *world* raiſed? out of what vnworthy little *ſeedes* ſpring the talleſt *trees*, and moſt beautiful *flowres*, nay what a baſe beginning at the firſt Creation had and ſtill hath *Man* himſelfe the *Lord* of the Creatures? ſo as himſelfe even bluſhes to mention it; how impotent and vnable to helpe himſelfe is he brought into the world? how ſlowly doth he come forward to the vſe of his ſenſes, his ſtrength, his reaſon? yet at length by degrees if he liue and be of a ſound conſtitution, he arriues vnto it. By which it appeares, that at leaſtwiſe individuals, in the ſeverall workes both of *Grace*, and *Art*, and *Nature*, the farther they proceede from their originall, the more perfect they are, till they arriue to their ſtate of *perfection*, though heerein they *differ*, that *Art* and *Nature* then decline, but *Grace* is turned into *Glory*.

Hebr. 6. 1.

Hebr. 5. 13. 14

2 Pet. 1. 5.

2 Tim. 3. 17.

And for the *ſpecies* or *kindes* of things, which is it that ſpecially concernes our preſent queſtion, as I cannot affirme that by degrees they grow on ſtill to greater perfection, ſo neither can I finde that they dayly grow more imperfect. For *Grace*, wee know, it was more abundantly powred out by the *incarnation* and *paſsion* of the *Sonne of God* in this *latter age* of the world, then at any time before ſince the *firſt creation* thereof And of *Art* it is commonly thought that neere about the ſame time the *Roman Empire* was at the higheſt; *Souldiers*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Philoſophers*, *Hiſtorians*, *Polititians*, never more excellent, which withall ſhould argue, that *Nature* was at this time rather *ſtrengthened* then *enfeebled*, in as much as both Art and Grace are built vpon *Nature*, I meane the *naturall faculties* of the ſoule, which commonly follow the temper of the body, and the more vigorous they are, the more happily are both *Art* and *Grace* exerciſed by them.

Now for the *application* of the propoſition to the preſent purpoſe touching the Worlds decay, it is evident, that if it were indeed of that force as is pretended, it would therevpon follow, that in the courſe of *Nature*, *Adam* ſhould haue beene the *talleſt* and *longeſt-liu'd* man that ever breathed vpon the face of the earth; whereas notwithſtanding wee reede not of any *Gyants* till a little before the *flood*; and *Noah* who lived

after the *floud*, ſaw *twenty yeares* more then *Adam* himſelfe did, the latter being *nine hundred and fiftie*, and the former but *nine hundred and thirty* yeares olde when he died. Nay *Methuſaleth* the eight from *Adam*, out-ſtripped him by *forty yeares* wanting but one; and wee ſee by daily experience, that a weake or fooliſh father, often begets a ſtrong and a wiſe ſonne; and that the grand-childe ſometimes equalls the age of the father and grand-father both together. If a thouſand *candles* or torches ſhould be ſucceſſiuely lighted one from another, it cannot be diſcerned by their dull or bright burning, which was firſt or laſt lighted, nay the laſt ſometimes yeeldes a brighter light then the firſt, if it meete with matter accordingly prepared. The *water* which runnes a thouſand miles thorow *cleane paſſages*, is every-whit as wholeſome and ſweete at its journeyes end, as when it firſt iſſued from the fountaine. The *ſeede* that is caſt into the earth ſeldome failes to bring forth as good as it ſelfe and ſometimes better, and if at any time it proue worſe, it is not becauſe it is further diſtant from its originall, (which is the very point in controverſie) but becauſe it meetes with a *worſe ſoyle*, or a *worſe ſeaſon*; and the ſoile and ſeaſon are worſe perchance then in *former times*, not by reaſon of the revolution of ſo many ages ſince the Creation, but either by reaſon of *Gods Curſe* vpon ſinne, or ſome other *accidentall cauſe*, which being removed, they returne againe to their natiue & *wonted properties*. For, did they grow worſe and worſe, onely by a *farther diſtance* from their firſt being, then would the *Creatures* haue decayed in *proceſſe of time*, whether *man* had *ſinned* or no, and *man* himſelfe ſhould haue beene of leſſe *ſtrength* and *ſtature* and *continuance*, though hee had not failed in the *temperate* uſe of the *creature*, or of any other meanes making for the *preſervation* of his life and health, which I ſuppoſe the *Patrons* of the adverſe part, will not maintaine; once I am ſure that the *common tenet* of *Divines* is, that whatſoever *defect*, or ſwarving is to be found, in the *nature* either of *man* himſelfe, or the *Creature* made to ſerue him, ariſeth from the *ſin* of *man* alone, as being the onely cauſe of all the jarre and diſorder in the *world*. Now to impute it to *ſin*, and yet withall to affirme that it is occaſioned by the *removall* of the *Creature* from its *primordiall exiſtence*, implies (in my judgment) a manifeſt and irreconcileable *contradiction*.

To conclude; this anſwere, this *axiome*, *vnumquodque quo magis elongatur à ſuo principio, eò magis deficit & langueſcit*: Every thing the farther it is remov'd from its originall, the more faint and feeble it growes, in *violent motion* is moſt true. As an *arrow* ſhot out of a bow, or a dart flung vpward from the hand of a man, the higher they mount, the ſlower they moue; and ſo I conceiue it to haue beene meant by *Ariſtotle*: but in *naturall motions*, as the moving of a ſtone downeward, (and ſuch is rather *Natures* motion in the courſe of the *world*,) the *contrary* is vndoubtedly true, *Creſcit eundo*, the farther it moves, the more ſtrength it gathers, and fortifies it ſelfe in going. Beſides, if the ſtrength of the *hand* could goe along with the *dart*; or if the *bow* with the *arrow*, as the hand and power of GOD leades and preſerues *Nature* in her courſe, keeping it a-working, as the *ſpring* doth the wheeles in a watch or Clocke; there is no queſtion,

queſtion,but their motions would proue as quicke and forcible in the end as at the beginning, and not ceaſe at all before the ſtrength of the *hand* or *bow* which carry them forward were removed from them: Finally,if this axiome were not to be limited, it ſhould equally extend to the *Angels* and the *ſoules of men*,and the *firſt matter*, and the *heavens*,as well as to the ſublunary mixt bodies: but the ſame power which vpholdes and maintaines them, in their *originall ſtate*, ſupports likewiſe the whole body of this inferiour World,together with all the ſeverall *ſpecies* or *kindes* thereof,& did itnot ſo doe,all the *abſurdities* already touched,as *impotency* in that *ſpirit*, which *animates* the *World*, to *ſupport* it; *annihilation* in the courſe of *Nature*, *defect* and *ſwarving* in the *Creature* without the *ſin of man*, *fore-knowledge* of the *worlds end*, and *the end* of it long before this time,would *infallibly* follow therevpon.

SECT. 2.

The ſecond generall objection anſwered,which is that the ſeverall parts of the World decaying, it ſhould argue a conſumption in the whole.

ANother argument drawne from *reaſon*, for the *Worlds decay*, is, that *all the parts of it decay,and by degrees grow to diſſolution, which ſhould likewiſe argue a waſting and lingring conſumption in the whole, ſince there ſeemes to bee the ſame reaſon of the whole which is of all the parts, whereof it conſiſts*.But the *anſwere* hereunto will eaſily appeare out of that which hath already beene deliuered, and by taking a review of the ſeverall parts of the *Vniverſall*. *Firſt* then for the *heauens*, vndoubtedly they feele no ſuch *decay*,either in *ſubſtance*,*quantity*,*motion*,*light*, *warmth* or *influence*,as I hope I ſhall make it manifeſt in the next Chapter; and for the *Elements* what they looſe in regard of their *quantity*, is againe made vp by *equivalence* or *compenſation*,& that in reſpect of their quality they decay not either by being of *leſſe efficacie*,or more *malignant diſpoſitions*,then in former ages,remaines to be ſhewed in their proper place; and *laſtly* for the *bodies mixed* and tempered of the Elements, though it be graunted, that all *individuals* or particulars in time decay or periſh, yet doth it not follow, that the ſame condition ſhould likewiſe bee annexed to the *ſpecies* or kinde which is ſtill preſerved by a new *ſupply* and ſucceſſiue propagation of particulars, not alwayes inferiour to their predeceſſours,which this argument preſumes,but ſometimes excelling, and commonly equalling them in goodneſſe, as hath alwayes beene touched in part, and ſhall hereafter by Gods helpe bee more fully and diſtinctly prooued.

SECT. 3.

SECT. 3.

The third generall objection answered, taken from the authority of S. Cyprian.

THe arguments drawne from *authority*, are either *humane* or *divine testimonies*. Among *humane* is that of *Origen tract.* 28. *super Math.* of *Ambrose* in *Luc. cap.* 21. of *Gregory Homil.* 1ª *in Evang.* who all make the calamities of their times through the world, the infallible symptomes and presages of the great feebleness, and approaching dissolution thereof, which had it beene so, wee had not beene heere at this present to examine the validitie of their allegations: but the testimonie most of all stood vpon, is that of S. *Cyprian*, as well in regard of his great piety and learning, as his neerenesse to the pure and primitiue times of the Church of *Christ*. This holy *Martyr* then, and venerable *Bishop*, grieuing that the *Christian* Religion should be charged with those lamentable accidents, wherewith the World at that time was pressed and shaken, shapes this reply to *Demetrianus* their Accuser: *Illud primo loco scire debes senuisse iam mundum; non illis viribus stare, uibus prius steterat, nec vigore & robore eo prævalere, quo antea prævalebat, hoc enim nobis tacentibus, & nulla de Scripturis sanctis prædicationibus; divinis documenta promentibus, mundus ipse jam loquitur, & occasum sui rerum labentium probatione testatur. Non hyeme nutriendis seminibus tanta imbrium copia est, non frugibus æstate torrendis solis tanta flagrantia est, nec sic verna de temperie sua læta sata sunt, nec adeò arbores fœtibus autumno fœcunda sunt; minus de effossis & fatigatis montibus eruuntur marmorum crustæ, minus argenti & auri opes suggerunt, exhausta jam metalla, & pauperes venæ tenuantur in dies singulos & decrescunt, deficit in agris agricola, in amicitijs cõcordia, in artibus peritia, in moribus disciplina. Putasne tu posse tantam substantiam rei senescentis existere, quantum prius potuit novella adhuc & vegeta juventute pollere? Minuatur necesse est quicquid sine jam proximo in occidua & extrema divergit; sic sol in occasu suo radios minus in claro & igneo splendore jaculatur, sic declinante jam cursu exoletis cornubus Luna tenuatur, & arbor quæ fuerat ante viridis & fertilis, crescentibus ramis sit postmodum sterili senectute deformis, & fons qui exundantibus prius venis largiter profluebat, vix modico sudore distillat. Hæc sententia mundo data est: hæc Dei lex est, vt omnia orta occidant, & aucta senescant, & infirmentur fortia, & magna minuantur, & cùm infirmata & diminuta fuerint, finiantur.* You ought first to haue knowne this, that the World is now waxen old, that it hath not those forces which formerly it had, neither is indued with that vigour and strength wherewith it formerly was, & thus much, though we held our peace, and brought no proofe thereof from holy Scripture and diuine Oracles, the World it selfe proclaimes, and testifies its declination by the experience of all things declining in it. Wee haue not now so great store of showres for the nourishing of our seedes in the Winter, nor in Summer so much warmth of the Sunne for the ripening of our corne. In the Spring, our fields are not so fresh & pleasant, nor in Autumne our trees so loaden with fruits, lesse pieces of marble are hewed

out

out of the exhauſted and tired mountaines , and the emptied Mines yeeld leſſe quantity of gold and ſilver, their veines daylie diminiſhing and decreaſing. The Husbandman is defectiue in manuring the Earth, concord failes in friendſhip,skill in Arts,and diſcipline in manners. Can you imagine that the ſtate of a thing waxing old,ſhould be ſo firme and ſound,as when it flouriſhed in its youth? That muſt needes bee weakened,which(the finall period of it approaching) haſtens to the laſt end. So the Sun when it is ſetting,darts not forth ſo fiery and cleare beames; So the Moone drawing toward the end of her race,drawes in her horns and growes leſſe;and the tree which formerly was greene and fruitfull, her boughes withering,becomes deformed by barren olde age, and the well-ſpring which formerly flowed abundantly with full ſtreames, being dryed vp through age,hardly diſtills a drop of moiſture. This ſentence is paſſed vpon the World, this is the Law which God hath ſet it, that all things that are borne, ſhould die; all that increaſe, ſhould decreaſe;that ſtrong things ſhould be weakned,and great leſſened; & being thus weakned and leſſened,they ſhould at laſt be vtterly diſſolved.

This diſcourſe of *Cyprian*,and the excellent flowres of *Rhetorique* in it, ſhew him to haue beene a ſweete and powerfull *Oratour*, of a great wit, a flowing eloquence: but whether in this he ſhew himſelfe ſo deep a *Philoſopher* or ſound *Divine*,I leaue that to the Reader to judge,and referre his judgement to the future examination of the particulars: onely by the way it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember , that the *Chriſtians* of thoſe times (happily by reaſon aſwell of the bloody perſecutions which preſſed them ſore, as the frequent paſſages both in the Goſpell and Epiſtles,which ſpeake of the ſecond comming ofChriſt,as if it had beene then hard at hand) ſtood in continuall allarums and expectation of the day of Iudgment and the end of the world,as evidently appeares by the very words of *Cyprian* himſelfe in this diſcourſe , and their thoughts ſtill running therevpon, all things ſeemed ſutable therevnto, and to draw towards that end. It cannot be denyed, but thoſe times wherein *Cyprian* lived,were indeed very bitter and miſerable in regard of famine,and warre,and mortality;yet about forty yeares after,it pleaſed *Almighty God* to pacifie thoſe ſtormes, and diſpell thoſe cloudes by the converſion of the renowned *Conſtantine* to the *Chriſtian* Religion, as it had beene by the breaking forth of the Sun beames,ſo as they who ſowed in teares, reaped in joy,at which time had*Cyprian* lived,no doubt he would haue changed his note, his pen would haue as much triumphed in the tranquillity and flouriſhing eſtate of the Church vnder that noble Emperour, as it deplored the torne ſtate of the World in the time wherein himſelfe lived. The former *famine*, and *warre*, and *mortality*,being then by Gods gracious bleſſing,happily turned into *health*, and *peace*,and *plenty*. Hee would then haue tolde you , that whereas before, ſhowres of their blood were powred out for *Chriſt's* ſake; now it pleaſed God to open the windowes of Heaven for the moiſtning and nouriſhing of their ſeedes , that as *Chriſt* the *Sonne* of *Righteouſneſſe* was acknowledged as the *Saviour* of the World, and the ſhining beames of the *Goſpell* diſplayed themſelues: ſo the Sunne in the firmament had recovered

covered its warmth and ſtrength for the ripening of their corne ; that as the outward face of the *Church* was become beautifull and glorious, ſo the very fieldes ſeemed to ſmile, and to receiue content therein by their freſh & pleaſant hue; that as men brought forth the fruits of *Chriſtianity* in greater abundance, ſo their trees were more plentifully loaden with fruits; that as the rich mines of *Gods word* were farther ſearched into, ſo new veines of marble, and gold, and ſilver were diſcovered; that *Chriſtian* Religion having now gotten the vpper hand, had made the *Husbandman* and *Artificer*, more carefull and induſtrious in their callings, had opened the *Schooles* for *Profeſſours*, in all kinde of learning, had reſtored wholeſome *diſcipline* in manners, & *faithfulneſſe* in friendſhip. Finally, he would haue tolde you, that the world with the *Eagle* had now caſt her worne bill and ſicke feathers, and vpon the entertainment of *Chriſt*, and his *Goſpell*, was growne young againe. Which I am the rather induced to beleeue, for that *Cyprian* himſelfe in the ſame diſcourſe againſt *Demetrianus*, in another place referres the diſaſters of thoſe times to the obſtinacie of the world, in not receiving the truth of *Chriſtianity*, and ſubmitting it ſelfe to the yoake of *Chriſt Ieſus*. A more likely and certaine cauſe doubtleſſe then that other of the worlds imaginary olde age and decay : His words are theſe. *Indignatur ecce Dominus & traſcitur, & quod ad eum non convertamini comminatur, & tu miraris & quereris, in hac obſtinatione & contemptu veſtro ſi rara deſuper pluvia deſcendat, ſi terra ſitu pulveris ſqualleat, ſi vix jejunas & pallidas herbas ſterilis gleba producat, &c.* Beholde, the Lord is angry, and threatens, becauſe you turne not vnto him, and doſt thou wonder or complaine, if in this your obſtinacie & contempt, the raine ſeldome fall, the earth be deformed with duſt, & the land bring forth hungry & ſtarved graſſe, if the haile falling doe ſpill the vine , if the over-turning whirle-winde doe marre the Oliue, if drought dry vp the ſprings, if peſtilent dampes doe corrupt the aire, if diſeaſes conſume men, when all theſe things come by ſins provoking, & *God* is the more offended, ſince ſuch and ſo great things doe no good at at all. And the ſame reaſon is vpon the like occaſion yeelded by *Lactantius*, *Diſcite igitur ſi quid vobis reliquæ mentis eſt, homines ideo malos & injuſtos eſſe quia dij coluntur: & ideo mala omnia rebus humanis quotidiè ingraveſcere, quia Deus mundi hujus effector & gubernator derelictus eſt, quia ſuſceptæ ſunt contra quàm fas eſt impiæ religiones: poſtremò quia ne vel à paucis quidem coli deum ſinitis.* Learne thus much then (if you haue any vnderſtanding left) that men are therefore wicked & vnjuſt, becauſe ſuch Gods are worſhipped, and that ſuch miſchiefes dayly befall thē, becauſe God the Creator & Governour of the world is foraken by thē, becauſe impious religions againſt all right are entertained of them; finally, becauſe you will not permit the worſhip of the true God ſo much as to a few. Heere then was the true cauſe of their bloody warres, that they ſhed the innocēt bloud of Chriſtians, & trampled vnder foote the precious bloud of *Chriſt*; as their warres, together with the vnkindly ſeaſon, were the cauſe of dearth and famine, & both *famine* & *warre* of *peſtilence* and *mortalitie:* how frequently and fervently doth the Scripture beate vpon this cauſe , *God* every-where promiſing

ſing to reward the obedience of his people with plenty and peace, and kindly ſeaſons, & their rebellion with ſcarcitie & ſicknes, & the ſword. But that theſe ſcourges of the world were at any time cauſed by, or imputed to the old age or decay thereof, to my remembrance we nowhere read. As then the referring of theſe plagues with *Demetrianus* and the Gentiles to the curſe of God vpon Chriſtian Religion, was a blaſphemous wrong to Gods truth: So with *Cyprian*, to referre them to the old age and naturall decay of the world, (bee it ſpoken with all due reverence to ſo great a light in the Church of God) is in my judgment an aſperſion vpon the *Power and providence*, and *juſtice of God*. And *Pammelius* in his annotations to excuſe *Cyprian* heerein (conceiuing belike that he was not in the right) tells vs that therein he alludes to the opinion of the ancient *Philoſophers* & *Poets*: perchance thereby intending *Lucretius* the great admirer and ſectary of *Epicurus*, who of all the Poets I haue met with hath written the moſt fully in this argument.

Lucret. l. 2. verſus finem.

Iamque adeò effœta eſt ætas, effœtaque tellus:
Vix animalia parva creat, quæ cuncta creavit
Sæcla, deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.
Haud (vt opinor) enim mortalia ſæcla ſuperne
Aurea de cœlo demiſit funis in arva:
Nec mare, nec fluctus plangentes ſaxa creârunt:
Sed genuit tellus eadem, quæ nunc alit ex ſe.
Prætereà nitidas fruges, vinetaque læta,
Sponte ſuâ primum mortalibus ipſa creavit:
Ipſa dedit dulces fœtus, & pabula læta.
Quæ nunc vix noſtro grandeſcunt aucta labore:
Conterimuſque boves, & vires agricolarum:
Conficimus ferrum vix arvis ſuppeditati:
Vſque adeò parcunt fœtus, augentque labores.
Iamque caput quaſſans grandis ſuſpirat arator
Crebriùs incaſſum magnum cecidiſſe laborem:
Et cum tempora temporibus præſentia confert
Præteritis, laudat fortunas ſæpè parentis:
Et crepat, antiquum genus vt pietate repletum
Perfacile anguſtis tolerârit finibus ævum,
Cum minor eſſet agri multo modus ante viritim:
Nec tenet, omnia paulatim tabeſcere, & ire
Ad ſcopulum ſpacio ætatis defeſſa vetuſto.

The world with age is broke, the earth out-worne,
And ſhee of whom what ever liues was borne
And once brought forth huge-bodied beaſts, with paine
A ſmall race now begets. No golden chaine
Theſe mortalls downe from Heaven to earth did let,
As I ſuppoſe: nor ſea, nor waues that beat
The rockes did they create, t'was earth did breed
All of her ſelfe, which now all things doth feed.
The chearefull vine ſhee of her owne accord,
Shee corne to mortall wights did firſt afford:

Sweet

Sweet fruites beſide and food did ſhee beſtow,
Which now with labour great doe hardly grow:
The plough-ſwanes ſtrength wee ſpend,our oxen weare;
When we our fields haue ſowne,no crop they beare;
So wax our toyles,ſo waneth our reliefe,
The husband ſhakes his head,and ſighes for griefe,
That all his travels fruſtrate are at laſt.
And when times preſent he compares with paſt,
Hee his Sires fortune raiſes to the skie,
And much doth talke of th'ancient pietie,
And how though every man leſſe ground poſſeſt,
Yet better liv'd with greater plenty bleſt.
Nor markes how all things by degres decay
And tir'd with age towards the rocke make way.

But heerein *Lucretius* likewiſe contradicted himſelfe in other places of the ſame booke,and had the world beene indeede ſo neare its laſt breathing as it were, and giving vp of the Ghoſt, as *Cyprian* would make it in his time,much more as *Lucretius* in his: vndoubtedlv it could never haue held out by the ſpace of almoſt fourteene hundred yeares ſince the one,and aboue ſixteene hundred ſince the other, and how long it is to laſt,he only knowes, who hath put the times and ſeaſons in his owne power.

SECT. 4.

The ſame authority of Cyprian *farther anſwered by oppoſing againſt it the authority of* Arnobius, *ſupported with ponderous and preſſing reaſons.*

NOw becauſe this authority of *Cyprian* is it which prevailes ſo much with ſo many,it ſhall not bee amiſſe to oppoſe therevnto that of *Arnobius*, not naked and ſtanding vpon bare affirmatiō as doth that of*Cyprian*,but backt with weighty and forcible arguments: A very renowned both Oratour and Philoſopher he was,the Maſter of *Lactantius*,and diverſe other very notable and famous men, and being preſſed by the *Gentiles* of his time with the ſame objection againſt Chriſtian Religion,as was *Cyprian* by *Demetrianus*, hee ſhapes vnto it an anſwere cleane contrary, by ſhewing that all the fundamentall and primordiall parts of the world, as the heauens and elements remained ſtill entire ſince the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, as before they were;and for other calamities of famine and warres,and peſtilence,and the like,the common ſcourges of the world, they had beene as great or greater in former ages, and that before the name of Chriſtianity was heard of in the world, then at that time they were. His Latine, becauſe the allegation is long , and in ſome places it ſavours of the African harſhnes,I will ſpare,and onely ſet downe the Engliſh.

Adverſus Gentes non procul à principio.

And firſt of all in faire and familiar ſpeech this we demaund of theſe men: ſince the name of Chriſtian Religion began to be in the world, what vncouth, what

what vnusuall things, what against the Lawes instituted at the beginning hath Nature, as they terme and call her, either felt or suffered? Those first Elements whereof it is agreed that all things are compounded, are they changed into contrary qualities? Is the frame of this engine and fabricke which covereth and incloseth vs all in any part loosed or dissolued? Hath this wheeling about of Heaven swarving from the rule of its primitiue motion either begun to creepe more slowly, or to be carried with headlong volubility? Doe the Starres begin to raise themselues vp in the West, and the Signes to incline towards the East? The Prince of Stars the Sun whose light cloatheth, and heat quickneth all things, doth he cease to be hot, is hee waxen cooler, and hath hee corrupted the temper of his wonted moderation into contrary Habits? Hath the Moone left off to repaire herselfe, and by continuall restoring of new to transforme herselfe into her old shapes? Are colds, are heats, are temperate warmths betweene them both by confusion of vnequall times gone? Doth Winter beginne to haue long dayes, and Summer nights to call backe the sloweſt lights? Haue the winds breathed forth their spirits as having spent their blasts? Is not the aire straitned into clouds, and doth not the field being moistned with showres wax fruitfull? Doth the Earth refuse to receiue the seedes cast into her? Will not trees budde forth? Haue fruites appointed for foode by the burning vp of their moisture changed their taſt? Doe they presse gore bloud out of oliues? Are lights quenched for want of supplie? The Creatures enured to the land, and that liue in waters, do they not gender and conceiue? The young ones conceived in their wombs do they not after their owne manner and order conserue? To conclude, Men themselues whom their first and beginning nativity dispersed through the vnhabited coasts of the Earth, doe they not with solemne nuptiall rights couple themselues in wedlocke? Do they not beget most sweete offsprings of children? Doe they not manage publicke, private, and domesticall businesses? Doe they not every one as he pleaseth by diverse sorts of arts and disciplines direct their wits, and studiously repay the vse of their nativity? Do they not reigne, do they not commaund to whom it is allotted? Do they not every day more increase in the like dignities and power? Do they not sit in judgment to heare causes? Doe they not interpret lawes and statutes? Do they not publickely vse all other wayes whereby the life of man is held in and kept in compasse, all according to the orders and customes of the countrey in their severall nations? these things therefore being so, and that no novelty hath broken in to interrupt the perpetuall tenor of things by severing and discontinuing them: What is it that they say, Confusion is brought vpon the world since Christian religion entred into it, and discovered the misteries of hidden verity? But the Gods, say they, exasperated with your injuries and offences bring vpon vs pestilences, droughts, scarcity of corne, locusts, mice, haile, and other hurtfull things assaulting the affaires of men. Were it not follie longer to insist vpon things evident and needing no defence, I would soone by vnfolding former times demonstrate that the evills yee speake of are neither vnknowne nor sudden, nor that these confusions brake in, nor that mortall businesses began to be infested with such varietie of dangers, since our Society obtained the happinesse of this name to be bestowed vpon them. For if wee be the cause, and for our demerits these plagues were invented, whence knew antiquity these names of miseries, whence gaue it signification to warres? With what knowledge could it name the Pestilence and

Haile? or assume them into the number of those words wherewith they vttered their speech? For if these evills be new, and drawe their causes from late offences, how could it bee that it should forme words to those things whereof it selfe neither had experience, nor had learnt that they were in any time done? Scarcitie of corne and extreame dearth distresseth vs. What? were the ancient and eldest ages at any time free from the like necessity? Do not the very names by which these evils are called testifie and crie that never any mortall man was priviledged from it? Which were it a matter so hard to beleeue, I could produce the testimonies of authours, what nations, how great, how often haue felt horrible famine, and haue beene destroyed with a great desolation. But stormes of Haile fall very often, and light on all things. And do wee not see it registred and recorded in ancient writings that countries haue often beene battered with showers of stones? Want of raine killes vp the corne, and makes the earth vnfruitfull; And was antiquity free from these evills, especially seeing wee know that huge riuers haue beene dried vp to the very bottome? The contagion of pestilence vexeth Mankinde; Runne over the Annalls written in severall tongues, and yee shall learne that whole countries haue oftentimes beene made desolate, and emptied of inhabitants. All kinde of graines are destroyed and devoured by locusts, by mice; Passe through forraine histories, and they will informe you how often former times haue beene troubled with these plagues, and brought to the miseries of poverty, Citties shaken with mighty earthquakes tottered even vnto ruine. What? Haue not former times seen Citties together with the inhabitants swallowed vp in huge gaping clefts of the earth? Or haue they had their estate free from these casualties? when was mankinde destroyed with deluges of waters? not before vs? when was the world burnt & dissolved into embers & ashes? not before vs? when were mighty cities overwhelmed by the seas inundation? not before vs? when did they make warre with wilde beasts, and encounter with Lyons? not before vs? when were people plagued with venomous serpents? not before vs? For that yee vse to object vnto vs the causes of so often warres, the laying wast of Citties, the irruption of Germans and Scythians, I will by your good leaue and patience bee bold to say, that yee are so transported with desire to slander, that yee know not what it is yee say. That vpward of ten thousand yeares agoe a huge swarme of men should breake out of that Iland of Neptune, which is called Atlantick, as Plato declares, and vtterly destroy and consume innumerable nations, were wee the cause? That the Assyrians and Bactrians sometimes vnder the leading of Ninus and Zoroastres should warre one against the other, not onely with sword and strength, but also by the hidden artes of Magick, and the Chaldeans, was it our envie? That Helena by the direction and impulsion of the Gods was ravished and became a fatall calamity both to her owne and future times, vvas it attributed to the crime of our religion? That the great and mighty Xerxes brought in the sea vpon the land, and past over the seas on foote, was it done through the injury of our name? that a yong man rising out of the borders of Macedon, brought the kingdome and people of the East vnder the yoke of captivity and bondage, did vvee procure and cause it? That now the Romans should like a violent streame drowne and overwhelme all nations, did vvee forsooth thrust the Gods into the fury? Now if no man dare to impute to our times the things that vvere done long since: how can vvee be the causes of the present

miseries,

miſeries, ſeeing there is no new thing falne out, but all are ancient and not vnheard of in any antiquity? although it bee not hard to proue that the warres which yee ſay are raiſed through the envie of our religion, are not onely not increaſed ſince Chriſt was heard of in the world, but alſo for the greater part (by repreſſing mans furiouſneſſe) leſſened. For ſeeing wee ſo great a multitude of men haue learned by his inſtruction and lawes, that wee are not to requite evill for evill, that it is farre better to ſuffer then to do wrong, rather to ſhed a mans owne then to pollute his hand and conſcience with the bloud of another: the vngratefull world hath ere while received this benefit from Chriſt, by whom the fierceneſſe and wildneſſe of nature is tamed, and they haue begun to reſraine their hoſtile hands from the bloud of the creature Kinne vnto thē. Certainely if all who know, that to bee men ſtands not in the ſhape of bodies, but in the power of reaſon, would liſten a while vnto his wholeſome and peaceable decrees, and not puffed vp with arrogance and ſelfe-conceit, rather beleeue their owne opinions then his admonitions: the whole world long agoe (turning the vſe of iron vnto milder workes) ſhould haue liued in moſt quiet tranquillity, and haue met together in a firme and indiſſoluble league of moſt ſafe cōcord. But if, ſay they, through you the ſtate of man ſuffereth no diſadvantage, whence are thoſe evils wherewith now a long time miſerable mortality is afflicted and oppreſſed? You aske my opinion in a matter not neceſſary to to this buſineſſe. For the preſent diſputation now in hand was not vndertaken by mee to this end, to ſhew or proue vpon what cauſes or reaſons each thing was done, but to manyfeſt that the reproch of ſo great a crime as wee are charged with, is farre from vs, which if I performe, and by deedes and evident remonſtrances vnfold the truth of the matter, whence theſe evils are, or out of what fountaines or principles they proceede, I care not. For what if the firſt matter, digeſted into the foure elements of all things, containe wrapped vp in its rotations the cauſes of all miſeries? what if the motions of the ſtarres by certaine ſignes, parts, times, lines produce theſe evils, and bring vpon things ſubject vnto them neceſſities of diverſe ſorts? what if in ſet times the viciſſitude of thing fall out, and as it is in the motions of the ſea, ſometime there is a flow of proſperity, ſometime it ebbeth backe againe, and evils returne in the roome thereof? What if the dregges of this matter which wee treade vnder out feet haue this law given vnto it, to breath forth moſt noyſome vapours, wherewith this aire being corrupted ſhould both infect the bodies and diſable the endeavours of men? what if (which indeede is neareſt vnto truth) whatſoever ſeemeth croſſe vnto vs, is not evill to the world it ſelfe: and that wee perſwading our ſelues that all things are done for our benefits, do by reaſon of our wicked opinions wrongfully accuſe the event of nature? Plato the higheſt top and chiefeſt pillar of philoſophers, maintaineth in his commentaries, that thoſe fearefull invndations and conflagrations of the world, are the purging of the earth: neither was that wiſe man affraid to call the ſubverſion, ſlaughter, ruines, deſtruction and funeralls of mankind, an innovation of things, and that thereby repareing their ſtrength, they recover a certaine youth againe. Heaven, ſaith hee, raines not, and wee labour of I know not of what ſcarcity of corne. What? doſt thou require that the Elements ſerue thy neceſſities? and to the end thou mayſt liue more daintily and delicately, that the times obſequiouſly apply themſelues to thy commodities? What if hee that is deſirous of

navigation complaine in the like sort that now a long time there are no windes, and that the blasts of Heaven are ceased. Must wee say therefore that such tranquillity of the world is pernicious, because it hinders the desires of passengers? What if any who haue beene accustomed to tosse himselfe in the sunne, and to procure drinesse to his body, should in like manner complaine that the pleasure of faire and cleare weather is by very often cloudinesse taken away? Must the clouds therefore bee sayd as enemies to hang and ouer-spread the skie, because thou canst not at thy pleasure frie thy selfe at the flames, and prepare occasions for drinking? All these events which come to passe and fall out vnder the cope of Heaven are to bee weighed not by our petty commodities but by the reasons and orders of nature it selfe. Neither if any thing happeneth which touch vs and our affaires but with vnwelcome successe, is it forthwith evill, and to be accounted noxious. Whether the world raine or not raine, it raineth or not raineth to it selfe, and which happily thou knowest not, either it consumes away the too much moysture with the fervencie of drought, or tempers the drought of a very long time with the pouring out of raine. It sendeth pestilences, diseases, famines, and other formes of evills threatning destruction: how dost thou know whether so it take away that which is superfluous, and by its owne losses set a measure to the riot and excesse of things? Darest thou say this or that is evill in the world, the originall and cause whereof thou art not able to vnfold and resolue? and because happily it hinders the pleasures of thy delights and lustes, wilt thou say it is pernicious and cruell? what then? If cold bee contrary vnto thy body, and vse to congeale the heat of thy bloud, must not winter therefore bee in the World? And because thou canst not endure the fervent heate of the Sunne, must the Summer bee taken out of the yeare? and nature againe bee ordered by other lawes? Hellebore is poyson vnto men: ought it not for this cause to bee brought forth? The wolfe layes waite for the flocke of sheepe: is nature in the fault which hath bred so troublesome a beast vnto those fleecie creatures? The biting of the Serpent taketh away life: shall I therefore speake evill of the first beginnings of things because they haue added so cruell monsters vnto living Creatures? It is too arrogant a part, seing thy selfe art not thine owne, and liuest in possession of another, to presume to prescribe to those that are mightier then thy selfe; and to require that that be done which thou desirest, not that which thou findest by ancient constitutions already setled in things. Wherefore if you men will haue your complaints to take place, it is requisite yee first teach vs whence or what yee are: whether this world be made and framed for you, or ye came as strangers vnto it out of other Countries. Which seing you are not able to tell, & you cannot resolue vs for what cause you liue vnder this hollow vault of Heaven: leaue off to suppose that any thing belongeth vnto you, seeing the things that are done, are not alike done, but are to be reckened & accounted in the summe intended in the whole. By reason of Christians, say they, these evils are come and the gods send these calamities vpon corne. I demand when yee say these things, do ye not see how desperately vvith open and manifest lies yee slander vs? It is now three hundred yeares more or lesse, since wee Christians began to be, and beare this name in the World: haue there beene all these yeares continuall wars, continuall dearths? hath there bin no peace at all in the Earth, no cheapenes, no plenty of things? For he that accuseth vs must first of all demonstrate that these calamities haue beene

perpetuall

perpetuall & continuall, that mortall men haue never had any breathing time, & that without any holy-dayes, as they say, haue endured the formes of manifold dangers. But do we not see in these middle-yeares & middle times, that enumerable victories haue beene obtained over conquered enemies? that the territories of the Empire haue bin enlarged, & Nations whose names were never heard of, bin brought into subiection? that oftentimes the yeares haue yeeded marvellous great increase, and such cheapenesse and plenty of things, that there was no buying or selling at all, the prices of things being so much fallen? For how could things be done, and how could mankinde continue vntill this time, if fertility & plenty did not supply all whatsoever neede required? But some times heretofore haue beene in neede & necessity, and they haue beene recompenced againe with abundance. Againe some warres haue beene waged against our will, and they haue afterwards beene corrected by victories and good successe. What then shall wee say? that the gods are sometimes mindfull of our miseries, and sometimes againe vnmindfull? If at what time there is Famine it bee sayd they are angry, it followeth that in time of plenty they are not angry nor displeased: and so all is brought to this issue, that by turnes they lightly lay aside and take vp their angers, and by remembrance of offences returne afresh vnto them againe. Although what that is which they say seemes to bee inexplicable, and cannot be knowne or vnderstood. If therefore they would haue the Almans; Persians, Scythians subdued, because Christians did dwell and liue among these Nations: Why did they giue the Romans the victory seeing Christians dwelt and liued among their Nations also. If it were their pleasure that mice and locusts should therefore swarme in Asia & Syria, because in like manner Christians dwelt in those Nations: why did they not at the same time swarme in Spaine & France seeing innumerable Christians liued in these Provinces also? If for this very cause they send drought vpon the corne and barrennesse among the Getulians and them of Aquitaine: why did they the same yeare giue such plentifull harvests to the Moores and Numidians, the like Religion being setled in these Countries also? If in any one Citty they haue caused through the hatred of our name very many to perish with famine: why in the same place haue they through the dearenesse of all provision made not onely those that are not of our body, but even true Christians also much more the richer & wealthier? It behoued therefore that either none should haue had any thing that was comfortable, if wee be the cause of Evils, for wee are in all Nations: or seeing yee see that things profitable are mingled with those that are incommodious, leaue off at length to ascribe that vnto vs which impeacheth your estates, since we be no hindrance at all to your wealth and prosperity.

Orosius likewise the scholler of Saint *Augustine* shapes in a manner to the same objection of the *Gentiles* the same answere as doth *Arnobius*, though short yet full: *Recolant sane mecum majorum suorum tẽpora bellis inquietissima, sceleribus execrabilia, dissensionibus fœda, miserijs continuatissima; quæ & merito possunt horrere quia fuere, & necessario debent rogare, ne sint, eum sane rogare solum deum, qui & tunc occulta justitia permisit vt fierent, & nunc aperta misericordia præstat vt non sint.* I wish that together with mee, they would recount the times of their ancestours restlesse in warres, hatefull in wickednesse, in dissensions shamefull, never without miseries; which they may justly abhorre, because they were; and haue Lib. 2. cap. 3

reaſon to pray that they may not bee; him I ſay they ought to pray who then by his ſecret juſtice permitted them to bee, and now by his notable mercy brings to paſſe that they be not.

SECT. 5.

The fourth obiection anſwered, which is borrowed from the authority of Eſdras.

THat which yet farther diſables the validity of this teſtimony of *Cyprian*, is that in the opinion of *Sixtus Senenſis*, a learned Writer, he borrowed it from the *Apocryphall Eſdras*. For *Canonicall Scripture*, he ſeemes indeed to glance at the name thereof by the way, but alleages none; And if *Senenſis* had thought that any booke of the *Canon* had favoured this opinion of *Cyprian*, hee would never haue ſent vs to *Eſdras*, but ſince the appeale is made to *Eſdras*, to *Eſdras* let vs goe. Hee then in his fourth booke and fifth Chapter, v. 51.52.53.54.& 55. thus ſpeakes of this matter. *Hee anſwered mee and ſaid, aske a woman that beareth children; and ſhee ſhall tell the: ſay vnto her, wherefore are not they whom thou haſt now brought forth like thoſe that were before, but leſſe of ſtature? and ſhe ſhall anſwer thee: they that be borne in the ſtrength of youth, bee of one faſhion, and they that be borne in the time of age when the wombe faileth are otherwiſe. Conſider thou therefore alſo, how that yee are leſſe of ſtature then they that were before you, and ſo are they that come after you leſſe then ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and haue paſsed over the ſtrength of youth.* Now as others depend vpon the authority of *Cyprian*, ſo *Cyprian* himſelfe depending vpon this of *Eſdras*, it will not I hope be thought either *vnſeaſonable* or *impertinent*, if wee a little examine the weight thereof. Firſt then, it is certaine that this booke is not to be found either in *Hebrew* or *Greeke*, neither is it by the *Tridentine Councell* admitted into the *Canon*, & no doubt but vpon very ſufficient reaſon is it excluded both by them and vs, in regard of the doctrines which it teacheth, manifeſtly repugnant to the rules of *orthodoxe faith*; as in the *fourth* and *ſeventh* Chapter it teacheth, that *the ſoules of the Saints departed this life are detained as it were impriſoned in certaine cels & vauts of the Earth vntill the number of the elect be accompliſhed, and that then they ſhall receiue their Crownes of glory altogether, and not before*. In the ſixt Chapter hee tels vs a moſt ridiculous vnſavoury tale, of two vaſte Creatures made vpon the firſt day of the Creation; the one called *Enoch*, or *Behemoth*, and the other *Leviathan*. In the *ſeventh* he deriues his pedegree from *Aaron*, by *nineteene* generations, whereas the true *Eſdras*, or *Eſras* deriues his but by *fifteene*. And to bring it home ſomewhat neerer to our purpoſe. In the *fourteenth* chapter hee ſhewes himſelfe manifeſtly a *falſe Prophet*, touching the *Conſummation* of the *world*, which (ſayth hee) *hath loſt his youth, and the times begin to wax old: for the world is divided into twelue parts, and tenne parts of it are gone already, and halfe of a tenth part, and there remaineth that which is after the halfe of the tenth part.* So that by his computation dividing the whole time of the *worlds duration* into twelue equall portions, onely one and a halfe were then remaining; which had it beene true,

Bibliioth. ſanct. Lib. 1.

true, the world ſhould haue ended almoſt fifteene hundred yeares agoe. For the time from the worlds Creation to *Eſdras*, (according to the *Scriptures* calculation) containes about *three thouſand foure hundred* and *ſeuenty yeares*, and this ſumme of yeares containes *ten parts* & *an halfe* of the *twelue*, allotted for the whole duration of the world, whence it conſequently followes, that the reſidue of the time from *Eſdras* to the *worlds end*, could not exceede the number of *fiue hundred yeares*: and yet from *Eſdras* to this preſent yeare of the *Lord*, *one thouſand ſix hundred twenty ſix*, wee finde there are paſſed almoſt *two thouſand yeares*.

Heerevnto may be added the ſharpe, but well deſerved, Cenſure of *Iunius* in his preface to the *Apocryphall bookes*. *Nihil habet Eſdræ, quam falſo emendicatum nomen & iniuriâ maximâ: Authorem enim quem puduit ſui operis, longè amplius debuerat puduiſſe cum ſuis ſomnijs nomen tanti viri præfigeret, & impudenter Eccleſiam vellet fallere.* Hee hath nothing in him worthy of *Eſdras*, but only a borrowed name and that moſt iniuriouſly aſſumed Hee was aſhamed of his owne name, but hee ſhould rather haue ſhamed to prefixe the name of ſo worthy a man before his dreames, and thereby attempt the deceiuing of the *Church*. And againe in his *annotations* on the *firſt chapter* of that booke, *Quis vero huic libro tantam fidem deinceps arroget, quæ in ipſa fronte nævos tam immanes & in re tam evidenti mendacia tam puerilia, ne quid gravius dicam, animadvertit? Quiſquis es qui hunc librum legis, ſume authoritatem probandi atque iudicandi ſermones ejus, non enim obſtringit fidem tuam illius authortas, ſiqua eſt in tam craſſis erroribus.* Who will hereafter giue credit to this booke, who obſerues in the very forehead of it ſo notorious blemiſhes, and in a matter ſo evident, (not to ſay worſe of it) ſo childiſh lies? Whoſoever thou art that readeſt this booke, take to thy ſelfe authority of trying and judging his ſpeeches; for his authority cannot binde thy Credence, if there be any in ſuch groſſe errours. It ſhall not bee amiſſe then to follow this adviſe of *Iunius*, and to bring this counterfeit to the touch-ſtone, whereby wee ſhall eaſily diſcerne, that both the *ground* he aſſumes is *vnſound*, and his *illation* from thence deduced *inconſequent*. His *ground is that children borne or begotten in old age, are alwayes weaker then thoſe in youth*: Whereas *Iſaack* borne of *Sarah* when ſhe was now ſo old that ſhee was thought both by others and her ſelfe to be paſt conceiving, and begotten by *Abraham* when his body was now dead, was for any thing we finde to the contrary of as ſtrong & healthfull a conſtitution as *Iaacob* borne in the ſtrength of *Iſaack* and *Rebecca*. And *Ioſeph* or *Benjamin* as able men as *Reuben*, though *Iaacob* in his bleſſing call him, *The beginning of his ſtrength and the excellencie of power*, as being his firſt begotten. Nay often wee ſee that the *youngeſt* borne in *age* not equalls onely but excells both in wit and ſpirit, and ſtrength and ſtature the *Eldeſt* borne in *youth*. So vnſure and ſandy is this *ground*, and for his *inference* drawne from thence, it is no leſſe *vnwarrantable* and *inſufficient*. There being in the reſemblance betwixt a *woman* and the *world* as large a difference, as in the diſſimilitude betwene the fruite of the one and the generations of the other: The one taking her beginning by the *courſe of nature* in weakeneſſe and ſo growing to perfection & ripeneſſe,

Gen. 18. 11

Rom. 4. 19.

Gen. 49. 3.

ſhee

ſhee quickely declines and haſtens to diſſolution. Shee muſt neceſſarily expect the tearme of yeares certaine before ſhee can conceiue her fruite, and then againe at the end of certaine yeares ſhee leaues to conceiue. Whereas the other being created immediately by a *ſupernaturall power*, was made in the very firſt moment (that it was fully made) in full perfection, which except it be for the ſinne of man, it never loſt, nor by any force of ſubordinate cauſes poſſiblely could or can looſe. The quickening efficacy of that word, *Creſcite & multiplicamini*, though delivered many thouſand yeares ſince, is now as powerfull in *beaſts*, in *plants*, in *birds*, in *fiſhes*, in *men*, as at firſt it was. And thus much this *falſe Prophet* ſeemes himſelfe to acknowledge in the chapter following, where he thus brings in the Lord ſpeakeing vnto him; *All theſe things were made by mee alone, and by none other: by mee alſo they ſhall be ended, and by none other.* And if they ſhall be ended *immediately* by the hand of the *Almighty*, as *immediately* by it they were made, then doubtleſſe there is no ſuch *naturall decay* in them, which would at laſt without the concurrence of any ſuch *ſupernaturall power* bring them to a *naturall diſſolution*, no more then there was any *naturall* forerunning *preparation* to their *Creation*. And thus wee ſee, how this *Goliah* hath his head ſtricken off with his owne ſword, and this lying Prophet condemned out of his owne mouth. I haue dwelt the longer vpon this examination, becauſe I finde that the teſtimony drawne from this *Counterfeit* was it that in appearance miſled both *Cyprian* and *Ambroſe* (who in his booke *de bono mortis cap.* 10. in plaine termes alludes to the fore-alleaged paſſage of *Eſdras*) and all their teſtimonies together, that which hath yeelded the principall both *confidence* and *countenance* to the *Aduerſe part*.

Cap. 6. 6.

SECT. 6.

The laſt objection anſwered pretended to be taken from the authority of holy Scripture.

AS the teſtimony taken from *Eſdras* wants *authority*. ſo thoſe which are drawne from *authority* of *ſacred* and *Canonicall Scriptures* want right *explication* and *application*. Whereof the firſt that I haue met with, are thoſe miſconſtrued words of the *Prophet Iſaiah, the world languiſheth and fadeth away*, or (as ſome other tranſlations reade it,) *The world is feebled and decayed* Which by *Iunius* and *Tremelius* are rendred in the future tence, *Languebit, Concidet orbis habitabilis*, and are vndoubtedly to bee referred to the deſtruction and deſolation of thoſe Nations againſt which hee had in ſome Chapters precedent, denounced the heavy judgment of God, As the *Moabites*, *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, *Syrians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Ethiopians*, *Babylonians*, and the *Iſralites* themſelues. *Iunius* thus rightly ſumming the chapter, *Propheta ſummã contrahit judiciorum quæ ſupra denunciaverat*, The Prophet recapitulates or drawes into one head or ſumme the iudgments which before hee had denounced at large, and in particular; which comming from the

juſtice

iuſtice and *immediate* hand of *God* for *ſin* vpon a *part* of the *world*, can in no ſort bee referred to the *ordinary courſe of Nature* in regard of the *Vniverſall*.

That which carries with it ſome more colour of Reaſon is, that by S^t *Paul*, *The Creature is ſayd to be ſubiect to vanity, to the bondage of corruption, to groaning, and to trauelling in paine*: All which ſeeme to imply a decay and declination in it: But in the judgement of the *ſoundeſt Interpreters*, the *Apoſtle* by *vanity* and *bondage of corruption*, meanes, *firſt*, that *impurity*, *infirmity*, and *deformity*, which the *Creature* hath contracted by the fall of man; *Secondly*, the daily *alteration* and *change*, nay *declination* and decay of the *Individuals* and particulars of every kinde vnder heaven; *Thirdly*, the *deſignation* & haſting of the kindes or *ſpecies* themſelues to a *finall* & *totall* diſſolution by fire; And *laſtly*, the *abuſe* of them, tending to the *diſhonour* of the *Creator*, or the hurt of his *ſervants*, or the *ſervice* of his *enimies*: All theſe may not improperly bee tearmed *vanity* and a *bondage of corruption*, vnder which the *Creature groaneth* and *trauelleth*, wiſhing and waiting to be delivered from it. Rom. 8. 20. 21. 22.

But that of S. *Peter* is it which is moſt of all ſtood vpon, where hee brings in the *prophaine ſcoffers* at *Religion*, and eſpecially at the *article* of the *worlds conſummation*, thus queſtioning the matter; *where is the promiſe of his comming? For ſince the Fathers fell aſleepe, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the Creation.* But in truth that place, if it bee well weighed, rather makes againſt the *worlds ſuppoſed decay* then for it, in as much as if the *Apoſtle* had knowne or acknowledged any ſuch *decay* in it, it is to be preſumed, that being invited, and in a manner forced therevnto by ſo faire and fit an occaſion, hee would haue *preſſed* it againſt thoſe ſcoffers, or in ſome ſort haue *expreſſed* himſelfe therein. But ſince hee onely vrges the *Creation* of the world, and the *overwhelming* of it with water, to proue that the ſame *God*, who was the *Authour* of both thoſe, is as able at his pleaſure to vnmake it with fire; it ſhould ſeeme he had learned no ſuch *divinity*, as the *worlds decay*, or at leaſtwiſe had no ſuch *aſſurance* of it, and *warrant* for it, as to teach it the *Church*; Nay in the 7 verſe of the ſame chapter, he tells vs, that *the heavens and earth which art now, are by the ſame word, by which they were Created, kept in ſtore and reſerved to fire.* It was not then their averring, that things continued as they were, that made them *ſcoffers*, but their *irreligious inference* from thence, that the world neither had *beginning* neither ſhould haue *ending*; but all things ſhould allwayes continue as formerly they alwayes had done. And thus much may ſuffice for the conſideration of the *worlds decay* in *Generall*, it reſts now that wee deſcend to a diſtinct view of the *particulars*, amongſt vvhich the *Heavens* firſt preſent themſelues vpon the *Theatre*, as being the moſt *glorious* and *operatiue* bodies, and ſeated in the moſt *eminent* roome. 2. Pet. 3. 4. v. 5. 6.

LIB. II.

Of the pretended decay of the Heavens and Elements, and Elementary Bodies, Man onely excepted.

CAP. 1.

Touching the pretended decay of the Heavenly Bodies.

SECT. 1.

First of their working vpon this inferiour World.

Psal. 19 1.

SVCH and so great is the *wisdome*, the *bounty*, and the *power* which *Almighty God* hath expressed in the frame of the *Heavens*, that the *Psalmist* might justly say, *The Heavens declare the power of God*; the *Sun*, and the *Moone*, and the *Starres* serving as so many silver and golden *Characters*, embroidered vpon azure for the dayly preaching and publishing thereof to the World. And surely if hee haue made the *floore* of this great House of the World so beautifull, and garnished it with such wonderfull variety of beasts, of trees, of hearbes, of flowers, wee neede wonder lesse at the magnificence of the *roofe*, which is the highest part of the World, & the neerest to the Mansion House of *Saints* and *Angels*. Now as the excellencie of these Bodies appeares in their *situation*, their *matter*, their *magnitudes*, and their Sphericall or *Circular figure*: so specially in their great *vse* and *efficacie*, not onely that they are for *signes* and *seasons*, and for *dayes* and *yeares*, but in that by their *motion*, their *light*, their *warmth*, & *influence*, they *guide* and governe nay cherish and maintaine, nay *breed* and beget those inferiour bodies, even of man himselfe, for whose sake the Heavens were made. It is truly said by the Prince of *Philosophers*, *Sol & homo generant hominem*, the Sunne and man beget man, man concurring in the generation of man as an *immediate*, and the Sunne as a *remote* cause. And in another place he doubts not to affirme of this inferiour World in generall, *Necesse est mundum inferiorem superioribus lationibus continuari, vt omnis inde virtus derivetur*: it is requisite, that these inferiour parts of the World should be conjoyned to the motions of the higher Bodies, that so all their vertue and vigour from thence might be derived. There is no question, but that the *Heavens* haue a marvailous great stroake vpon the *aire*, the *water*, the *earth*, the *plants*, the *mettals*, the *beasts*, nay vpon *Man* himselfe, at leastwise in regard of his *body* and *naturall faculties*: so that if there can bee found any *decay* in the *Heavens*, it will in the *course* of Nature, and *discourse* of reason consequently follow, that there must of necessity ensue a *decay* in all those which depend vpon the *Heavens*: as likewise on the other side, if there be found *no decay*

Gen. 1. 14

in

in the *Heavens*, the presumption will be strong, that there is *no such decay* (as is supposed) in these *Subcœlestiall Bodies*, because of the great sympathy and correspondence which is knowne to be betweene them by many and notable experiments. For to let passe the quailing & withering of all things, by the *recesse* and their reviving and resurrection (as it were) by the *reaccesse*, of the Sunne: I am of opinion that the sap in trees so precisely followes the motion of the *Sun*, that it never rests, but is in continuall agitation as the *Sun* it selfe: which no sooner arriues at the *Tropick*, but he instantly returnes, and even at that very instant (as I conceiue, and I thinke it may bee demonstrated by experimentall conclusions) the sappe which by degrees descended with the declination of the *Sun*, begins to *remount* at the approach thereof by the same steps that it *descended*: and as the approach of the *Sun*, is scarce sensible at his first returne, but afterward the day increases more in one weeke, then before in two; in like manner also fares it with the *sap* in plants, which at first ascends *insensibly* and slowly, but within a while much more swiftly and *apparantly*. It is certaine, that the *Tulipp*, *Marigold*, and *Sun-flower* open with the rising, and shut with the setting of the *Sun*; so that though the Sunne appeare not, a man may more infallibly know when it is high noone by their full spreading, then by the *Index* of a Clocke or Watch. The *hop* in its growing, winding it selfe about the pole, alwaies followes the course of the *Sun* from East to West, and can by no meanes bee drawne to the contrary, choosing rather to breake then yeeld.

It is observed by those that saile betweene the *Tropicks* that there is a constant set winde blowing from the *East* to the *West*, saylers call it the *Breeze*, which rises and falls with the *Sunne*, and is alwayes highest at noone, and is commonly so strong, partly by its owne blowing, and partly by over-ruling the Currant, that they who saile to *Peru*, cannot well returne home the same way they came forth: And generally, Marriners obserue, that *cæteris paribus* they sayle with more speede from the *East* to the *West*, then backe againe from the *West* to the *East*, in the same compasse of time. All which should argue a wheeling about of the aire, and waters, by the diurnall motion of the *Heavens*, and specially by the motion of the *Sun*. Wherevnto may be added, that the high *Sea-springs* of the yeare are alwaies neere about the two *Æquinoctials* and *Solstices*, and the *Cocke* as a trusty watch man, both at midnight and breake of day giues notice of the *Sunnes* approach.

These be the strange and secret effects of the *Sunne*, vpon the inferiour Bodies, whence by the *Gentiles* he was held the visible *God* of the World, and tearmed the *eye* thereof, which alone saw all things in the World, and by which the World saw all things in it selfe.

Omnia qui videt, & per quem videt omnia mundus.

And most notably is hee described by the *Psalmist*, *in them hath he set a Tabernacle for the Sun, which is as a bridegroome comming out of his chamber, & rejoyceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the Heaven, and his circuite vnto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heate thereof.* Psal. 19. 4, 5, 6.

Now as the effects of the *Sun*, the head-spring of light and warmth,

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are vpon theſe inferiour Bodies more actiue: ſo thoſe of the *Moone*, (as being *Vltima cælo, Citima terris*, neerer the Earth, and holding a greater reſemblance therewith) are no leſſe manifeſt. And therefore the *husbandman* in ſowing and ſetting, graffing and planting, lopping of trees, and felling of timber, and the like, vpon good reaſon obſerues the waxing & waning of the *Moone*: which the learned *Zanchius* well allows of, commending *Heſiod* for his rules therein. *Quod Heſiodus ex Lunæ decrementis & incrementis totius agricolationis ſigna notet, quis improbet?* who can miſlike it; that *Heſiod* ſets downe the ſignes, in the whole courſe of husbandry from the waxing and waning of the Moone? The tydes and ebbes of the Sea follow the courſe of it, ſo exactly, as the *Sea-man* will tell you the age of the Moone onely vpon the ſight of the tide, as certainely, as if hee ſaw it in the water. It is the obſervation of *Ariſtotle* and of *Pliny* out of him, that oyſters, and muſſels, & cockles, and lobſters, & crabbs, & generally all ſhell-fiſh grow fuller in the *waxing* of the *Moone*, but emptier in the *waning* thereof. Such a ſtrong predominancie it hath even vpon the braine of Man, that *Lunatickes* borrow their very name from it, as alſo doth the ſtone *Selenites*, whoſe property, as S. *Auguſtine* and *Georgius Agricola* record it, is to increaſe and decreaſe in light with the Moone, carrying alwayes the reſemblance thereof in it ſelfe. Neither can it reaſonably be imagined that the other *Planets* & *Starres*, and *parts of Heaven*, are without their forcible operations, vpon theſe lower Bodies, ſpecially conſidering that the very plants and hearbes of the Earth which we tread vpon, haue their ſeverall vertues, as wel ſingle by themſelues, as in compoſition with other ingredients. The *Phyſitian* in opening a veine, hath ever an eie to the *ſigne* then raigning. The *Canicular ſtarre* ſpecially in thoſe hotter Climates, was by the Ancients alwayes held a dangerous enimy to the practiſe of *Phyſicke* and all kinde of Evacuations. Nay *Galen* himſelfe, the *Oracle* of that profeſſion, adviſed practitioners in that Art, in all their Cures to haue a ſpeciall regard to the raigning *Conſtellations* & *Conjunctions* of the *planets*. But the moſt admirable *myſtery* of *Nature*, in my mind, is the turning of yron touched with the *loadſtone*, toward the *North-pole*, of which I ſhall haue farther occaſion to intreate, more largely in the chapter touching the compariſon of the wits and inventions of theſe times with thoſe of former ages. Neither were it hard to adde much more, to that which hath beene ſayd, to ſhew the dependance of theſe *Elementary* Bodies vpon the *heavenly*, ſpecially out of *Cornelius Gemma* his *Coſmocritices* or *de divinis naturæ Charactariſmis*, and *Mizaldus* his *Harmonia ſuperioris naturæ mundi & inferioris, vna cum admirabili fœdere & Sympathia rerum vtriuſq;*. *Almighty God* having ſo ordained, that the higher ſhould ſerue as *intermediate Agents*, or *ſecondary Cauſes*, betweene himſelfe and the lower: And as they are linked together in a *chaine* of order, ſo are they likewiſe *chained* together in the *order* of *cauſes*, but ſo as in the wheeles of a Clocke, though the failing in the *ſuperiour*, cannot but cauſe a failing in the *inferiour*, yet the failing of the *inferiour*, may well argue though it cannot cauſe a failing in the *ſuperiour*. Wee haue great reaſon then, as I conceiue, to begin with the *Examination* of the ſtate of *Celeſtiall bodies*, in as much as vpon it the

De operibus Dei.

Ariſt. l. 4. de partibus animalium. cap. 5
Plin. lib. 2. c. 41. & 99.
De civit. Dei lib. 21. c. 5.
De natura Foſſil. lib. 5.

in 3. de diebus Criticis

the condition of the *ſubcœleſtiall* wholly depends. Wherein fiue things offer themſelues to our conſideration: Their *ſubſtance*, their *motion*, their *light*, their *warmth*, and their *influence*.

SECT. 2.

Touching the pretended decay in the ſubſtance of the Heavens.

TO finde out whether the *ſubſtance* of the *heavenly bodies* bee *decayed* or no, it will not be amiſſe a little to inquire into the nature of the and *forme*, of which that *ſubſtance* conſiſts, that ſo it may appeare, *matter* whether or no in a naturall courſe, they be capable of ſuch a ſuppoſed decay. That the Heavens are endued with ſome kinde of *matter*, (though ſome *Philoſophers* in their jangling *humour*, haue made a doubt of it, yet I thinke no ſober and wiſe *Chriſtian* will deny it: But whether the *matter* of it bee the ſame with that of theſe *inferiour bodies*, *adhuc ſub Iudice lis eſt*; it hath beene, and ſtill is, a great queſtion among Divines. The ancient *Fathers* and Doctours of the *Primitiue Church*, for the moſt part following *Plato*, holde that it agrees with the *matter* of the *Elementary Bodies*, yet ſo as it is compounded of the fineſt flowre, and choiſeſt delicacy of the *Elements*: But the *Schoole-men* on the other ſide, following *Ariſtotle*, adhere to this *Quinteſſence*, and by no meanes will bee beaten from it, ſince (ſay they) if the *Elements* and the heauens ſhould agree in the ſame matter, it ſhould conſequently follow, that there ſhould bee a mutuall traffique and commerce, a reciprocall action, and paſſion betweene them, which would ſoone draw on a change, and by degrees, a ruine vpon thoſe glorious Bodies. Now though this point will never (I thinke) be fully and finally determined, till wee come to bee inhabitants of that place, whereof wee diſpute, (*for hardly doe we gueſſe aright at things that are vpon earth, & with labour doe we finde the things that are at hand, but the things which are in heaven, who hath ſearched out?*) Yet for the preſent, I ſhould *ſtate* it thus, that they agree in the ſame originall matter; and ſurely *Moſes* mee-thinkes, ſeemes to favour this opinion, making but one matter, (as farre as I can gather from the text) out of which, all *bodily ſubſtances* were created.

Lib. 1. de Cœlo, cap. 2.

Wiſdome 9. 16.

Vnus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe. 1. Metamorph.

So as the heavens, though they bee not compounded of the *Elements*, yet are they made of the ſame matter that the *Elements* are compounded of. They are not ſubject to the qualities of *heat*, or *cold*, or *drought*, or *moiſture*, nor yet to *weight*, or *lightneſſe*, which ariſe from thoſe qualities. but haue a *forme* giuen them, which differeth from the *formes* of all corruptible Bodies, ſo as it ſuffereth not, nor can it ſuffer from any of them, being ſo excellent and perfect in it ſelfe, as it wholly ſatiateth the appetite of the *matter* it informeth. The *Cœleſtiall Bodies* then, meeting with ſo noble a *forme* to actuate them, are not, nor cannot in the *courſe of nature*, bee lyable to any *generation* or *corruption*, in regard of their *ſubſtance*, to any *augmentation* or *diminution* in regard of their *quan-*

tity, no, nor to any *destructiue alteration* in respect of their *qualities*.

I am not ignorant that the controversies, touching *this forme* what it should bee, is no lesse then that touching the *matter*; Some holding it to bee a living and quickning *spirit*, nay a sensitiue and reasonable *soule*, which opinion is stiffely maintained by many great & learned Clarkes, both *Iewes*, and *Gentiles*, & *Christians*, supposing it vnreasonable, that the heavens which impart *life* to other bodies, should themselues bee destitute of *life*: But this *errour* is notablely discovered and confuted by *Claudius Espencæus*, a famous *Doctour* of the *Sorbone*, in a *Treatise* which hee purposely composed on this point; In as much as what is denied those Bodies in *life*, in *sense*, in *reason*, is abundantly supplyed in their constant and vnchangeable *duration*, arising from that inviolable knot, and indissoluble marriage, betwixt the *matter* & the *forme*, which can never suffer any divorce, but from that hand which first joyned them. And howbeit it cannot be denyed, that not onely the *reasonable* soule of man, but the *sensitiue* of the least gnat that flyes in the aire, and the *Vegetatiue* of the basest plant that springs out of the earth, are (in that they are indued with life) more divine and neerer approaching to the fountaine of life, then the formes of the heavenly Bodies; yet as the *Apostle* speaking of *Faith*, *Hope*, & *Charity*, concludes *Charity* to be the greatest; (though by faith wee apprehend & apply the merites of *Christ*) because it is more *universall* in operation, and *lasting* in duration; so though the *formes* of the *Creatures* endued with life doe in that regard, come a step neerer to the *Deity*, then the formes of the heavenly Bodies, which are without life; yet if wee regard their *purity*, their *beauty*, their *efficay*, their *indeficiencie* in moving, their *Vniversality* and *independencie* in working, there is no question, but the *Heavens* may in that respect bee preferred, even before *man* himselfe, for whose sake they were made; *Man* being indeed immortall in regard of his soule, but the heavens in regard of their Bodies, as being made of an *incorruptible* stuffe.

De Cœlorum animatione.

Which cannot well stand with their opinion, who held them to bee composed of *fire*, or that the *waters* which in the first of *Genesis*, are said to bee *aboue the firmament*; and in the *hundred fortie and eight Psalme*, *aboue the Heavens*, are aboue the *heavens* wee now treate of, for the tempering and qualifying of their heat, as did *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Augustine*, & many others, venerable for their *antiquity*, *learning*, & *piety*. Touching the *former* of which opinions, we shall haue fitter oportunity to discusse it at large, when wee come to treate of the warmth caused by the Heavens. But touching the *second*, it seemes to haue beene grounded vpon a mistake of the word *Firmament*, which by the Ancients, was commonly appropriated to the eight spheare, in which are seated the fixed starres, whereas the originall *Hebrew* (which properly signifies *Extention*, or *Expansion*) is in the first of *Genesis*, not onely applyed to the *Spheres* in which the Sunne and Moone are planted, but to the *lowest region of the aire*, in which the birds flie, and so doe I with *Pareus* & *Pererius* take it to bee vnderstood in this controversie. This *region of the aire* being (as S. *Augustine* somewhere speakes) *Terminus intransgressibilis*, a firme and immoveable wall of separation betwixt the waters

Hexam. l. 2. c. 3. De civit. Dei. l. 11. c. vlt.

v. 15. v. 20.

that

that are bred in the *bowels* of the earth, and thoſe of the *Cloudes*: and for the word *heaven*, which is vſed in the hundred forty and eight *Pſalme*, it is likewiſe applyed to the *middle region of the aire* by the *Prophet Ieremy*, which may ſerue for a *Gloſſe* vpon that text, alleaged out of the *Pſalme*. *When he vtterreth his voice there is a noiſe of waters in the heavens, and hee cauſeth the vapours to aſcend from the ends of the earth.*

Now the *Schoolemen* finding that the placing of waters aboue the ſtarry heavens, was both *vnnatnrall* and *vnvſefull*, and yet being not well acquainted with the property of the *Hebrew* word, to ſalue the matter, tell vs of a *Chriſtalline* or glaſſie heaven, aboue the eight ſphere, which, ſay they, is vndoubtedly the *waters aboue the firmament* mentioned by *Moſes*; which expoſition of theirs, though it do not inferre a *decay* in the *heavenly bodies*, yet doth it croſſe the courſe of *Moſes* his *hiſtoricall* narration, his purpoſe beeing, as it ſeemes, onely to write the *hiſtory* of things which were *viſible* and ſenſible, as appeares in part by his omitting the Creation of *Angels*, whereas the *Chriſtalline* heaven they ſpeake of, is not onely *inviſible* and inſenſible, but was not at all diſcovered to be, till the dayes of *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy*. Since then the *heavens* in regard of their *ſubſtance*, are altogether free (for any thing yet appeares,) from any *mixture* or *tincture* of the *Elements*, being made of an *incorruptible* and *inalterable quinteſſence*, which neither hath any cõflict in it ſelfe, nor with any other thing without it, from thence may wee ſafely collect that it neither is, nor can bee ſubject to any ſuch *decay* as is *imagined*.

SECT. 3.

An objection drawne from Iob, *anſwered.*

HOwbeit the deſerved curſe of *God*, deprived the earth of her fertility, in bringing forth without the ſweate of *Adam*, and his offſpring, yet I finde not that it ſtretcheth to the *Starres*, or that any thing aboue the *Moone* was altered or changed, in reſpect of *Adams* fault, from the firſt perfection. *Non rectè dicunt qui aſſerunt factos corruptibiles Cælos propter peccatum hominis, aut in deterius mutatos & contaminatos.* They ſay not true who affirme that the heavens were made corruptible by the ſinne of man, or changed for the worſe: or any way polluted. *Lorinus ex Chriſoſt.* True indeede it is which *Eliphaz* teacheth, that *the heavens*, and *Bildad*, that the *Starres are not cleane in Gods ſight*: it may bee becauſe of the fall of *Angels*, the *inhabitants of heaven*, whom therefore *hee charged with folly*: Which expoſition, *Iunius* ſo farre favours, as inſtead of *Cælum*, hee puts *Cælites*, into the very body of the *text*: But in my judgment it would haue better ſorted with the *Margin*, in as much as by *Cælites*, wee may vnderſtand either *Saints* or *Angells*, both Cittizens of heaven, either in actuall *poſſeſſion*, or in certaine hope and *expectation*; in poſſeſſion, as Angels and Saints departed, in expectation, as the Saints heere in warfaire on the earth: And of thoſe doth *Gregory* in his *Moralls* on *Iob*, expound the place, *hoc cælorum nomine*

Iob. 15. 15. & 25. 5.

Iob. 4. 18.

Cap. 15. 15.

mine repetijt, quod Sanctorum prius appellatione signavit, saith hee: *Iob* repeates that by the name of Heaven, which before hee expressed vnder the name of Saints. And thus both he and S. *Augustine* expound that of the nineteenth Psalme, *The Heavens declare the glory of God.* And with them most of the *Ancients*, that petition of the *Lords Prayer*, *Thy will bee done on earth as it is in heaven.* But what neede we flie to *allegories*, and figuratiue sensses, when the *letter* of the *text* will well enough stand with the *analogie of faith*, the *texts* of other *Scriptures*, and the *rule* of *sound reason.* The very *materiall heavens* then, may not vntruly or vnproperly bee said, to be *vncleane in Gods sight.* First, *Quia habent aliquid potentialitatis admixtum*, as *Lyra* speakes, they haue some kinde of potentiality, (I know not how otherwise to render his word) mixed with them, hee meanes in regard of their *motion*, and the *illumination* of the *Moone* and *Starres* from the *Sunne.* But *chiefly*, as I take it, they are said to bee *vncleane*, not considered in *themselues*, but in *comparison* of the *Creatour*, who is *Actus purissimus & simplicissimus*; all *Act*, and that most pure, not onely from *staine* and pollution, but all kinde of *impotency*, *imperfection*, or *Composition* whatsoever. And in this sense the very blessed and glorious *Angels* themselues, which are of a substance farre purer then the *Sunne* it selfe, may bee saide to be *vncleane in his sight*, in which regard the very *Seraphins* are said, *to cover their faces and feete with their wings.* But to grant that the heavens are become *vncleane*, either by the fall of *man* or *Angels*, yet doth it not follow (as I conceiue) that this *vncleannesse* doth *daily increase* vpon them, or, which is in truth the point in controversie, that *they feele any impairing by reason of this vncleannesse*, it being rather *imputatiue* (as I may tearme it) then reall and *inherent.* *Nonne vides cælum hoc*, saith *Chrysostome*, *vt pulchrum, vt ingens, vt astrorum chorea varium? quantum temporis viguit? quinque aut plus annorum millia processerunt, & hæc annorum multitudo ei non adduxit senium; Sed vt corpus novum ac vegetum floridæ virentisque juventæ viget ætate: Sic cælum, quam habuit à principio pulchritudinem semper eadem permansit, nec quicquam tempus eum debilitavit.* Dost not thou see the heavens, how faire, how spacious they are, how be-spangled with diverse constellations? how long now haue they lasted? fiue thousand yeares or more are past, and yet this long duration of time hath brought no olde age vpon them; But as a body new and fresh, flourisheth in youth: So the heavens still retaine their beauty, which at first they had, neither hath time any thing abated it. Some errour or mistake doubtlesse there is in *Chrysostomes* computation, in as much as he lived aboue 1200 yeares since, and yet tells vs, that the world had then lasted aboue 5000 yeares; but for the truth of the matter hee is therein seconded by all the schoole-Divines; *Corpora cœlestia peregrinæ impressionis non sunt receptiva* (sayth *Thomas:*) the Heavenly Bodies are not capable of any forraine impression: neither can *Beza* (as appeares in his annotations on the 8 Chapt. to the *Rom.* v. 19.) finde any other vanity in the Heavens, but this, that they serue Gods enemies, and are in the last day to bee dissolved. *Si verò Cœlestia Corpora consideres, quamvis adhuc sit incredibilis eorum ornatus, tamen & ipsa non possint ex-*

Isay 6. 2.

Apud Augustinum Steuchum, l. 10. de Perenni Philosophia.

Sup. 3. p. q. 74. a. 4.

expertia dici iſtius vanitatis quum impijs etiam & Dei hoſtibus inſerviant, & tandem quoque ſint vltimo illo die diſſolvenda : As for the heavenly bodies, though their luſtre bee yet exceeding glorious, yet are they not altogether free from this vanitie, ſince they are forced to ſerue the wicked and Gods enemies; and finally at the laſt day ſhall bee diſſolved. Now had this graue Divine conceived any ſuch decay in the heavenly bodies, as is pretended he could not well haue had offered a fairer occaſion to haue expreſſed himſelfe therein: but among thoſe of the reformed Churches none hath written in this point more clearely and fully then *Alſtedius* in his preface to his naturall divinity. *Tanta eſt hujus palatij diuturnitas atque firmitas, vt ad hodiernum vſque diem ſupra annos quinquies mille & ſexcentos ita perſtet, vt in eo nihil immutatum diminutum, & diuturnitate temporis vitiatum conſpiciamus.* Such, ſaith he, and ſo laſting is the duration and immoveable ſtability of this palace, that being created aboue 5600 yeares agoe, yet it ſo continues to this day, that we can eſpy nothing in it changed, or waſted, or diſordered by age, and tract of time.

SECT. 4.

Another objection taken from Pſalme the 102 *anſwered.*

ANother text is commonly and hotly vrged by the Adverſe part, to like purpoſe as the former, and is in truth *the onely argument of weight*, drawne from *Scripture* in this preſent queſtion, touching the *heavens decay* in regard of their *Subſtance*. In which conſideration wee ſhall be inforced to examine it ſomewhat the more fully. Taken it is from the hundred and ſecond Pſalme, and the wordes of the *Prophet* are theſe. *Of olde thou haſt laide the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the worke of thine hands. They ſhall periſh, but thou ſhalt endure: yea all of them ſhall waxe olde as doth a garment, as a veſture ſhalt thou change them, and they ſhall be changed: But thou art the ſame, and thy yeares ſhall haue no end.* To which very place vndoubtedly, the *Apoſtle* alludes in the firſt to the *Hebrewes*, where he thus renders it, *Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laide the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the workes of thine hands. They ſhall periſh, but thou remaineſt, and they ſhall waxe olde as doth a garment, and as a veſture ſhalt thou fold them vp, and they ſhall bee changed: But thou art the ſame, and thy yeares ſhall not faile.* In which paſſages, the words which are moſt ſtood vpon and preſſed, are thoſe of the *growing old of the heavens like a garment*, which by degrees growes bare till it bee torne in pieces, and brought to ragges. S. *Auguſtine* in his *Enarration* vpon this *Pſalme*, according to his wont, betakes him to an *Allegoricall* Expoſition, interpreting the *heavens* to bee the *Saints*, and their bodies to bee their garments wherewith the ſoule is cloathed. And theſe garments of theirs, ſaith he, *waxe olde and periſh*, but ſhall bee *changed* in the reſurrection, and made conformable to the glorious body of *Ieſus Chriſt*. Which expoſition of his is *pious* (I confeſſe) but ſure-

v. 25. 26. 27.

v. 10. 11. 12.

ly not *proper*, ſince the *Prophet* ſpeakes of the *Heavens*, which had their beginning together with the *earth*, and were both principall peeces in the great Worke of the Creation. Neither can the *regions of the aire*, bee heere well vnderſtood, (though in ſome other places they be ſtiled by the name of the *heavens*) ſince they are ſubject to continuall variation and change, and our *Prophets* meaning was, as it ſhould ſeeme, to compare the *Almighties vnchangeable eternity*, with that which of all the viſible Creatures was moſt ſtable and ſtedfaſt. And beſides, though the *aire* be indeede the worke of *Gods* hands, as are all the other Creatures, yet that phraſe is in a ſpeciall manner applyed to the *ſtarry heavens*, as being indeed the moſt exquiſite and excellent peece of workemanſhip that ever his hands fram'd. It remaines then, that by *heavens* heere, wee vnderſtand the *lights of heaven*, thought by *Philoſophers* to bee the thicker parts of the ſpheres, together with the ſpheres themſelues, in which thoſe lights are fixed and wheeled about. For that ſuch *ſpheres* and orbes there are, I take it as granted, neither will I diſpute it, though I am not ignorant, that ſome later writers thinke otherwiſe, and thoſe, neither few in number, nor for their knowledge vnlearned. But for the true ſenſe of the place alleadged, wee are to know that the word there vſed to *wax old*, both in *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and *Latin*, doth not neceſſarily imply a *decay* of impairing in the ſubject ſo *waxing old*, but ſometimes doth only ſignifie a *farther ſtep* and acceſſe to a finall period in regard of duration. Wee haue read of ſome, who being well ſtriken in yeares, haue renewed their teeth, and changed the white colour of their haire, and ſo growne young againe. Of ſuch it might truely be ſaide that they grew *elder* in regard of their neerer approach to the determinate end of their race, though they were *yonger* in regard of their conſtitution and ſtate of their bodies. And thus doe I take the *Apoſtle* to be vnderſtood, *That which decayeth and waxeth olde, is ready to vaniſh away*; where he ſpeakes of the *Ceremoniall law*, which did not *grow olde* by degrees, at leaſt before the incarnation of *Chriſt*, but ſtood in its full force and vigour, vntill it was by him abrogated and diſanulled. To which purpoſe *Aquinas* hath not vnfitly obſerved vpon the place, *Quod dicitur vetus ſignificat quod ſit prope ceſſationem*, the tearming of a thing *olde*, implyes *that it haſtens to an end*. This then (as I take it) may truly be affirmed of the ſignification of the word in generall and at large, and may juſtly ſeeme to haue beene the *Prophets* meaning, in as much as hee addeth, *But thou art the ſame, and thy yeares ſhall haue no end*. From whence may bee collected, that as *God* cannot *grow old*, becauſe *his yeares ſhall haue no end*; ſo the *heavens*, becauſe *they ſhall haue an end*, may be therefore ſaid *to grow old*. But whereas it is added, not onely by the *Pſalmiſt*, but by the *Apoſtle* in preciſe tearmes, *They ſhall waxe olde as doth a garment*, and againe, as a *Veſture ſhalt thou change them*; the doubt ſtill remaines, whether by that addition, the ſenſe of the word, bee not reſtrained to a graduall & *ſenſible decay*. I know it may be ſaid, that *a garment* waxing olde, not onely looſes his *freſhneſſe*, but part of his quantity and weight, it is not only ſoiled, but waſted either in lying or wearing, & ſo in continuance of time, becomes vtterly vnſerviceable, which no man, I think,

Pſal. 19. 1. 3. 8.

Heb. 8. 13.

will

will aſcribe to the *heavens*, I meane, that their *quantity* is any way diminiſhed. All agree then, that the *Similitude* may be ſtrained too farre, as the wringing of the noſe bringeth forth blood, and the wreſting of a ſtring too high, marres the muſicke: but yet the queſtion ſtill remaines, how it is to be vnderſtood, and how farre wee may ſafely extend it. For to ſay that *waxing old* in that paſſage is onely to be vnderſtood of a nearer approach to an alteration, or an aboliſhment, ſeemes to be too colde an interpretation, in as much as then needed not the *Prophet* to haue added for a clearer explication of his minde, in the manner of their waxing old, *as doth a garment*: it reſts then to be ſhewed, as I conceiue, wherin the ſimilitude ſtands, which the *Interpreters* I haue met with, doe not ſufficiently vnfold, and thoſe that vndertake the vnfolding of it, runne vpon the rockes by publiſhing harſh and vnwarrantable poſitions; Meethinkes the *Pſalmiſt* himſelfe giues ſome light vnto it, *Thou covereſt thy ſelfe*, ſaith he, *vvith light as vvith a garment, and ſtretcheſt out the heavens like a Curtaine*: his meaning then, in my judgment, may be this, that the *Heavens*, which for their *expanſion*, may well be compared to a *Curtaine* or *garment*, ſhall *vvax old*, the compariſon ſtanding betweene the *heavens* and a *garment*, not in regard of their *deficiencie*, but their *ſpreading*, the heavens covering this inferiour world, as a garment doth the body it is ſpread over. Or if the compariſon ſtand in their *deficiencie*, which ſeemes, I confeſſe, the more *kindly expoſition*; to my ſeeming, *Aquinas* in few words looſeth the knot, *ſicut veſtimentum*, ſaith hee, *quod ſumitur ad vſum, & ceſſante vſu deponitur*. The heavens then ſhall *vvaxe old* as doth a *garment*, in that their vſe ſhall ceaſe together with man, as doth the vſe of a *garment* with him that vſeth it. Which *expoſition* hee ſeemes to haue borrowed from *Dydimus*, blinde in his bodily eyes, but in his minde ſharpe-ſighted, *quod canit Pſaltes, veteraſcent & mutabuntur, deſignat eorum vſum abiiſſe & defeciſſe: Vt enim indumentum vbi officio functum fuerit obvolvitur: ſic cælum ac terræ functæ muneribus ſuis abibunt*. In that the *Pſalmiſt* profeſſeth, They ſhall waxe olde and be changed; his meaning is, when there ſhall be no further vſe of them: For as a *garment* having performed that vſe to which it was ordained, is folded vp and layde aſide: ſo the heaven and the earth having finiſhed thoſe ſervices, for which they were created, ſhall vaniſh and paſſe away. And vpon this Comment of *Dydimus*, *Eugubinus* thus commenteth: *Hoc autem ſummus docet Theologus primum mundum antiquandum, vetuſtate & ſenio interiturum, ſed non eo ſenio quo res mortales corrumpuntur atque abolentur, in cælo tale ſenium nullum eſt, ſed alium quoddam cujus ſimilitudo ex veſtibus oſtenditur, cum deponimus eas vbi nobis eſſe vſui deſiiſſent, tanquam inutiles eas exuimus atque obvolvimus, ſic mundus, id eſt cælum, non eo delebitur quod eâdem vetuſtate atque omnia animalia & arbores, aliquando ſit defecturus, ſed quia ceſſabit vſus ejus quo rerum tantos ordines peragebat.* The purpoſe of this great Divine was, to teach, that the Heavens ſhould waxe olde and conſume with age, but not with ſuch an olde age, as that by which things mortall ſuffer corruption and diſſolution. In heaven there is no ſuch waxing old to be found, but another kinde there is, the reſemblance whereof is taken from garments, when wee put them off, as haPſal 104. 2

Lib. 10. De Perenni Philoſophia.

ving

ving no further vſe of them,laying them aſide,and folding them vp: In
3. like manner the heaven ſhall not therefore bee diſſolved,becauſe it ſhal
at any time ſuffer defect thorow that olde age, which beaſts and plants
feele,but becauſe the vſe of it ſhall ceaſe, by which it keepes theſe infe-
riour bodies in due order.And perchance the *Apoſtle* himſelfe,rendring
Heb.1.12. the wordes of the *Pſalmiſt*,intends as much, *As a veſture ſhalt thou folde*
them vp: as the curtaines, and carpets, and hangings are folded vp, and
laide aſide when the family remoues. Which ſeemes likewiſe to haue
34.4. beene fore-told by the *Prophet Iſaiah*: the *heavens ſhall be rolled together as*
a ſcrolle, and they ſhall paſſe away with a noyſe,ſaith *S. Peter*, like *the hiſsing of*
2.Pet.3.10. *parchment,riveled vp with heat*, for ſo ſignifies the *originall* word in that
place.Howſoever they ſhall not *wax olde* by the *courſe of nature*, but by
the *mightie power of the God of Nature*, hee that created them, ſhall diſ-
ſolue them,and nothing elſe; which the *Prophet* ſeemes to point at in
this very paſſage,*Tu mutabis & mutabuntur*,*thou* ſhalt change them, not
Nature,but *thou* ſhalt change,and they ſhall be changed. Finally, *Bellar-*
mine in his Commentaries on that *Pſal.*and paſſage tells vs ; that the
words may be expounded,*ex hypotheſi*,by way of ſuppoſition thus : *etiam-*
ſi Cæli veteraſcerent, mutarentur, & perirent, tu idem ſemper maneres;
though the heavens ſhould waxe olde , bee changed and periſh , yet
ſhouldeſt thou ſtill remaine one and the ſame; thus (ſayeth hee) in the
Goſpell,when it is ſaide, *Mat.*5.18.*till Heaven and earth paſſe,one jote,or*
title ſhall in no wiſe paſſe from the Law,till all be fulfilled. Wee haue the ſenſe
thereof more clearely expounded *Luke* 16.17: *it is eaſier for Heaven and*
earth to paſſe,then one title of the Law to fade. Now the *Pſalmiſt* being taken
in this ſenſe,no ſuch poſitiue or abſolute decay in the Heavens can bee
inferred from the place as is imagined. And as for that freſh luſtre and
brightneſſe,wherewith (as is commonly thought) the Heavens ſhall be
renewed at the laſt day,as a *garment* by turning is *changed*, and by chan-
ging refreſhed,it may well bee by making them more reſplendent then
now they are,or ever at any time were ſince their firſt *creation*, not by
ſcowring off of contracted *ruſt*,but adding a *new gloſſe* and augmentati-
on of glory.And whereas ſome *Divines* haue not doubted to make the
ſpots and ſhadowes appearing in the face of the *Moone* to be vndoubted
arguments of that contracted *ruſt*,if thoſe ſpots had not beene *originall*
and natiue, of equall date with the *Moone* her ſelfe, but had beene con-
tracted by age & continuance of time,as wrinkles are in the moſt beau-
tifull faces,they had ſaid ſomewhat,but that there they were aboue *fif-*
teene hundred yeares agone,appeares by *Plutarchs* diſcourſe, *De maculis in*
facie Lunæ,and that they haue ſince any whit increaſed,it cannot be ſuf-
ficiently prooved. Perchance by the helpe of the new deviſed *perſpe-*
ctiue glaſſes,they haue beene of late more clearely and diſtinctly diſcer-
ned then in former ages, but that prooues no more that they were not
there before, then that the *Sydera Medicæa* lately diſcovered by vertue
of the ſame inſtruments,were not before in being, which the diſcove-
Galileus a Flo-rentine. rers themſelues knew well enough, they could not with any colour of
reaſon affirme.

SECT.5.

SECT. 5.

A third objection taken from the apparition of ſtarres anſwered.

HOwbeit it cannot be denied but that *new ſtars* haue at times appeared in the *firmament*, as ſome thinke that was, at our *Saviours* birth, yet in as much as it pointed out the very Houſe in which he was borne, by ſtanding over it, and was not (for ought we finde) obſerved by the *Mathematicians* of thoſe times, I ſhould rather thinke it to haue beene a *blazing light* created in the Region of the Aire, carrying the reſemblance of a ſtarre, then a new and true *created ſtarre*, ſeated in the *firmament*.

As for that which appeared in *Caſſiopæa* in the yeare *one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuenty two*, (the very yeare of the great *Maſſacre* in *France*) I thinke it cannot well be gainſaid, to have beene a *true ſtarre*, it being obſerved by the moſt skilfull and famous *Aſtronomers* of that time to hold the ſame aſpect in all places of *Chriſtendome*, to runne the ſame courſe, to keepe the ſame proportion, diſtance & ſituation every-where, & in every point, with the *fixed ſtarres* by the ſpace of *two whole yeares*: but this I take to haue beene not the effect of *Nature*, but the *ſupernatu-rall* and *miraculous* worke of *Almighty God*, the firſt Author and free diſpoſer of *Nature*; & the like may be ſaid of all ſuch *Comets* which haue at any time evidently appeared, (if any ſuch evidence may be given) to be aboue the Globe of the Moone; from whence it can no more bee inferred, that the *heavens* are compoſed of a matter *corruptible*, naturally ſubject to impairing & fading, then that their *motion* is *irregular*, or that it is in the power of *mortall* man to diſpoſe of the courſe of thoſe *immortall* Creatures, becauſe by a ſpeciall priviledge at the prayer of *Ioſuah*, both the *Sun* & *Moone* were ſtayed in their wonted courſes, and the ſhadow went backe *tenne degrees* in the Dyall of *Ahaz*, for the aſſurance of the truth of the Prophet *Iſaiahs* meſſage ſent to King *Hezekiah*.

Cap. 10. *v.* 12. *May* 38.8.

The ſame anſwere may not be vnfitly ſhaped, to that wonder which *S. Auguſtine* reports out of *Varroes* booke, intituled *de Gente Populi Romani*, and he out of *Caſtor*, touching the Planet *Venus*, which to adde the greater weight and credit to the relation, being ſomewhat ſtrange and rare, I will ſet it downe in the very words of *Varro*, as I finde them quoted by S. *Auguſtine*. *In cælo mirabile extitit portentum, nam in ſtella Veneris nobiliſsima, quam* Plautus *Veſperruginem*, Homerus *Heſperon appellat, pulcherrimam dicens*, Caſtor *ſcribit tantum portentum extitiſſe, vt mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, curſum, quod factum ita neque antea, neque poſtea ſit, hoc factum* Ogyge *Rege dicebant* Adraſtus, Cyzicenus, *&* Dyon *Neapolites Mathematici nobiles*: In Heauen, ſaith he, appeared a marvailous great wonder, the moſt noted ſtarre called *Venus*, which *Plautus* tearmes *Veſperrugo*; and *Homer*, *Heſperus* the faire, as *Caſtor* hath left it vpon record, changed both *colour*, and *bignes*, and *figure*, and *motion*, which accident was never ſeene before, nor ſince that time, the renowned Mathema-

De Civit. Dei 21.8.

thematicians *Adraſtus* and *Dyon* averring, that this fell out during the raigne of King *Ogyges*. Which wonder neither *Varro* nor *Auguſtine* aſcribe to the changeable matter of the Heavens, but to the vnchangeable will of the *Creator*. And therefore the one calls it, as we ſee, *Mirabile portentum*; and the other makes this Comment vpon it, that it hapned, *quia ille voluit qui ſummo regit imperio ac poteſtate quod condidit*, becauſe he would haue it ſo, who governes all things that he hath made with a Soveraigne and independing power. So that two ſpeciall reaſons may bee yeelded for theſe *extraordinary vnvſuall apparitions in heaven, the one*, that they may declare to the world that they haue a *Creator* and *Commander*, who can alter or deſtroy their natures, reſtraine or ſuſpend their operations at his pleaſure, which ſhould keepe men from worſhipping them as *Gods*, ſince they cannot keepe themſelues from alteration. The other to portend and fore-ſhew his judgments, as did that new ſtarre in *Caſſiopea*, a moſt vnnaturall inundation of blood in *France*; and this change in *Venus*, ſuch a deluge in *Achaia*, as it over-flowed and ſo waſted the whole Countrey, that for the ſpace of *two hundred yeares* following, it was not inhabited.

SECT. 6.

The laſt objection drawne from the Eclipſes of the Sunne and Moone anſwered.

THe laſt doubt touching the *paſsibility* of the *matter* of the *Heavens*, is drawne from the *Eclipſes* of the *Sun* and *Moone*, in which they are commonly thought to ſuffer, and to be as it were in *travell* during that time. Which if it were ſo, it muſt of neceſſity by degrees conſume the vigour and beauty of thoſe glorious Bodies, and finally the Bodies themſelues. To this purpoſe is alleadged that of the Poet, where he cals theſe Eclypſes,

Virg. Georg. l. 2. *Defectus Solis varios Lunæque labores.*
Defects and travels of the Sunne and Moone.

Tacit. Annal. 4.7. As alſo the manner of the ancient *Romans* while ſuch *Eclypſes* laſted, to lift vp many burning torches toward Heaven, and withall to beate pans of braſſe and baſons, as wee doe in following a ſwarme of bees,

Boetius lib. 4. met. 5. *Commovet Gentes publicus error,*
Laſſantque crebris pulſibus æra.
A common errour through the World doth paſſe,
And many a ſtroake they lay on pans of braſſe,

ſaith *Boetius*; and *Manilius*, ſpeaking of the appearance of the *Moones* Eclipſe by degrees in diverſe parts of the Earth,

Lib. 1. *Seraque in extremis quatiuntur gentibus æra,*
Th'vtmoſt coaſts doe beate their braſſe pans laſt.

And the Satyriſt wittily deſcribing a tatling Goſſip,

Iuv. lib. 2. Sat. 6. *Vna laboranti poterit ſuccurrere Lunæ.*
Shee onely were enough to helpe
The labours of the Moone.

They

They thought thereby they did the *Moone* great eaſe, and helped her in her labour, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Æmilius* obſerveth. Nay *Æmilius* himſelfe a wiſe man, as the ſame Author there witneſſeth, congratulated the *Moones* delivery from an *Eclipſe*, with a ſolemne ſacrifice, aſſoone as ſhee ſhone out bright againe; which action of his, that prudent *Philoſopher* and ſage *Hiſtorian*, not relateth onely, but approoveth & commendeth as a ſigne of godlineſſe and devotion; yea this *Heatheniſh* and ſottiſh cuſtome of relieving the *Moone* in this caſe by noiſe & out-cryes, the *Chriſtians* it ſeemes borrowed from the *Gentiles*, as appeares by S. *Ambroſe* in his eighty & third Sermon, where he moſt ſharply checks his Auditors for their rude and vncivill, nay prophane and irreligious carriage in this very point: And becauſe his diſcourſe there is not only ſmart and piercing, but marvailous punctuall and pertinent in regard of the queſtion in hand, I hope it will not bee thought time or paper miſſpent, if I ſet it downe as there I finde it. *Who would not grieue at it that you ſhould ſo farre forget your ſoules health, as you ſhould not bluſh to call Heaven as a witneſſe to your ſinne. For when I lately preached vnto you touching your couetouſneſſe, even the ſame day at Evening there was ſo great a ſhouting of the people, that your prophaneneſſe pierced the Heavens. I inquired what the meaning of that noiſe might bee: it was told mee, that with your out-cryes you relieved the Moone, being then in travell, and ſuccoured her faintings with your ſhouting: which when I heard, in truth I could not chooſe but laugh and wonder at your vanity, that like devout Chriſtians you thought to bring aide to God, for it ſeemes you cryed, leſt by meanes of your ſilence, hee might perchance loſe one of his nobleſt Creatures; or as if being weake and impotent he could not maintaine thoſe lights himſelfe had created, but by the aſſiſtance of your voyces. And ſurely you doe very well in that you ſuccour the Deity, that by your helpe he may governe Heaven. But would you doe it to purpoſe indeede? then muſt yee watch every night, & all night. For how often trow yee is the Moone eclipſed while you ſleep, & yet ſhe falls not from Heaven: Or is ſhee alwayes eclipſed in the night, & not likewiſe in the day time? But then only it ſeemes is the Moone eclipſed with you, when your bellies are well ſtuffed with a full ſupper, and your braines ſteeled with full pots; then only the Moone labours in heaven, when the wine labours in your heads; then is her circle troubled with charmes, when your ſight is dazled with over-much quaffing. How canſt thou then diſcerne what befals the Moone in heaven, when thou canſt not diſcerne what is done neere thee on earth? herein is that plainly verified which holy* Solomon *foretold, a foole changeth as the Moone: Thou changeſt like the Moone, when being ignorant of the motion thereof, thou who werſt a Chriſtian before, now beginneſt to be ſacrilegious; for ſacrilege thou committeſt againſt thy Creatour, when thou impuneſt ſuch impotency to the Creature. Thou then changeſt like the Moone, when thou who before ſhinedſt in the devotion of faith, now falleſt away thorow the weakeneſſe of vnbeleefe: thou changeſt like the Moone, when thy braine is as voide of wit, as the Moone is of light, and I could wiſh thou diddeſt indeede change as the Moone, for ſhe quickly returnes againe to her fulneſſe; but thou by leaſure to the vſe of thy wits; ſhee ſoone recovers her light, but thou ſlowly the faith which thou haſt denyed. Thy change then is worſe then that of the Moone; ſhee ſuffers an Eclipſe of her light, but thou of thy ſoules health. But*

Ser. 83, vel 82. *Maximus Taurinenſis* hath an Homily to the ſame purpoſe, and in the ſame words

Eccleſ 27. 11.

will

Rom. 1.

will ſome man ſay, is not the Moone in labour then? yes indeed ſhee labours, it cannot be denyed: but ſhe labours with the other Creatures, as the Apoſtle *ſpeakes, we know that the whole Creature groaneth and travelleth in paine vntill now: and againe, the Creature it ſelfe ſhall alſo be delivered from the bondage of Corruption. It ſhall be freed from bondage. You ſee then that the Moone doth not labour with charmes, but with dutifull obſervances, not with dangers, but with vſefull offices, not to periſh, but to ſerue. For the Creature is made ſubiect to vanitie, not willingly, but by reaſon of him who hath ſubjected the ſame, ſo that the Moone is not willingly changed from her condition, but thou wittingly and willingly robbeſt thy ſelfe of thine owne reaſon. Shee by the condition of her nature ſuffers an Eclipſe, thou by conſent of thine owne Will, art drawne into miſchiefe. Bee not then as the Moone when ſhee is eclipſed, but as when ſhee fils her circle with light. For of the righteous man it is written, He ſhall be eſtabliſhed for euer as the Moone, and as the faithfull witneſſe in heaven.*

Pſal. 89 37.

By which witty diſcourſe of S. *Ambroſe*, it plainely appeares, that in his judgement, the *Moone* ſuffered nothing by her *Eclipſe*, which opinion of his is confirmed not onely by the teſtimony of *Ariſtotle*, in the eight of the *Metaphyſickes*: but by the evidence of reaſon, it being cauſed by the *ſhadow* of the *earth*, interpoſed betweene the *Sunne* and the *Moone*, as in exchange or revenge thereof, (as *Pliny* ſpeaketh,) the *Eclipſe* of the *Sun* is cauſed by the interpoſition of the *Moone*, betwixt the *Earth* and it. The *Moone* ſo depriving the *Earth*, and againe the *Earth* the *Moone* of the beames of the *Sunne:* Which is the true cauſe, that in the courſe of *nature*, the *Moone* is never eclipſed but when ſhee is full, the *Sunne* and ſhee being then in *oppoſition:* nor the *Sunne*, but when it is *New-moone*, thoſe two Planets being then in *conjunction*: I ſay, in the courſe of *Nature*, for the *Eclipſe* at our Saviours paſſion, was vndoubtedly *ſupernaturall: Quam Solis obſcurationem non ex canonico Syderum curſu accidiſſe ſatis oſtenditur, quod tunc erat Paſcha Iudæorum. Nam plena Luna ſolenniter agitur*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*. It is evident that that *Eclipſe* of the *Sunne* happened not by the ordinary & orderly courſe of the ſtars, it being then the *Paſſover* of the *Iewes*, which was ſolemnized at the full Moone. And this was it, that gaue occaſion, as is commonly beleeved, to that memorable exclamation of *Dennys* the *Areopagite*, being then in *Egypt, Aut Deus Naturæ patitur, aut machina mundi diſſolvetur:* either the God of Nature ſuffers, or the Frame of Nature will be diſſolved. And heerevpon to, as it is thought by ſome, was erected that Altar at Athens, *Ignoto Deo, To the vnknowne God:* Though others thinke that *Eclipſe* was confined within the borders of *Iudea*; howſoeuer it cannot be denyed, but that it was certainely beſide and aboue the courſe of *Nature*. Neither ought it ſeeme ſtrange, that the *Sunne* in the *Firmament of heaven* ſhould appeare to ſuffer, when the *Sunne of Righteouſneſſe* indeed ſuffered vpon earth.

lib. 2. cap. 10.

lib. 3. d. Civit. Dei, cap. 15.

Act. 17. 23.

But for other *Eclipſes*, though their Cauſes bee now commonly knowne, yet the *ignorance* of them was it, which cauſed ſo much *ſuperſtition* in former ages, and left that impreſſion in mens mindes, as even at this day wiſe men can hardly bee perſwaded, but that thoſe *Planets* ſuf-

ſuffer in their *Eclypſes*, which in the *Sunne* is moſt Childiſh and ridiculous to imagine, ſince in it ſelfe, it is not ſo much as deprived of any *light*, nor in truth can bee: it beeing the *fountaine of light*, from which all the other ſtarres *borrow their light*, but pay nothing backe againe to it, by way of *retribution*. Which was well expreſſed by *Pericles*, as *Plutarch* in his life reports it: for there happening an *Eclypſe* of the *Sunne*, at the very inſtant, when his *Navy* was now ready to lanch forth and himſelfe was imbarked, his followers began to bee much appald at it, but ſpecially the *Maſter* of his owne gally, which *Pericles* perceiving, takes his cloake and with it hoodwinkes the *Maſters* eyes, & then demands of him what danger was in that, hee anſwering none, neither ſayth *Pericles* is there in this *Eclypſe*, there being no difference betweene my *cloake* and that *Vaile*, with which the *Sun* is covered, but only in bigneſſe. And the truth is that the *Sun* then ſuffered no more by the intervening of the *Moone*, then from *Pericles* his cloake, or dayly doth from the cloudes in the aire which hinders the ſight of it, or by the interpoſition of the Planet *Mercury* which hath ſometimes appeared as a ſpot in it; But whether theſe *Eclypſes* either *cauſe* or *preſage* any change in theſe inferiour bodies, I ſhall haue fitter occaſion to examine heereafter, and ſo paſſe from the conſideration of the ſubſtance, to the motion of the heavenly bodies. *Scalig. Exer. 72.*

CAP. 2.

Touching the pretended decay of the heavenly bodies in regard of their motions.

SECT. 1.

The firſt reaſon, that there is no decay in the motion of the heavenly bodies, drawne from the cauſes thereof.

Motion is ſo *vniverſall* and *innate* a *property*, and ſo *proper* an *affection* to all *naturall* bodies, that the *Great Philoſopher* knew not better how to define *Nature*, then by making her the *Enginer* and *Principle* of *Motion*: and therefore as other *objects*, are onely diſcernable by one *ſenſe*, as *colours* by ſeeing, and *ſounds* by hearing, *motion* is diſcernable by both, nay and by *feeling* too, which is a third ſenſe really diſtinguiſhed from them both. That there is in the heavenly bodies no *motion* of *Generation* or *Corruption*, of *augmentation*, or *diminution*, or of *alteration*, I haue already ſhewed. There are alſo who by reaſon of the incredible ſwiftneſſe of the firſt *Moouer*, & ſome other ſuch reaſons dare deny that there is in them any *Lation* or *Locall motion*, heerein flatly oppoſing in my judgment both *Scripture* and *Reaſon*, and *Senſe*; But to take it as granted, without any diſpute, that a *Locall motion* there is, which is the *meaſure of time*, as *time* againe is the *meaſure of motion*, the line of *motion* and the threed of *time*, beeing both ſpun out together: Some doubt there is touching the *moouer* of theſe heavenly bodies, what or who it ſhould bee, ſome aſcribing it to their *matter*, ſome *Copernicus.*

to their *forme*, ſome to their *figure*, and many to the *Angells*, or *Intelligences*, as they call them, which they ſuppoſe to bee ſet over them. For mine owne part, I ſhould thinke that all theſe and every of them might not vnjuſtly challenge a part in that *motion:* The *matter* as being neither light nor heavy, the *forme* as well agreeing with ſuch a matter, the *figure* as being Sphericall or Circular, the *Intelligence* as an aſſiſtant: In the *matter* is a *diſpoſition*; For whereas light bodies naturally mooue vpward, and heavy downeward, that which is neither light nor heavy is rather diſpoſed to a Circular motion, which is neither vpward nor downeward. In the *figure* is an *inclination* to that motion, as in a wheele to be carried round; from the *forme* an *inchoation* or onſett; and laſtly from the *Intelligence* a *continuance* or *perpetuation* thereof, as a great *Divine* of our owne both *age* and *nation* hath well expreſſed it, *Gods owne eternity*, (ſayth hee) *is the hand which leadeth Angells in the courſe of their perpetuity, their perpetuity the hand that draweth out Celeſtiall motion*, that as the *Elementary* ſubſtances are governed by the *heavenly:* ſo might the *heavenly* by the *Angelicall:* as the *corruptible* by the *incorruptible*, ſo the *materiall* by the *immateriall*, and all *finites* by one *infinite*. It is the joynt conſent of the *Platonickes*, *Peripatetickes*, and *Stoickes*, and of all the noted *ſects* of *Philoſophers*; who acknowledged the *Divine Providence*, with whom agree the greateſt part of our moſt learned & *Chriſtian Doctors*, that the *Heavens* are moued by *Angells*, neither is there in truth any ſufficient meanes beſides it to diſcover the beeing of ſuch Creatures by *diſcourſe* of *reaſon*. Which to mee is a ſtrong argument, that the *Heavens* can by no meanes erre, or faile in their *motions*, beeing managed by the *ſubordinate miniſtery* of ſuch *indefatigable* and *vnerring guides*, whoſe *power* is every way proportionable to their *knowledge*, and their *conſtancie* to both.

Hooker, Eccleſ. Policie, ſ 69.

SECT. 2.

The Second *reaſon taken from the certainty of demonſtrations vpon the Celeſtiall globe: the* Third, *from a particular view of the proper motions of the Planets, which are obſerved to be the ſame at this day, as in former ages without any variation: The* Fourth, *from the infallible and exact prædiction of their Oppoſitions, Conjunctions, and Eclypſes for many ages to come: The* Fifth, *from the teſtimony of ſundry graue Authours, averring the perpetuall conſtancie and immutability of their motions.*

THe moſt *ſignall motions* of the *heavens* (beſide their *retrogradations*, *trepidations*, *librations*, and I know not what, which *Aſtronomers* haue deviſed to reconcile the diverſity of their obſervations) are the *diurnall motions* of all the *fixed ſtarres* and *Planets*, and all the *Celeſtiall ſpheres* from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, in the compaſſe of every foure and twenty houres, and the proper motion of them all from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt* againe. Theſe *motions* whether they performe, by themſelues, without the helpe of *orbes*, as *fiſhes* in the water, or *birds* in the aire; or faſtned to their *ſpheres*, as a *gemme* in a ring, or a *nayle* or knot in a Cart-wheele, I cannot eaſily determine: howbeit I confeſſe wee cannot well imagine how

how one and the ſame body ſhould bee carried with *oppoſite* motions, but by the helpe of ſomewhat in which it is carried; As the *Marriner* may bee carried by the motion of his ſhippe from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*, and yet himſelfe may walke from the *Weſt* to the *Eaſt* in the ſame ſhip: Or a *flie* may bee carried from the *North* to the *South* vpon a Cart-wheele, and yet may goe from the *South* to the *North* vpon the ſame wheele: But howſoever it bee, it is evident that their *motions* are moſt eaven and *regular*, without the leaſt *jarre* or diſcord, *variation* or vncertainty, *languiſhing* or defect, that may bee. Which weere it not ſoe, there could be no certaine demonſtrations made vpon the *Globe* or *materiall Sphere:* Which notwithſtanding by the teſtimony of *Claudian* are moſt infallible, as appeares by thoſe his elegant verſes vpon *Archimedes* admirable invention thereof.

Iupiter in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Riſit, & ad ſuperos, talia dicta dedit:
Huccine mortalis progreſſa potentia curæ?
Iam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
Iura poli, rerumq; fidem legeſq; Deorum
Ecce Syracuſius tranſtulit arte ſenex.
Incluſus varijs famulatur Spiritus aſtris
Et vivum certis motibus vrget opus:
Percurrit proprium mentitus ſignifer annum
Et ſimulata novo Cynthia menſe redit.
Iamq; ſuum volvens audax induſtria mundum
Gaudet & humana ſydera mente regit.

When *Ioue* within a little glaſſe ſurvaid
The Heavens, hee ſmil'd and to the *Gods* thus ſayd:
Can ſtrength of Mortall wit proceed thus farre?
Loe in a fraile orbe my workes mated are.
Hither the *Syracuſians* art tranſlates
Heavens forme, the courſe of things, and humane fates.
Th'included ſpirit ſerving the ſtar-deck ſignes,
The liuing worke in conſtant motions windes,
Th'adulterate *Zodiaque* runnes a naturall yeare,
And *Cynthiaes* forg'd hornes monthly new light beare,
Viewing her owne world, now bold induſtry
Triumphes and rules with humane power the skye.

The *Gentiles* ſayth *Iulian*, (as S. *Cyrill* in his third booke againſt him, reports it) *videntes nihil eorũ quæ circa Cælũ minui vel augeri neq; vllam ſuſtinere decordinatam affectionem, ſed congruam illius motionem ac bene optatum ordinem, definitas quoq; leges Lunæ, definitos ortus & occaſus Solis, ſtatutis ſæpe per temporibus, merito Deum & Dei ſolium ſuſpicabantur*: ſeeing no part of heaven to be diminiſhed or decreaſed, to ſuffer no irregular affectiõ, but the motion thereof to bee as duly and orderly performed as could bee deſired, the waxing & waning of the moone, the riſing & ſetting of the Sunne to be ſetled and conſtant at fixed and certaine times, they deſervedly admired it as *God*, or as the throne of *God*. The order and regularitie of which motions wee ſhall eaſily perceiue by taking a *particular*

view of them. I will touch onely thoſe of the *Plannets*. The proper motion of *Saturne* was by the Ancients obſerved, and is now likewiſe found, by our moderne *Aſtronomers*, to bee accompliſhed within the ſpace of thirty yeares, that of *Iupiter* in twelue, that of *Mars* in two, that of the *Sunne* in three hundred ſixty fiue dayes and almoſt ſix howers, that of *Venus* and *Mercury* in very neere the ſame ſpace of time, that of the *Moone* in twenty ſeaven dayes and almoſt eight howres: Neither do wee finde that they haue either *quickned* or any way *ſlacked* theſe their courſes, but that in the ſame ſpace of time they alwayes run the ſame races, which beeing ended, they begin them againe as freſhly as the firſt inſtant they ſet forth; *Cum per certa annorum ſpacia orbes ſuos explicuerint iterum ibunt per quæ venerant*, ſayth *Seneca*, when in certaine tearmes of yeares they ſhall haue accompliſhed their courſes, they ſhall againe runne the ſame races they haue paſſed. Theſe then be the boundes and limits, to which theſe glorious bodies are perpetually tyed, in regard of their *motion*, theſe be the vnchangeable lawes like thoſe of the *Medes* and *Perſians* whereof the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeakes, *Hee hath giuen them a law which ſhall not be broken*: which *Seneca* in his booke of the *Diuine Prouidence*, well expreſſes in other words, *Æternæ legis imperio procedunt*, they mooue by the appointment of an eternall law, that is, a law both *invariable* and *inviolable*. That which *Tully* hath delivered of one of them is vndoubtedly true of all: *Saturni ſtella in ſuo curſu multa mirabiliter efficiens, tum antecedendo, tum retardando, tum veſpertinis temporibus deliteſcendo, tum matutinis rurſum ſe aperiendo, nihil tamen immutat ſempiternis ſæculorũ ætatibus, quin eadẽ ijſdem temporibus efficiat:* The plannet *Saturne* doth make many ſtrange and wonderfull paſſages in his motion, ſometimes going before, and ſometimes comming after, ſometimes withdrawing himſelfe in the evening, and ſometimes againe ſhewing himſelfe in the morning, and yet changeth nothing in the continuall duration of all ages, but ſtill at the ſame ſeaſon worketh the ſame effects. And in truth, were it not ſo, both in that *Plannet* and in all the other ſtarres, it is altogether impoſſible they ſhould ſupply that vſe which *Almighty God* in their *Creation* ordained them vnto, that is, *to ſerue for ſignes and ſeaſons, for dayes and for yeares*, to the *worlds end*. And much more impoſſible it were that the *yeare*, the *moneth*, the *day*, the *hower*, the *minute* of the *Oppoſitions*, *Conjunctions* and *Eclypſes* of the *Plannets*, ſhould bee as exactly calculated and foretold one hundreth yeares before they fall out, as at what houre the *Sunne* will riſe to morrow morning. Which perpetuall equability and conſtant vniformity in the *Celeſtiall motions*, is both truly obſerved, and eloquently deſcribed by *Boetius*.

De Conſol. ad Albinum. cap. 6.

Pſal. 148. 6.

Lib. 2. de natura Deorum.

Gen. 1. 14.

Lib. 4. de conſol. Philoſophiæ. Met. 6.

Si vis celſi jura Tonantis
Purâ ſolers cernere mente,
Aſpice ſummi culmina Cœli;
Illic juſto fœdere rerum
Veterem ſervant ſydera pacem.
Non ſol rutilo concitus igne
Gelidum Phœbes impedit axem.

Nec

Nec quæ ſummo vertice mundi
Flectit rapidos vrſa meatus
Vnquam occiduo lota profundo
Cætera cernens ſydera mergi
Cupit Oceano tingere flammas.
Semper vicibus temporis æquis
Veſper ſeras nunciat vmbras
Revehitque diem Lucifer *almum.*
Sic alternos reficit curſus
Alternus amor, ſic aſtrigeris
Bellum diſcors exulat oris.

If thou with pure and prudent minde
The lawes of God wouldſt ſee
Looke vp to heaven and thou ſhalt finde
How all things there agree.
In peace the ſtarres their courſes runne
Nor is the Moones cold ſphere
Impeached by the ſcorching Sunne,
Nor doth the Northerne beare
Which ſwift about the Pole doth moue
Though other ſtarres hee ſee
Drencht in the Weſterne Ocean, loue
His flames there quenched bee.
Nights late approach by courſes due
The evening ſtarre doth ſhow
And morning ſtarre with motion true
Before the day doth goe:
Thus ſtill their turnes renued are
by enterchanging loue:
And warre and diſcord baniſht farre
From ſtarry skies aboue.

And no leſſe wittily by *Manilius*, Lib. 1.

Nec quicquam in tanta magis eſt mirabile molc
Quam ratio; & certis quod legibus omnia parent,
Nuſquam turba nocet, nihil vllis partibus errat.

There is not ought that's to bee ſeene in ſuch a wondrous maſſe,
More wonderfull and ſtrange then this that Reaſon brings to paſſe
That all obey their certaine lawes which they do ſtill preferre,
No tumult hurteth them, nor ought in any part doth erre.

Wherewith the *Divine Plato* accords, *Nec errant, nec præter antiquum ordinem revolvuntur*, neither do they runne randome, nor are they rolled beſide their ancient order. And *Ariſtotle* breaketh out into this paſſionate admiration thereof, *Quid vnquam poterit æquari cæleſti ordini, & volubilitati, cùm ſydera convertantur exactiſſima norma de alio in aliud ſeculum*: What can ever be compared to the order of the Heavens, and to the motion of the Starres in their ſeverall revolutions, which moue moſt exactly as it were by a rule and ſquare, by line and levell from one generation to another. In Epinom. Arist. de Mundo

There were among the *Ancients* not a few, nor they vnlearned, who by a *ſtrong fancie* conceiued in themſelues an *excellent melody* made vp by the *motion* of the *Celeſtiall Spheares*. It was broached by [a] *Pithagoras*, entertained by [b] *Plato*, ſtiffely maintained by [c] *Macrobius* and ſome *Chriſtians*, as [d] *Beda*, [e] *Boetius*, and [f] *Anſelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: but *Ariſtotle* puts it off with a jeſt, as being *Lepidè & muſicè dictum, facto autem impoſſibile*, a pleaſant and muſicall conceit, but in effect impoſſible, inaſmuch as thoſe bodies in their motions make no kinde of noiſe at all. Howſoever it may well bee that this conceit of theirs was grounded vpon a *certaine truth*, which is the *Harmonicall* and proportionable *motion* of thoſe Bodies in their juſt order, and ſet courſes, as if they were ever dauncing the rounds or the meaſures. In which regard the *Pſalmiſt* tels vs that *the Sun knoweth his going downe, he appointed the Moone for ſeaſons, and the Sunne knoweth his doing downe.* Which words of his may not be taken in a *proper*, but in a *figuratiue* ſenſe; The *Prophet* thereby implying, that the *Sunne* obſerveth his *preſcribed motion* ſo *preciſely* to a point, that in the leaſt jot he never erreth from it: And therefore is he ſaid to do the ſame vpon *knowledge* and *vnderſtanding*, *Non quòd animatus ſit aut ratione vtatur*, ſaith *Baſill* vpon the place, *ſed quod juxta terminum divinitus præſcriptum ingrediens, ſemper eundem curſum ſervat, ac menſuras ſuas cuſtodit:* Not that the *Sun* hath any ſoule, or vſe of vnderſtanding, but becauſe it keepeth his courſes and meaſures *exactly* according to *Gods* preſcription.

a *Ariſt. l. 2. de cœlo. cap 9.*
b *Lib. 10. de Rep.*
c *In lib. 2. de Somnio Scipionis cap. 3.*
d *Lib. de Muſica*
e *Lib. de Muſica cap. 2.*
f *Lib. de imag. Mundi cap. 24.*
g *Pſal. 104. 19.*

SECT. 3.

The ſame truth farther proued from the teſtimony of Lactantius *and* Plutarch.

Lib. 2. Inſtit. c. 5.

Lactantius from hence gathereth two notable *Concluſions*, the *one* that the Starres are not *Gods* as the *Gentiles* commonly imagined, the *other*, that they are governed by *God*, which the *Epicurians* denyed. for the former of thoſe, ſaith he, *argumentum illum quo colligunt vniverſa cœleſtia Deos eſſe, in contrarium valet. Nam ſi Deos eſſe idcirco opinantur, quia certos & rationabiles curſus habent, errant: Ex hoc enim apparet Deos non eſſe quod exorbitare illis a præſtitutis itineribus non licet; cæterùm ſi Dij eſſent huc atque illuc paſsim ſine vlla neceſsitate ferentur, ſicut animantes in terra, quorum quia liberæ ſunt voluntates, huc atque illuc vagantur vt libet, & quocunque mens duxerit eo feruntur.* That argument from whence the *Heathen* do collect that the Starres muſt needes be *Gods*, doth moſt plainely proue the contrary. For if they take them to be *Gods*, becauſe of the certainty of their courſes, they bee therein much deceived: for this plainely proueth, that indeede they be no *Gods*, becauſe they be not able to depart from their ſet courſes. Whereas if they were *Gods*, they would mooue both this way and that way in the Heavens, as freely as liuing Creatures do vpon the earth, who becauſe they haue the liberty and freedome of their will they wander vp and downe whither they themſelues pleaſe. And for the latter, *tanta rerum magnitudo*, ſayth hee,

tanta

tanta diſpoſitio, tanta in ſervandis ordinibus, temporibuſque conſtantia, non potuit aut olim ſine provido Artifice oriri, aut conſtare tot ſeculis ſine incola potente, aut in perpetuum gubernari ſine perito & ſciente rectore, quod ratio ipſa declarat. Such a greatneſſe in their creation, ſuch a comelineſſe in their order, ſuch a conſtancie in obſerving both their courſes and their ſeaſons, could never either at firſt haue beene framed without a cunning hand, or ſo long haue beene preſerved without a powerfull inhabitant, or ſo wiſely haue beene governed without a skilfull Regent, as even reaſon it ſelfe maketh it plaine and evident. And *Plutarch* affirmeth generally of all men, that the very *firſt motiue* that lead them vnto *God* was that *orderly motion* whereby the ſtarres are carried. *Homines cæperunt Deum agnoſcere cùm viderent ſtellas tantam concinnitatem efficere, ac dies, noctesque æſtate ac hyeme, ſuos ſervare ſtatos ortus atque obitus.* Men began firſt to ackowledge a *God* when they conſidered the ſtarres to maintaine ſuch a comelineſſe, and both day and night, in ſummer and winter to obſerue their deſigned riſings and ſettings.

Lib. 1. de Placitis Philoſophorum. c. 6.

SECT. 4.

An objection of Du Moulins *touching the motion of the Polar Starre anſwered.*

ANd thus I hope the *Heavens* are ſufficiently diſcharged from any imputation of *Decay* in regard of their *motion*, the conſtant *regularity* whereof, wee finde to haue beene obſerued and admired by the moſt learned of all ages: It remaines now that I ſhould proceede to the examination of the other *qualities* thereof, which before I attempt, it ſhall not bee amiſſe to remoue a *rub* caſt in our way by *Du Moulin* a famous *French Divine*, in his booke intituled, *The accompliſhment of Divine Propheſies*, touching the *motion* of the *Polar ſtarre*, his words are theſe, or to this purpoſe, *Aſtrologie alſo doth lend vs ſome light in this matter; For in the yeare of the World three thouſand ſix hundred ſixty five*, Ptolomæus Philadelphus *raigning in Egypt ſome, foure hundred ſixty nine yeares after the building of Rome, there liued one* Hipparchus *a famous Aſtrologer, who reports that in his time the ſtarre commonly called the Polar ſtarre, which is in the taile of the leſſer Beare, was 12 degrees & two fifths diſtant from the Pole of the Æquator. This ſtarre from age to age hath inſenſibly ſtill crept neerer to the Pole, ſo that at this preſent it is not paſt three degrees diſtant from the Pole of the Æquator. When this ſtar then ſhall come to touch the Pole, there being no farther ſpace left for it to go forward (which may well enough come to paſſe within fiue or ſix hundreth yeares) it is likely that then there ſhall be a great change of things, and that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature.* A *bold conjecture* of a man ſo well verſed in holy *Scriptures* and in other matters ſo *modeſt*; as if *God* had written in the *Heavens* the *period of times*, or had ſo written it as any mortall eye could diſcerne it, his boloued *Son* profeſſing, that *it is not for vs to know the times and ſeaſons, which the Father hath put in his owne power.* And as the Conjecture is bold, ſo is it built vpon as *ſandy a foundation* which is that

In cap. 5. Apocal parte 5.

Act. 1. 7.

that the *Pole-ſtar* ſhall draw ſo neere the *Pole* as to touch it, or ſhall ever be brought to thoſe ſtraits, as it ſhall finde no paſſage to goe forward, whereas it is certaine, it ſhall euer remaine in ſome certaine diſtance from the *Pole*, twenty ſix or twenty ſeven minutes at the leaſt. True indeed it is, that aboue fiue hundred yeares hence, if the World laſt ſo long, it ſhall then approach the neareſt, but then ſhall it with-draw it ſelfe againe by degrees by as remote a diſtance as it ever was before; as it heretofore hath beene the moſt *Southerly* ſtar in that *Aſteriſme*, and is now become the moſt *Northerly*: ſo in proceſſe of time it may become the moſt *Southerly* againe. But from hence to inferre that the *Poles* of the *AEquator* are moveable, is *inconſequent*, and *incõpatible* with the moſt received and beſt approved grounds of *Aſtronomy*. Beſides, other *fixed ſtarres* haue their times of *acceſſe* and *receſſe*, to and from the *Pole*, aſwell as this: ſo that the motion of this can no more point out the *period* of *Nature*, then of thoſe: All which *Du Moulin* himſelfe either by his owne obſervation or advertiſement from others well perceiuing, in a *latter Edition* of that booke printed at *Sedane* in the yeare one thouſand ſix hundred twenty one, hath well mended the matter, by changing ſome words. For inſteed of this in the *firſt Edition*. *From hence it appeareth that the Poles of the Aequator are moveable*, in the *ſecond*, he hath thus changed it. *It being certaine and obſerved by long experience, that the fixed ſtars moue from the Weſt to the Eaſt in a motion paralell to the Ecliptique*. In his *firſt edition*, hee ſayes: *When this ſigne ſhall come to touch the Pole, there beeing no further ſpace left for it to goe forward*, but in his *ſecond* hee changeth it thus, *when this ſtarre ſhall approach the Pole as neere as it can*: Againe in his *firſt* thus, *which may well come to paſſe within theſe fiue or ſix hundred yeares*, in his *ſecond* thus, *which may well come to paſſe within fiue hundred yeares*: Laſtly in his *firſt* thus, *it ſeemes that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature*, in his *ſecond* thus, *it ſeemes that ſome notable period ſhall then expire*. And ſurely I cannot but as much commend his *modeſty* in this *ſecond* change, as I found it wanting in his *firſt conieĉture*, and I am of opinion that S. *Auguſtine* never purchaſed more true honour by any booke that ever hee writ, then that of his *Retraĉtations*, the ſhame is not ſo much to erre, as to perſevere in it being diſcovered. Specially if it bee an errour taken vp and entertained, by following thoſe, whom for their great gifts wee highly eſteeme and admire, as it ſeemes *Du Moulin* tooke his errour at leaſtwiſe touching the moueableneſſe of the *Poles* of the *Aequator*, from *Ioſeph Scaliger*: But the motion of the Heavens puts mee in minde of paſſing from it to the light thereof.

CAP

CAP. 3.

Touching the pretended decay in the light of the heavenly bodies.

SECT. 1.

The first reason that it decayes not, taken from the nature of that light, and those things whereunto it is resembled.

AS the *waters* were first spreade over the face of the earth: so was the *light* disperſed thorow the firmament: & as the *waters* were gathered into one heape, so was the *light* knit vp, and vnited into one body: As the gathering of the *waters* was called the *Sea*, so, that of the *light* was called the *Sunne*. As the *rivers* come from the *sea*, so is all the *light* of the *starres* deriued from the *Sun*: And lastly, as the *Sea* is no whit lessened though it furnish the Earth with abundance of fresh rivers: So though the *Sunne* haue since the *Creation*, both furnished, and garnished the world with light, neither is the *store* of it thereby *diminished*, nor the *beauty* of it any way *stayned*. What the *light* is, whether a *substance* or an *Accident*, whether of a *Corporall* or *incorporall* nature, it is not easy to determine. *Philosophers* dispute it, but cannot well resolue it. Such is our *ignorance*, that even that by which wee see all things, wee cannot discerne what it selfe is. But whatsoever it bee, wee are sure that of all *visible Creatures*, it was the *first* that was made, and comes neerest the nature of a *Spirit*, in as much as it moues in an *instant* from the *East* to the *West*, and pearcing through all transparent bodies, still remaines in it selfe, *vnmixed* and *vndivided*; it chaseth away sadde and melancholy thoughts, which the darkenesse both begets and mainetaines; it lifts vp our mindes in meditation to him who is the *true light, that lightneth every man that commeth into the world*, himselfe dwelling in *light vnaccessible*, and *cloathing himselfe with light as with a garment*. And if wee may behold in any *Creature* any one *sparke* of that *eternall fire*, or any farre off dawning of *Gods* glorious brightnesse, the same in the *beauty*, *motion*, and *vertue* of this light may best be discerned. *Quid pulchrius luce*, sayth *Hugo de sancto Victore*, *quæ cum in se colorem non habeat, omnium tamen rerum colores ipsa quodammodo colorat*. What is more beautifull then the light, which having no colour in it selfe, yet sets a luster vpon all colours. And S. *Ambrose*, *vnde vox Dei in Scriptura debuit inchoare nisi a lumine? Vnde mundi ornatus nisi à luce exordium sumere? frustra enim esset si non videretur*. From whence should the voice of *God* in *holy Scripture* begin, but from the *light*? From whence should the ornament of the world begin, but likewise from the same *light*? For in vaine it were, were it not seene.

O Father of the light, of wisedome fountaine,
Out of the bulke of that confused mountaine
What should, what could issue before the *light*,
Without which, Beauty were no Beauty hight?

Earlas.

SECT. 2.

SECT. 2.

The ſecond, for that it hath nothing contrary vnto it, and heere Pareus *and* Mollerus *are cenſured for holding that the light of heaven is impared.*

S. *Auguſtine* in diverſe places of his workes is of opinion, that by the firſt created *light* were vnderſtood the *Angells*, and heerein is hee followed by *Beda*, *Eucherius*, *Rupertus* and diverſe others. Which opinion of his though it bee queſtionleſſe *vnſound*, in as much as wee are taught that that *light*, *ſprang out of darkeneſſe*, which of the *Angells* can in no ſort be verified, yet as it ſhewes the *light-ſome nature* of *Angells*, ſo likewiſe the *Angelicall nature of light*, ſtill flouriſhing in youth, and no more ſubject to decay or old age, then the *Angells* are. *Cogita mihi Cœli pulchritudinem* (ſayth *Chriſoſtome*) *quantum temporis agit, nec offuſcata eſt, ſed velut hodie fabricatum ita eſt nitens & ſpendidum.* Behold the beauty of the heavens how long it hath laſted, nor is yet any way blemiſhed, but is ſtill as freſh and bright as if it had beene made but this very day. Since then in the properties thereof, it comes ſo neere the nature of *Spirits*, of *Angells*, of *God*, mee thinkes they who dare accuſe the *heavens*, as being guilty of *decay* and corruption in other reſpects, ſhould yet haue ſpared the light thereof. The more I wonder that men reverenced for their *learning*, & reputed *lights* of the *Church*, ſhould by their writings go about to quench or blemiſh this *light*. *Videntur haud parum elanguiſſe minuſque nitidi eſſe quam fuerant initio*, ſayth one ſpeaking of the heavenly bodies. They ſeeme to haue ſuffered not a little defect, and to haue loſt of that brightneſſe, in which they were at firſt created. And another: *Non eſt nunc illa claritas luminis, nec ſunt illæ ſtellarum vires quæ fuerunt.* There is not now that brightneſſe of the light, nor thoſe vertues of the ſtarres that haue beene. Venturous aſſertions, and ſuch I beleeue, as would haue puſled the Authours of them to haue made them good, ſpecially conſidering that as there is nothing *contrary* to the *Quinteſſentiall matter*, and *circular figure* of the *Heavens*: So neither is there to the *light* thereof. *Fire* may bee quenched with *water*, but there is nothing able to quench the *light* of Heaven, ſaue the power of him that made it. Againe *fire* may bee extinguiſhed by withdrawing or withholding the fewell vpon which it feedes: But the *light* of heaven hauing no matter by which it is nouriſhed: there is no feare of the failing thereof thorow any ſuch defect, & for the *matter* of the *Celeſtiall ſpheeres* and *ſtarres*, in which it is planted, it hath already ſufficiently appeared, that it neither is, nor in the *courſe of Nature* can be ſubject to any *impairing alteration*: And ſo much *Pareus* himſelfe hath vpon the matter confeſſed in two ſeverall places in his *Commentaries* vpon the firſt of *Geneſis*, whereof the *firſt* is this, ſpeaking of the firmament and the *Epithites* of iron and braſſe, giuen it in holy *Scriptures*, and by *prophaine Authours*, *Hæc Epitheta*, ſayth hee, *Metaphoricè notant Cœli firmitatem, quia tot millibus annorum immutabili lege*

2. Col. 4. 6.

Hom. 10. ad pop. Antioch.

Pareus in Epiſtolam ad Hebræos, c. 1. v. 11.

Moller. in 1 Pſal. 102. v. 27.

v. 6.

lege circumvolvitur, nec tamen atteritur motu aut abſumitur, quia a Deo ſic eſt firmatum initio. Theſe Epethites metaphorically ſignifie the firmeneſſe and ſtableneſſe of heaven, becauſe by an vnchangeable law it hath now wheeled about ſo many thouſand yeares, and yet is it not waſted or worne by the motion thereof, becauſe it it eſtabliſhed by God. And againe within a while after, hee vſeth almoſt the ſame words, *firmamentum non dicitur de duritie aut ſoliditate, impermeabili, ſed de firmitate quâ perpetuo motu circumactum cœlum non atteritur nec abſumitur, ſed manet quale à Deo initio fuit firmatum.* Nay a little before that laſt paſſage, dividing the whole *firmament* or *Expanſum*, containing all the Celeſtiall Spheres and regions of the aire, into two parts; The higher, ſaith hee, (thereby intending the heavenly bodies) is *pariſſima, & incorruptibilis, & inalterabilis*; moſt pure, incorruptible, and inalterable. Now if it ſhall bee demaunded, how the Heavens may bee ſaid to *languiſh*, and to haue loſt of their *native brightneſſe*, and yet ſtill to remaine *incorruptible* and *inalterable*, for mine owne part I muſt profeſſe, I cannot vnderſtand it, nor know which way to reconcile it. A number of the like paſſages may bee obſerved in the writings of our latter Divines: but I ſpare their names for the reverence I beare their gifts, and places, and perſons, and ſo proceed.

SECT. 3.

Heerevnto ſome other reaſons are added, and the teſtimony of Eugubinus *vouched.*

I Remember Mr *Camden* reports, that at the demolition of our *Monaſteries*, there was found in the ſuppoſed monument of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, father to the *Great Conſtantine*, a burning Lampe which was thought to haue burnt there ever ſince his buriall, about three hundreth yeares after *Chriſt*, and withall hee added out of *Lazius*, that the ancient *Romans* vſed in that manner to preſerue lights in their *Sepulchers* a long time by the oylineſſe of *Gold*, reſolved by Art into a liquid ſubſtance. Which if it bee ſo, how much more eaſie is it for the *Father of lights* to preſerue thoſe naturall *lights* of *Heaven*, which himſelfe hath made without any diminution. In *artificiall lights* wee ſee, that if a thouſand Candles be all lighted from one, yet the light of the firſt is not thereby any whit abated, and why ſhould wee then conceiue that the *Sun* by imparting his *light* ſo many thouſand yeares, ſhould looſe any part thereof? They who maintaine that the *ſoule* of man is derived *ex traduce*, hold withall that the *Father* in begetting the *onnes ſoule* looſes none of his owne, it being *tanquam lumen de lumine*, as ſone light from another, nay more then ſo, it is the very reſemblance that the *Nicene Fathers* thought not vnmeete to expreſſe the *vnexpreſſable* generation of the ſecond perſon in *Trinity* from the firſt, who is therefore tearmed by the *Apoſtle, the brightneſſe of his glory*. As then the *Father* by communicating his *ſubſtance* to his *ſonne*, looſes none of his owne, ſo the *Sunne* by communicating his *light* to the *world*, looſes no part nor degree thereof. Some things there are of that nature, as they

In Yorkeſhire.

Heb. 1. 3.

may

may bee both giuen and kept, as *knowledge*, and *vertue*, and *happineſſe*, and *light*, which in holy *Scripture* is figuratiuely taken for them all. whether the ſame *individuall light* bee ſtill reſident in the body of the *Sunne*, which was planted in it at the firſt *Creation*, or whether it continually empty and ſpend it ſelfe, and ſo like a river bee continually repaired with freſh ſupplies; for mine owne part I cannot certainely affirme, though I muſt confeſſe, I rather incline to the former: But this I verily beleeue, that as the body of the *Sunne* is no whit leſſened in *extention*: So neither is the light thereof in *intention*; Men being now no more able to fixe their eyes vpon it, when it ſhines forth it its full ſtrength, then they were at the firſt *Creation* thereof. I will conclude this chapter with that of *Eugubinus* in his tenth booke *de Perenni Philoſophia. Si futuri interitus, ac ſeneſcentiæ aliqua jam indicia præceſſiſſent, non conſtaret idem Sol, non eadem fulgoris eſſet plenitudo, idem radiorum vigor, hæc igitur Senectus nuſquam eſt*: Had there beene in the heavens any ſuch decay or waxing old, as is ſuppoſed, wee ſhould haue ſeene ſome forerunning tokens thereof. The Sunne would not haue beene like himſelfe, hee would not haue retained the ſame fulneſſe of brightneſſe, nor the ſame vigour in his beames: This old age then is no where to bee found. Where hee takes it as granted, that none would bee ſo *vnreaſonable*, as to affirme that the ſtrength and cleareneſſe of the *light of heaven* is any way abated. Now what hath beene ſpoken of the *light*, may no leſſe truly bee verified of the *warmth* and *influence* thereof, which ſpring therefrom, and now ſucceed in their order to be examined.

CAP. 4.

Touching the pretended decay in the warmth of the heavenly bodies.

SECT. 1.

That the ſtarres are not of a fiery nature, or hot in themſelues.

THe *light* of *Heaven*, whereof wee haue ſpoken, is not more *comfortable* and *vſefull*, then is the *warmth* thereof; with a maſculine vertue it quickens all kinde of ſeedes, it makes them vegetiue, & bloſſome, and fructifie, and brings their fruite to perfection for the vſe of man and beaſt, and the perpetuating of their owne kindes, nay it wonderfully refreſheth and cheares vp, the ſpirits of men and beaſts, & birds, and creeping things, and not only imparts the life of vegetation, but of ſenſe and motion, to many thouſand creatures, and like a tender parent foſters and cheriſheth it being imparted. Some there are that liue without the *light* of heaven, ſearching into & working vpon, thoſe bodies which the light cannot pierce, but none without the *warmth*, it being in a manner the *vniverſall inſtrument* of *Nature*, which made the *Pſalmiſt* ſay, that *there is nothing hid from the heate of the Sun*. Few things are hid from the *light*, but from the heate thereof nothing. Our *life* without the *light of heaven* would bee tedious and *vncomfortable*: but without the *warmth impoſſible*. Since then ſuch is the continuall and

Pſal. 19. 7.

neceſſary

neceſſary vſe of the *Celeſtiall warmth*, aſwell in regard of the generation, as the preſervation of theſe inferiour bodies, accommodating it ſelfe to their ſeverall tempers and vſes, in ſeverall manners and degrees, it may eaſily be conceiued to be a matter of marvailous great importance in deciding the maine queſtion touching *Natures decay*, to inquire thorowly into the ſtate and condition of it (vpon which ſo many and great workes of *Nature* wholly depend) whether it be decayed or no, or whether it ſtill abide in the fullneſſe of that ſtrength and activity in which it was created. For the better clearing of which doubt, it will bee very requiſite firſt to inquire into the efficient cauſe thereof, which being once diſcovered, it will ſoone appeare whether in the *courſe of nature* it be capable of any ſuch *diminution* or no.

I am not ignorant that S. *Auguſtine*, S. *Baſill*, S. *Ambroſe*, and generally as many *Divines*, as held that there were *waters*, properly ſo tearmed, aboue the *ſtarry firmament*, held withall that the *Sunne* and *Starres* cauſed *heate* as beeing of a *fiery Nature*, thoſe *waters* being ſet there, in their opinion, for cooling of that *heate*: which opinion of theirs ſeemes to be favoured by *Syracides* in the forty third of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where hee thus ſpeakes of the *Sun*. *At noone it parcheth the countrey, and who can abide the burning heate thereof. A man blowing a furnace is in workes of heate: but the Sun burneth the mountaines three times more, breathing out fiery vapours*. Neither were there wanting ſome among the ancient *Philoſophers* who maintained the ſame opinion, as *Plato* and *Pliny*, and generally the whole ſect of *Stoickes*, who held that the *Sunne* and *Starres* were fed with *watery vapours*, which they drew vp for their nouriſhment, and that when theſe *vapours* ſhould ceaſe and faile the whole world ſhould be in danger of *combuſtion*: and many things are alleaged by *Balbus* in *Ciceroes* ſecond booke of the *nature of the Gods*, in favour of this opinion of the *Stoicks*. But that the *Sunne* and *Starres* are not in *truth* and in their *owne nature fiery* and *hot*, appeares by the *ground* already layd touching the *matter* of the heavens, that it is of a nature *incorruptible*, which cannot bee, if it were *fiery*, inaſmuch as thereby it ſhould become lyable to *alteration* and *corruption* by an oppoſite and profeſſed enimy. Beſides all *fiery* bodies by a naturall inclination mount vpwards, ſo that if the ſtarres were the cauſe of heate, as being *hot* in themſelues, it would conſequently follow that their circular motion ſhould not bee *Naturall* but *violent*. Wherevnto I may adde, that the noted ſtarres being ſo many in number, namely, one thouſand twenty and two, beſides the *Planets*, and in *magnitude* ſo great that every one of thoſe, which appeare fixed in the *firmament*, are ſaid to bee much bigger, then the whole *Globe* of the water and earth, and the *Sunne* againe ſo much to exceede both that globe, and the biggeſt of them, as it may juſtly bee ſtiled by the ſonne of *Syrach*, *inſtrumentum admirabile* a wonderfull inſtrument; which being ſo, were they of *fire*, they would doubtleſſe long ere this haue turned the world into aſhes, there being ſo infinite a *diſproportion* betweene their *flame* and the little quantity of matter ſuppoſed to bee prepared for their *Fewell*. That therefore they ſhould bee fed with *vapours*, *Ariſtotle* deſervedly laughs at it, as a childiſh and ridiculous

De civit. Dei. l. 11. c. vlt.
Hom. 3. in Geneſ.
Hexam. 2, 2. v. 3. 4.
In Tim.
Nat Hiſt. 2. 9.
The leaſt 18 times.
167. times.
Eccleſiaſticus 43. 2.

culous device, in as much as the vapours aſcend no higher then the middle region of the ayre, and from thence diſtill againe vpon the water & earth from whence they were drawne vp, and thoſe vapours being *vncertaine*, the flames likewiſe feeding vpon them, muſt needes bee *vncertaine*, and dayly vary from themſelues both in *quantity* and *figure*, according to the proportion of their fewell.

SECT. 2.

That the heate they breed ſprings from their light, and conſequently their light being not decayed, neither is the warmth ariſing there-from.

THe abſurdity then of this opinion being ſo foule and groſſe, it remaines that the *Sunne* and *Starres* infuſe a *warmth* into theſe *Subcæleſtiall* Bodies, not as being *hot* in themſelues, but onely as being ordained by *God* to *breed heate* in matter capable thereof, as they impart life to ſome creatures, and yet themſelues remaine voide of *life*, like the *braine* which imparts *Senſe* to every member of the body, and yet is it ſelfe vtterly voide of all *Senſe*. But heere againe ſome there are which attribute this effect to the *motion*, others to the *light* of theſe glorious Bodies. And true indeed it is, that *motion* cauſes heat, by the attenuation and rarefaction of the ayre: But by this reaſon ſhould the *Moone* which is neerer the Earth, warme more then the *Sunne*, which is many thouſand miles farther diſtant, & the *higher* Regions of the Aire ſhould be alway hotter then the *lower*, which notwithſtanding if we compare the *ſecond* with the *loweſt*, is vndoubtedly falſe. Moreover the *motion* of the *celeſtiall* Bodies being *vniforme*, ſo ſhould the heat derived from them in reaſon likewiſe bee, and the *motion* ceaſing, the heat ſhould likewiſe ceaſe; and yet ſhall I neuer beleeue, that when the *Sun* ſtood ſtill at the prayer of *Ioſua*, it then ceaſed to warme theſe inferiour Bodies. And we finde by experience, that the *Sun* workes more powerfully vpon a Body which ſtands ſtill, then when it moues, and the reaſon ſeemes to bee the ſame in the reſt or motion of a Body warming or warmed, that receiueth or imparteth heat.

The *motion* being thus excluded from being the cauſe of this effect, the *light* muſt of neceſſity ſtep in, and challenge it to it ſelfe; the *light* then it is, which is vndoubtedly the cauſe of cœleſtiall heat, in part by a *direct* beame, but more vehemently by a *reflexed*: for which very reaſon it is, that the *middle* Region of the Aire is alwayes colder then the *loweſt*, and the *loweſt* hotter in Summer then in Winter, and at noone then in the morning and evening, the beames being then more *perpendicular*; and conſequently in their *reflexion* more narrowly vnited; by which *reflexion* and vnion, they grow ſometimes to that fervencie of heate, that fire ſprings out from them, as wee ſee in burning glaſſes, and by this artificiall device it was that *Archimedes*, as *Galen* reports it, in his third booke *de Temperamentis*, ſet on fire the Enemies Gallyes, and *Proclus* a famous *Mathematician*, practiſed the like at *Conſtãtinople*, as witneſſeth

Cap. 2.

neſſeth *Zonaras* in the life of *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour. And very reaſonable mee thinkes it is, that *light* the moſt *Divine* affection of the *Celeſtiall* Bodies, ſhould be the cauſe of *warmth*, the moſt *noble*, *actiue*, and *excellent* quality of the *ſubceleſtiall*. Theſe two like *Hyppocrates Twinnes*; *ſimul oriuntur & moriuntur*, they are borne and dye together, they increaſe and decreaſe both together, the greater the *light* is, the greater the *heate*; and therefore the *Sun* as much exceedes the othes ſtarres in *heate*, as it doth in *light*. To driue the argument home then to our preſent pupoſe, ſince the *light* of the *Sun* is no way *diminiſhed*, and the *heate* depends vpon the *light*, the conſequence to me ſeemes marvailous faire and ſtrong, which is, that neither the *heate* ariſing from the *light*, ſhould haue ſuffered any *decay* or *diminution* at all.

SECT. 3.

Two objections anſwered, the one drawne from the preſent habitableneſſe of the Torrid Zone, the other from a ſuppoſed approach of the Sunne neerer the earth then in former ages.

NOtwithſtanding the evidence of which trueth, ſome haue not doubted to attribute the preſent habitableneſſe of the *Torrid Zone*, to the weakeneſſe and old age of the *Heavens*, in regard of former ages. But they might haue remembred that the *Cold Zones* ſhould thereby haue become more inhabitable by cold, as alſo that holding as they do, an *vniverſall decay* in all the parts of nature, and *men* according to their opinion, *decaying* in ſtrength as well as the *Heavens*, they ſhould now in reaſon be as ill able to indure the preſent heate, as the men in former ages were, to indure that of the ſame times wherein they lived, the proportion beeing alike betweene the *weakeneſſe*, as betweene the *ſtrength* of the one and the other. But this I onely touch in paſſing, having a fitter occaſion to conſider more fully of it hereafter, when wee come to compare the *wits* and *inventions* of the *Ancients* with thoſe of the preſent times.

That which touches neerer to the quicke, and ſtrikes indeede at the very throate of the cauſe, is an opinon of very *many*, and thoſe very *learned* men, that the *Body* of the *Sunne* is drawne nearer the Earth by many degrees then it was in former ages, &that it dayly makes deſcents &approaches towards it, which ſome aſcribe to a deficiencie of ſtrength in the *Earth*, others in the *Sun*, moſt in *both*. *Bodin* out of *Copernicus*, *Reinoldus* and *Stadius*, great *Mathematicians* tell vs, that ſince *Ptolomies* time, who liued about an hundred and forty yeares after *Chriſt*, the *Sunne* by cleare demonſtrations is found to haue come neerer vs by *one hundred & thirty ſemidiameters of the earth*, which make *twenty ſix thouſ ad ſix hundred and ſixty German miles*, which are double to the *French*, as the *French* are to the *Italian* and ours. This wonderfull change, *Philip Melanchon*, ſaith he, *ad cæleſtium, terreſtriumque corporum tabeſcentem naturam referendum putavit*, thought fit to impute to the declining eſtate of the *celeſtiall* and *terreſtriall* Bodies. But if the *terreſtriall* depend vpon the *celeſtiall*, (as

Method. Hiſt. Cap. 8.

(as hath already beene prooved;& is the common opinion of all, both *Divines* and *Philoſophers*)then what is wanting in the wonted *vigour* of the *cæleſtiall*,being ſupplyed by the *approach* therof,the *terreſtriall* ſhould ſtill without any decay remaine vnimpaired in their condition. The force of which reaſon ſerues alſo ſtrongly againſt them who maintaine an habitableneſſe vnder the *Torride Zone*,through the weakeneſſe of the *Sun*,and yet withall hold a ſupply of that weakeneſſe by the neerer approach thereof.

But conſulting in this point with both the learned *Profeſſours* in the *Mathematickes* at *Oxford*,they both joyntly agree,that this aſſertion of the *Sunnes continuall declination*, or neerer approach to the Earth, is rather an *idle dreame*,then a *ſound poſition*, grounded rather vpon the difference among *Aſtronomers*, ariſing from the difficulty of their *obſervations*,then vpon any certaine and infallible *concluſions*. *Ptolomy* who lived about the yeare of *Chriſt* one hundred and forty,makes the diſtance of the *Sun* from the Earth to bee *one thouſand two hundred & ten ſemidiameters* of the Earth. *Albategnius* about the yeare eight hundred & eighty,makes it *one thouſand one hundred forty ſixe*. *Copernicus* about the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and twenty, makes it *one thouſand one hundred ſeventy nine*.*Tychobrahe* about the yeare one thouſand ſixe hundred, makes it *one thouſand one hundred eighty two*.Now I would demand,whether the *Sun* were more remote in *Ptolomies* time,& neerer in the time of *Albategnius*, & then againe more remote in the latter ages of *Copernicus* & *Tycho*:which if it were ſo,then one of theſe two muſt needes follow, that either their *obſervations* were not grounded vpon ſo certaine principles as they pretend, or that the *declination* of the *Sunne* is vncertaine & variable,not conſtant & perpetuall,as is pretended. But what would *Bodin* ſay,if he lived to heare *Lanſbergius*,*Kepler*, and other famous *Aſtronomers* of the *preſent age*, teaching that the *Sun* is now remote aboue *two thouſand & eight hundred*,nay *three thouſand* ſemidiameters from the Earth,affirming that *Copernicus* & *Tycho* neglected to allow for *refractions*,which (as the *Opticks* will demonſtrate) doe much alter the caſe.

Exercit.99 I will cloſe vp this point with the cenſure of *Scaliger* vpon the *Patrons* of this fancy, *Quæ verò nonnulli prodere auſi ſunt, Solis corpus longè propius nos eſſe,quàm quantum ab Antiquis ſcriptum ſit, ita vt in ipſa deferentis corpulentia locum mutaſſe videatur,vel ipſa ſcripta ſpongijs,vel ipſi Authores ſcuticis ſunt caſtigandi.* In as much as ſome haue dared to broach, that the body of the *Sun* is nearer the Earth then by the Ancients it was obſerved to be, ſo that it might ſeeme to haue changed place in the very bulke of the Spheare,either the Authors themſelues of this opinion deſerue to be chaſtned with ſtripes,or ſurely their writings to bee razed with ſponges.

SECT. 4.

SECT. 4.

A third objection answered, taken from a supposed removeall of the Sun more Southerly from vs then in former ages.

AS some haue inferred a diminution in the Heavenly warmth from a supposed neerer approach of the Sunne to the Earth, so haue others (at leastwise in regard of the Earth) from the removall thereof more Southerly then in former ages. But craving in this point likewise the opinion of my worthy friend Master *Doctour Bainbridge*, Professour in *Astronomie* at *Oxford*, hee returned mee this answere.

'It is the generall opinion of *Moderne Astronomers*, that the *Sun* in our 'time goeth not so farre *Southernly* from vs in Winter, as it did in the 'time of *Ptolomy* and *Hipparchus*, neither in Summer commeth so much 'Northernly towards vs, as then.

'For *Ptolomy* (about *ann. Christi* 140) observed the greatest declina- 'tion of the Sunne from the *Æquinoctiall* towards either *Pole* 23.51.20. 'agreeable to the observations of *Hipparchus* 130 yeares before *Christ*, 'and of *Eratosthenes* before *Hipparchus*. Wherevpon *Ptolomy* thought 'the Sunnes greatest declination immutable.

'But succeeding Ages haue observed a difference; for about *Anno* 'Christi 830, many learned Arabians observed the greatest declination 'of the Sunne to be 23.35. to whom agreeth *Albategnius*, a Syrian, a- 'bout *an. Christi* 880. Yet did not *Albategnius* from hence conclude any 'mutation in the greatest declination of the Sunne; for so small a dif- 'ference might well happen by errour of observations.

'Afterwards about *ann. Christi* 1070. *ArZachel* a *Moore* of *Spaine*, ob- 'served the greatest declination of the Sunne, 23,33.30. who to salue 'these different observations, invented a new *Hypothesis*, which yet was 'not received by *Astronomers* of after-times, who for many ages fol- 'lowed the greatest declination of *ArZachel*, without any alteration till 'the times of *Regiomontanus* and *Copernicus*: for *Copernicus* by his obser- 'vations some yeares before, and after *ann. Christi* 1520. affirmed the 'greatest declination of the Sunne, to bee no more then 23.28.24. a- 'greeable to the observations of *Regiomontanus*, and *Purbachius* some 'yeares before him. *Copernicus* collating his observations with those of 'former ages, renewed the *Hypothesis* of *ArZachel*, that the Sunnes great- 'est declination was mutable: yet so, that it was never greater then 23. '52. nor lesse then 23.28. The difference being onely 24. And that in '1717 yeares it decreaseth from the former to the latter, and in other '1717 yeares encreaseth from this to that againe.

'According to which *Hypothesis* of *Copernicus*, aboue 65 yeares be- 'fore Christ. the greatest declination of the Sunne was 23.52. From 'which time accounting backwards, it was lesse and lesse: so that a- 'bout 1782 yeares before *Christ*, the greatest declination of the Sunne 'was but 23.28. from which time accounting still backwards, it was

'more and more; till about 3499 yeares before *Christ*, it was againe '23.52.

'So after *Christ*, about the yeare 1652, the greateſt declination of the 'Sunne by this *Hypotheſis* ſhall bee but 23.28. and from thence againe 'encreaſe till it become 23.52. about the yeare 3369. after *Christ*. This 'opinion of *Copernicus* is receiued by moſt of this time, ſome following 'him κατὰ πόδας, others ſomewhat varying in the difference of the grea-'teſt declination, making it when it is leaſt (as in our time) no leſſe then '23,33. and in the *Periodicall* reſtitution thereof.

'But to ſpeake freely, I cannot ſo eaſily bee drawne into this opini-'on, but rather thinke the greateſt declination of the Sun to be ἀμετάβατον, 'immutable, and for ever the ſame; For the little difference of a few 'minutes betwixt vs, and *Ptolomy* may very well ariſe (as I former-'ly ſayd) from the errour of obſervations by the Ancients. The 'greateſt declination of the Sonne from the *Æquinoctiall* towards either '*Pole*, being alwayes the ſame; the Sonne cannot goe more *Southernely* 'from vs, nor come more *Northernly* towards vs, in this, then in former 'ages.

'But ſuppoſing a mutability in the Sunnes greateſt declination, accor-'ding to the former *Periods*; it followeth that as the Sunne about 65. 'yeares before the *Epoche* of *Christ* went from our verticall point more '*Southernly* then now it doth; So, many Ages before *Christ*, it went no 'more *Southernly*, then now it doth; and that many ages after that time, 'it ſhall goe as farre *Southernly*, as at the *Epoche* of *Christ*.

'Secondly when the greateſt declination was moſt. As then in 'Winter the Sunne went more *Southernly* from vs then now, ſo in Sum-'mer it came more *Northernly* and nearer vs, then now.

'Againe, when the greateſt declination is leaſt, (as in our Age) it go-'eth not ſo farre *Southernly* from vs in Winter, as formerly, neither in 'Summer comes ſo farre *Northernly*.

From which anſwere it may (as I conceiue) bee fitly and ſafely in-ferred, firſt that either there is no ſuch remoueall at all of the Sunne, (as is ſuppoſed) or if there be, as wee who are ſituate more Northern-ly, feele perchance the effects of the defects of the warmth thereof, in the vnkindly ripening of our fruites, and the like: ſo, likewiſe by the rule of proportion, muſt it needes follow, that they who lie in the ſame diſtance from the *South-Pole*, as wee from the *North*, ſhould enjoy the benefit of the neerer approach thereof: and they who dwell in the hotteſt *Climates* interjacent, of the abating of the immoderate fervency of their heate; and conſequently, that to the Vniverſall, nothing is loſt by this exchange: And as in this caſe it may happily fall out, ſo vn-doubtedly doth it in many other: from whence the *worlds* ſuppoſed *de-cay* is concluded, Wee vnderſtand not, or at leaſt-wiſe wee conſider not, how that which hurts vs helpes another nation, wee complaine (as was before truly obſerved out of *Arnobius*) as if the world were made, and the government thereof adminiſtred for vs alone; and here-by it comes to paſſe, that as hee who lookes onely vpon ſome libbat or end of a peece of *Arras*, conceiues perhaps an hand or head which hee

ſees

ſees to be very vnartificially made ; but vnfolding the whole, ſoone findes, that it carries a due and juſt proportion to the body: So, *qui ad panca reſpicit de facili pronuntiat*; (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) hee that is ſo narrow-eyed, as he lookes onely to his owne perſon or family, to his owne corporation or nation, will peradventure quickly conceiue, and as ſoone pronounce, that all things *decay* and goe backward, whereas hee that as a Citizen of the world, and a part of mankinde in generall, takes a view of the Vniverſall, and compares perſon with perſon, family with family, nation with nation, ſuſpends his judgement, or vpon examination cleerely findes , that though ſome members ſuffer, yet the whole is thereby no way indammaged at any time , and at other times thoſe ſame members are againe relieved. And from hence my ſecond inference is; that ſuppoſing a mutability in the Sunnes greateſt declinatiō; looke what dammage wee ſuffer by his farther removall from vs in Summer, is at leaſt-wiſe in part recompenſed by his neerer approach in Winter, and by the *Periodicall Revolutions* fully reſtored. And ſo I paſſe from the conſideration of the *warmth*, to thoſe hidden and ſecret qualities of the heavens, which to *Aſtronomers*, and *Philoſophers* are knowne by the name of *Influences*.

CAP. 5.

Touching the pretended decay of the heavenly bodies, in regard of their Influences.

SECT. 1.

Of the firſt kinde of influence, from the higheſt immoveable Heaven, called by Divines, Cœlum Empyræum.

HOwbeit *Ariſtotle* thorow thoſe workes of his, which are come to our hands, to my remembrance, hath not once vouchſafed ſo much as to take notice of ſuch qualities, which we call *Influences*; and though among the Ancients, *Averroes* and *Avicenne*, and among thoſe of freſher date, *Picus Mirandula* , and *Georgius Agricola*, ſeeke to diſproue them: Yet both *Scripture*, and *Reaſon*, and the weighty *authority* of many great Schollers, aſwell *Chriſtians* as *Ethnickes*, haue fully reſolved mee that ſuch there are. They are by *Philoſophers* diſtinguiſhed into two rankes , the firſt is that influence which is derived from the *Empyreall* immoveable heaven, the palace and *Manſion* houſe of glorified *Saints* and *Angels*, which is gathered from the diverſity of *Effects*, aſwell in regard of *Plants*, as *Beaſts*, and other commodities vnder the ſame *Climate*, within the ſame *Tract* and latitude, equally diſtant from both the *Poles*, which we cannot well referre originally to the *inbred* nature of the ſoyle, ſince the *Authour of Nature* hath ſo ordained, that the temper of the *inferiour* bodies ſhould ordinarily depend vpon the *ſuperiour*; nor yet to the *Aſpect* of the *moveable ſpheres* and *ſtars*; ſince every part of the ſame *Climate*, *ſucceſsiuely*, but *equally* injoyes the ſame

Lib. 3. contrà Aſtrolog. cap. 5. Lib. 4. & 5. De Cauſis ſubter.

ſame *aſpect* : It remaines then that theſe effects bee finally reduced to ſome *ſuperiour immoveable cauſe*, which can be none other then that *Empyreall* Heaven ; neither can it produce theſe effects by meanes of the *light* alone, which is vniformely diſperſed thorow the whole. But by ſome ſecret quality, which is diverſified according to the diverſe parts thereof; and without this, wee ſhould not onely finde wanting that *connection*, and vnity of order, in the parts of the world, which make it ſo comely; but withall, ſhould be forced to make one of the worthieſt pieces thereof voyde of *action*, the chiefe end of every created being. Neither can this *action* misbeſeeme the worthineſſe of ſo glorious a peece, ſince both the *Creatour* thereof , is ſtill buſied in the workes of *Providence*, and the *Inhabitants* in the workes of *miniſtration*.

Iohn 5.17. Heb.1.14.

SECT. 2.

Of the ſecond kinde, derived from the Planets and fixed Starres.

THe other kinde is that which is derived from the *ſtarres*, the aſpect of ſeverall *conſtellations*, the oppoſition and conjunction of the *Planets*, and the like. Theſe we haue warranted by the mouth of God himſelfe, in the thirty eight of *Iob*, according to our laſt, and moſt exact Tranſlation; *Canſt thou binde the ſweet influences of the Pleiades, or looſe the bands of Orion ? Canſt thou bring forth Mazzoreth in his ſeaſon? Or canſt thou guide Arcturus with his ſonnes ? Knoweſt thou the ordinances of heaven? Canſt thou ſet the dominion thereof in the earth?* where by the *ordinances of Heaven*, it may well bee thought is meant the courſe and order of theſe *hidden qualities*, which without divine and *ſupernaturall revelation*, can never perfectly bee knowne to any mortall creature.

Sir W.R.

Beſides, as a wiſe man of late memory hath well and truly obſerved, it cannot bee doubted, but the *ſtarres* are inſtruments of farre greater vſe, then to giue an obſcure light, and for men to gaze on after the Sun ſet, it being manifeſt that the diverſity of ſeaſons, the Winters & Summers, more hot or cold, more dry or wet, are not ſo vncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone , who alway keepe one and the ſame courſe. But that the ſtars haue alſo their working therein, as alſo in producing ſeverall kindes of mettalls , and mineralls in the bowells of the earth, where neither light nor heat can pierce. For as *heat* pierces where *light* cannot, ſo the *influence* pierces where the heat cannot.

Moreover if we cannot deny , but that God hath given vertues to ſprings and fountaines, to cold earth, to plants, and ſtones, and mineralls, nay to the very excrementall parts of the baſeſt living creatures; why ſhould wee robbe the beautifull ſtarres of their working powers ? For ſeeing they are many in *number*, and of eminent *beauty* and *magnitude*, wee may not thinke that in the treaſury of his wiſedome, who is infinite, there can be wanting even for *every ſtarre* a peculiar vertue and operation: As every *hearbe*, *plant*, *fruite*, and *flowre*, adorning the face of the

the earth,hath the like. As then theſe were not created to beautifie the earth alone,or to cover and ſhadow her duſty face, but otherwiſe, for the vſe of man and beaſt , to feede them and cure them : ſo were not thoſe incomparably glorious bodies ſet in the *firmament*, to none other end then to adorne it,but for *inſtruments* and organs of his divine providence ſo farre as it hath pleaſed his juſt will to determine.

I'le ne'r beleeue that the Arch-Architect
With all theſe fires the Heav'nly Arches deckt
Onely for ſhew,and with theſe gliſtring ſhields
T'amaze poore ſheepheards watching in the fields.
I'le ne'r beleeue that the leaſt flowre that prankes
Our garden borders,or the common bankes,
And the leaſt ſtone that in her warming lap
Our kinde nurſe Earth doth covetouſly wrap,
Hath ſome peculiar vertue of its owne;
And that the glorious ſtarres of Heav'n haue none:
But ſhine in vaine,and haue no charge preciſe,
But to be walking in Heav'ns Galleries,
And through that Palace vp and downe to clamber,
As golden Guls about a Princes Chamber. *Bartas.*

But how farre it hath pleaſed the *Divine Providence* to determine of theſe *influences*,it is hard,I confeſſe, to bee determined by any humane wiſedome.

SECT. 3.

That the particular and vttermoſt efficacie of theſe influences cannot be fully comprehended by vs.

IF in the true and vttermoſt vertues of *hearbes* and *plants*, which our ſelues ſow and ſet,and which grow vnder our feet , and wee dayly apply to our ſeverall vſes, wee are notwithſtanding in effect ignorant;much more in the *powers* and working of *cæleſtiall bodies*. For (as was ſaide before) *hardly doe we gueſſe aright,at things that are vpon the earth, & with labour doe wee finde the things that are before vs: but the things which are in heaven who hath ſearched out?* It cannot well be denyed, but that they are not *ſignes* onely,but at leaſtwiſe *concurrent cauſes* of immoderate *cold* or *heat*,*drought* or *moyſture*,*lightning*, *thunder*, raging *windes*, *inundations*, *earthquakes*,and conſequently of *famine* and *peſtilence*,yet ſuch croſſe accidents, may, and often doe fall out , in the matter vpon which they worke,that the *prognoſtication* of theſe caſuall events, even by the moſt skilfull *Aſtronomers* is very vncertaine. And for the common *Almanackes*,a man by obſervation ſhall eaſily finde,that the contrary to their *prediction* is commonly trueſt. Wiſdome 9 16

Now for the things which reſt in the *liberty of mans will*, the *Starres* haue doubtleſſe no power over them ; except it bee led by the *ſenſitiue appetite*, and that againe ſtirred vp by the *conſtitution* and complexion of the body,as too often it is, ſpecially where the *humours* of the body

are

are *ſtrong* to aſſault, and the *vertues* of the minde *weake* to reſiſt. If they haue dominion over *Beaſts*, what wee ſhould judge of *Men*, who differ little from *Beaſts*, I cannot tell; but ſure I am, that though the *Starres incline* a man to this or that courſe of life, they do but *incline*, *inforce* they cannot: *Education* and *reaſon*, and moſt of all *Religion*, may ſo alter and over-maſter that inclination, as they ſhall produce a cleane contrary effect. It was to this purpoſe a good and memorable ſpeech of *Cardinall Poole*, who being certified, by one of his acquaintance, who profeſſed knowledge of theſe ſecret *favours* of the ſtarres, that he ſhould be raiſed and advanced to great calling in the world, made anſwer, that whatſoever was pretended by the figure of his birth, or *naturall generation*, was cancelled and altered, by the grace of his ſecond birth, or *regeneration* in the bloud of his *Redeemer*.

Duditius in vita Poli.

Againe we may not forget that *Almighty God* created the ſtarres, as hee did the reſt of the *Vniverſall*, whoſe ſecret influences may be called his reſerved and vnwritten Lawes, which by his *Prerogatiue Royall* he may either put in execution, or diſpenſe with at his owne pleaſure. For were the ſtrength of the ſtarres ſuch as *God* had quitted vnto them, all dominion over his Creatures, that petition of the Lords Prayer, *Lead vs not into temptation, but deliver vs from evill*, had been none other but a vaine expence of words and time. Nay bee hee *Pagane* or *Chriſtian* that ſo beleeveth, the onely true *God* of the one, and the imaginary *Gods* of the other, would therby be diſpoyled, of all worſhip reverence and reſpect. As therefore I do not conſent with them who would make thoſe glorious Creatures of *God* vertueleſſe: ſo I thinke that we derogate from his eternall and abſolute power and providence to aſcribe to them the ſame dominion over our immortall ſoules which they haue over our bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures. For the ſoules of men louing and fearing *God*, receiue influence from that divine light it ſelfe, whereof the Suns clarity and that of the Starres is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow, *Lumen eſt vmbra Dei, & Deus eſt lumen luminis*, Light is the ſhadow of Gods brightneſſe, who is the light of light.

SECT. 4.

That neither of theſe kindes of influences is decayed in their benigne and favourable effects, but that curious inquiſition into them is to be forborne.

NOw then ſince the *Immoveable Heaven* by the confeſſion of all that acknowledge it, is altogether *inalterable*; ſince the aſpect of the fixed conſtellations, the conjunction and oppoſition of the Planets, in the courſe of their revolutions, is ſtill the ſame, and conſtant to it ſelfe; ſince for their *number*, their *quantity*, their *diſtance*, their *ſubſtance*, their *motion*, their *light*, and *warmth*, they are no whit impared; why ſhould wee make any doubt but that their *influence* is now likewiſe as ſweet (as *God* in his conference with *Iob*, teameth it) as benigne, as gratious, as favourable as ever, in regard of the Elements, the Plants, the beaſts,

Iob. 38. 31.

beasts and man himselfe? and why should we not beleeue that *education*, *reason* and *religion*, are now as powerfull as ever, to correct and qualifie their vnluckie and maligne aspects? that the hand of *God* is no way shortned, but that he is now as able as ever to controle and checke his creatures, & make them *worke together for the best, to them that loue him*: As he did sometime in this very case, for his chosen people: *they fought from heaven, the starres in their courses fought against Sisera.* He that set the *Sun* and *Moone* at a stand in their walks, and commaunded the shadow to retire in the dyall of *Ahaz*, he that made a dry path through the *red sea*, mused the mouthes of the *Lyons*, and restrained the violence of the *fire*, so as for a season it could not burne, hath he bound himselfe to the *influence* of a Starre, that he cannot binde it vp, or divert it, or alter it at his pleasure, and vpon the humble supplication of his servants? no, no, *Sanctus dominabitur astris:* if according to *Ptolomy*, the greatest Master of *Iudiciary Astrology*, *Wisedome* and *fore-sight* over-rule the starres, then surely much more *devotion* and *piety*. If the *Saints* by their prayers commaund the *Divels*, and both shut and open Heaven for raine and drought, as did *Elias*, then may they aswell by vertue of the same prayer, stop the *influences* of the *starres*, the instrumentall causes of drought and raine. *Bee not dismaide then at the signes of Heaven, for the Heathen bee dismaide at them.* And surely they in whom corrupt *Nature* swayes & raignes, haue much more reason to be dismaide at them, then others in whom *Grace* and the sense of *Godlines* prevailes. And whiles they feare many times they know not what, by meanes of their very feare, they fall into that which they stand in feare of: *feare being the betrayer of these succours which reason affords*. Much noise there is at this present, touching the late great Conjunction of *Saturne* and *Iupiter*, and many ominous conjectures are cast abroad vpon it, which if perchance they proue true, I should rather ascribe it to our *sinnes* then the *starres*, wee need not search the cause so far off, in the *Booke of Heaven*; we may finde it written neerer at home in our owne *bosomes:* And for the starres, I may say as our *Saviour* in the Gospell doth of the *Sabboth*, *the starres were made for men, and not men for the starres.* They were not created to governe, but to serue him; if he serue & be governed by his *Creator*; & *if God be on our side, & we on his*, *Iupiter* & *Saturne* shall never hurt vs; But whatsoever the force of the starres be, vpon the persons of private men, or the states of weale-publiques, I should rather advise a *modest ignorãce* therein, then a *curious inquisition* thereinto, following the witty & pithy counsell of *Phavorinus* the Philosopher in *Gellius*, where he thus speaks: *Aut adversa eventura dicunt, aut prospera; si dicunt prospera & fallunt, miser fies frustra expectando, si adversa dicunt & mentiuntur, miser fies frustra timendo; si vera respondent, eaque sunt non prospera, jam inde ex animo miser fies antequam è fato fias; si fælicia promittunt, eaque eventura sunt, tum planè duo erunt incommoda, & expectatio te spe suspensum fatigabit, & futurum gaudij fructũ spes tibi defloraverit.* Either they portend then bad or good luck; if good & they deceiue, thou wilt become miserable by a vaine expectation; if bad & they lye, thou wilt be miserable by a vaine feare; if they tell thee true, but vnfortunate events, thou wilt bee miserable in minde before thou art by destiny; if they promise fortunate successe, which

Rom 8 28.

Iudges 5.20.

Iam. 5.17.

Ier. 10.2.

July 9. 1623.

Lib. 14. c. 1.

which ſhall indeed come to paſſe, theſe two inconveniences will follow therevpon, both expectation by hope will hold thee in ſuſpence, & hope will deflowre and devoure the fruit of thy Content. His concluſion is, which is alſo mine, both for this point, and this Chapter, and this diſcourſe, touching the *Heavenly Bodies*, *Nullo igitur pacto vtendum eſt iſtiuſmodi hominibus res futuras præſagientibus:* wee ought in no caſe to haue recourſe to thoſe kinde of men which vndertake the fore-telling of caſuall events. And ſo I paſſe from the conſideration of the cœleſtiall bodies to the ſubcœleſtiall, which by Gods ordinance depend vpon thē, and are made ſubordinate vnto them, touching which, and the cœleſtiall bodies both together, comparing each with other, the Divine *Bartas* thus ſweetly and truly ſings:

Things that conſiſt of th'Elements vniting;
Are ever toſt with an inteſtine fighting,
Whence ſprings (in time) their life and their deceaſing,
Their diverſe change, their waxing and decreaſing:
So that, of all that is, or may be ſeene
With mortall eyes, vnder Nights horned Queene,
Nothing reteineth the ſame forme and face,
Hardly the halfe of halfe an houres ſpace.
But the Heav'ns feele not Fates impartiall rigour,
Yeeres adde not to their ſtature nor their vigour:
Vſe weares them not, but their greene-ever age,
Is all in all ſtill like their pupillage.

CAP. 6.

Touching the pretended decay of the Elements in generall.

SECT. 1.

That the Elements are ſtill in number foure, and ſtill retaine the ancient places and properties.

HAving thus prooved at large, in the former Chapters, touching the *Heavens*, that there neither is, nor in the courſe of *Nature* can be any *decay*, either in regard of their *matter*, their *motion*, their *light*, their *warmth* or *influence*, but that *they all continue as they were, even to this day by Gods ordinance*, it remaines that I now proceed to the conſideration of the *ſublunary bodies*, that is, ſuch as *God* and *Nature* hath placed vnder the *Moone*. Now the ſtate of theſe *inferiour*, being guided and governed by the *ſuperiour*, if the *ſuperiour* be *vnimpaireable*, as hath beene ſhewed, it is a ſtrong preſumption, that the *inferiour* are likewiſe *vnimpaired*. For as in the wheeles of a Watch or clock, if the firſt be out of order, ſo are the ſecond and third, & the reſt that are moved by it: ſo if the higher bodies were *impaired*, it cannot bee but the lower depending vpon them, ſhould taſte thereof, as on the other ſide the one being not impaired, it is more then probable, that the other partake with them

Pſal. 119. v. 91.

them in the ſame condition. Which dependance is well expreſſed by *Boethius*, where having ſpoken of the conſtant regularity of the *heavenly bodies*, hee thus goes on.

Hæc concordia temperat æquis
elementa modis, vt pugnantia
Vicibus cedant humida ſiccis,
Iungantque fidem frigora flammis,
Pendulus ignis ſurgat in altum,
Terræque graves pondere ſidant
Iiſdem cauſis Vere tepenti
Spirat florifer annus odores,
AEſtas Cererem fervida ſiccat,
Remeat pomis gravis Autumnus,
Hyemem defluus irrigat imber,
Hæc temperies alit & profert
Quicquid vitam ſpirat in orbe,
Eadem rapiens condit & aufert
Obitu mergens orta ſupremo.

De Conſol. lib. 4. Met. 6.

This concord tempers equally
Contrary Elements,
That moiſt things yeelds vnto the dry,
And heat with cold conſents;
Hence fire to higheſt place doth flie,
And Earth doth downward bend,
And flowrie Spring perpetually
Sweete odours forth doth ſend,
Hote ſummer harveſt giues, and ſtore
Of fruit *Autumnus* yeelds,
And ſhowers which downe from Heau'n do powre,
Each winter drowne the fieldes:
What ever in the world doth breath,
This temper forth hath brought,
And nouriſhed: the ſame by death
Againe it brings to nought.

Among the *ſubceleſtiall* bodies following *Natures* methode, I will firſt begin with the conſideration of the *Elements*, the moſt ſimple and vniverſall of them all, as being the Ingredients of all mixt bodies, either in whole or in part, and into which the mixt are finally reſolued againe, and are againe by turnes re-made of them, the common matter of them all ſtill abiding the ſame.

Barlas.

Heere's nothing conſtant, nothing ſtill doth ſtay;
For birth and death haue ſtill ſucceſſiue ſway:
Here one thing ſprings not till another dye,
Onely the matter liues immortally.
Th'Almightie's table, Body of this All,
(Of changefull chances common Arcenall,
And like it ſelfe, all in it ſelfe contained,
Which by times flight hath neither loſt nor gained)

Changeleſſe in eſſence, changeable in face,
Much more then *Proteus* or the ſubtill race
Of roving *Polypes*, who (to rob the more)
Transforme them hourely on the waving ſhore:
Much like the French, (or like our ſelues their apes)
Who with ſtrange habit do diſguiſe their ſhapes.
Who louing novels full of affectation,
Receiue the manners of each other Nation.

By conſent of Antiquity they are in number foure, the *Fire*, the *Aire*, the *Water*, and the *Earth*.

Quatuor æternus genitalia corpora mundus
Continet: ex illis duo ſunt oneroſa, ſuoque
Pondere in inferius tellus, atque vnda feruntur:
Et totidem gravitate carent: nulloque premente
Alta petunt aer, atque aere purior ignis.
Quæ quanquam ſpacio diſtant; tamen omnia fiunt
Ex ipſis, & in ipſa cadunt.

Foure bodies primitiue the world ſtill containes
Of which, two downeward bend the earth and vvatery plaines,
As many weight do want and nothing forcing, higher
They mount, th'aire and purer ſtreames of fire.
Which though they diſtant bee, yet all things from them take
Their birth, and into them their laſt returnes do make.

Three of them ſhew themſelues manifeſtly in milke, the butter beeing the *Aëriall* part thereof, the whey the *watery*, and the cheeſe the *earthly*: but all foure in the burning of greene wood, the flame beeing *fire*; the ſmoke, the *aire*; the liquor diſtilling at the ends, the *water*; and the aſhes, the *earth*. *Phyloſophy* likewiſe by reaſon, teaches and proues the ſame from their *motion* vpward and downeward, from their *ſecond qualities*, of lightneſſe and heavineſſe, and from their *firſt qualities*, either *actiue*, as heate and cold, or *paſſiue*, as dry and moiſt. For as their *motion* proceedes from their *ſecond qualities*, ſo do their *ſecond* from the *firſt*, and their *firſt* from the *heavenly bodies*, next to which, as being the nobleſt of them all, as well in *purity* as *activity*, is ſeated the *Element* of the *fire*, (though many of the *Ancients*, and ſome latter writers, as namely *Cardan*, among the reſt ſeemes to make a doubt of it.)

1. De ſubtil. Manil. 1. Aſtronom.

Ignis ad æthereas volucer ſe ſuſtulit auras
Summaque complexus ſtellantis culmina Cæli,
Flammarum vallo naturæ mœnia fecit.

Barta.

The fire eftſoones vp towards heaven did flie,
And compaſſing the ſtarrie world, advanced
A wall of flames, to ſafegard nature by.

Next the *fire* is ſeated the *aire*, divided into *three regions*, next the *aire* the *water*, and next the *water* the *earth*.

Who ſo (ſometimes) hath ſeene rich Ingots tride,
When forc't by fire their treaſure they devide
(How faire and ſoftly gold to gold doth paſſe,
Silver ſeekes ſilver, braſſe conſorts with braſſe;

And

And the whole lumpe, of parts vnequall, ſevers
It ſelfe apart, in white, red, yellow rivers)
May vnderſtand how, when the mouth divine
Op'ned (to each his proper place t'aſſigne)
Fire flew to fire, water to water ſlid,
Aire clung to aire, and earth with earth abid.

The vaile both of the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, were made of blew, and purple, and ſcarlet or crimſon, and fine twiſted linnen: by which foure, as *Ioſephus* noteth, were repreſented the foure elements; his words are theſe: *Velum hoc erat Babylonium variegatum, ex hyacintho, & byſſo, coccoque & purpura, mirabiliter elaboratum, non indignam contemplatione materiæ commiſtionem habens, ſed velut omnium imaginem præferens; Cocco enim videbatur ignem imitari, & byſſo terram, & hyacintho aerem, ac mare purpura, partim quidem coloribus, byſſo autem & purpura origine, byſſo quidem quia de terra, mare autem purpuram gignit.* The vaile was *Babyloniſh* worke, moſt artificially imbroydered, with blue and fine linnen, and ſcarlet, and purple, having in it a mixture of things, not vnworthy our conſideration, but carrying a kinde of reſemblance of the *Vniverſall*; for by the ſcarlet, ſeemed the fire to be repreſented; by the linnen, the *earth*; by the blew, the *aire*; and by the purple, the *ſea*, partly by reaſon of the colours of ſcarlet and blue, and partly by reaſon of the originall of linnen and purple; the one comming from the earth, the other from the ſea. And S. *Hierome* in his epiſtle to *Fabiola*, hath the very ſame conceite, borrowed as it ſeemes, from *Ioſephus*, or from *Philo*, who hath much to like purpoſe, in his third booke of the life of *Moſes:* or it may be from that in the eighteenth of the booke of *Wiſedome*, *In the long robe was the whole world:* As not onely the *vulgar* lattin, and *Arias Montanus*, but out of them and the *Greeke* originall, our laſt *Engliſh* Tranſlation reades it. *Epiſt. 128.* *v. 24.*

The *fire* is dry and hot, the *aire* hot and moiſt, the *water* moiſt and cold, the *earth* cold and dry: thus are they linked, and thus embrace they one another with their ſymbolizing qualities, the *earth* being linked to the *water* by coldneſſe, the *water* to the *aire* by moiſtneſſe, the *aire* to the *fire* by warmth, the *fire* to the *earth by* drought: which are all the combinations of the qualities that poſſibly can bee; hot and cold, as alſo dry and moiſt, in the higheſt degrees beeing altogether incompatible in the ſame ſubject: And though the *earth* and the *fire* bee moſt oppoſite in *diſtance*, in *ſubſtance*, & in *activity*; yet they agree in one quality, the two middle being therein directly contrary to the two extreames, aire to earth, and water to fire:

Water, as arm'd with moiſture and with cold,
The cold-dry earth with her one hand doth hold;
With th'other th'aire: The aire as moiſt and warme,
Holds fire with one; water with th'other arme:
As country-maidens, in the moneth of May,
Merrily ſporting on a holy-day
And luſty dancing of a liuely round
About the May-pole, by the Bag-pipes ſound; *Bartas.*

Hold hand in hand, ſo that the firſt is faſt
(by meanes of thoſe betweene) vnto the laſt.
But all the linkes of th'holy chaine which tethers
The many members of the world togethers,
Are ſuch, as none but onely hee can breake them
Who at the firſt did(of meere nothing) make them.

SECT. 2.

That the Elements ſtill hold the ſame proportions each to other, and by mutuall exchange the ſame dimenſions in themſelues.

THeſe foure then, as they were from the beginning, ſo ſtill they remaine the radicall and fundamentall principles of all ſubceleſtiall bodies, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeverall and ancient *Situations, properties, actions*, and *effects*; and howſoever after their old wont they fight and combate together, beeing *ſingle*; yet in *compoſition* they ſtill accord marvailous well.

Boethius. l. 3. Met 9.

Tu numeris elementa ligas; vt frigora flammis,
Arida conveniant liquidis, ne purior ignis
Evolet, aut merſas deducant pondera terras.
To numbers thou the elements do'ſt tie
That cold with heate may ſymbolize, and drie
With moiſt, leaſt purer fire ſhould ſore too high,
And earth through too much weight too low ſhould lie.

The *Creator* of them, hath bound them as it were, to their good behaviour, and made them in every mixt body to ſtoope and obey *one predominant*, whoſe ſway and conduct they willingly follow. The *aire* beeing predominant in ſome, as in oyle, which alwaies ſwimmes on the toppe of all other liquors; and the earth in others, which alwaies gather as neere the Center as poſſibly they can. And as in theſe, they vary not a jot from their natiue and wonted properties, ſo neither doe they in their other conditions. It is ſtill true of them, that *nec gravitant nec levitant in ſuis locis*, there is no ſenſe of their weight or lightneſſe in their proper places, as appeares by this, that a man lying in the bottome of the deepeſt *Ocean*, hee feeles no burden from the weight thereof: The *fire* ſtill ſerues to warme vs as it did, the *aire* to maintaine our breathing, the *water* to clenſe and refreſh vs, the *earth* to feede and ſupport vs, and which of them is moſt neceſſary for our vſe is hard to determine: Likewiſe they ſtill hold the ſame proportion one toward another, as formerly they haue done: For howbeit the *Paripatetickes*, pretending heerein the Authority of their Mr *Ariſtotle*, tell vs, that as they riſe one aboue another in *ſituation*, ſo they exceede one another, *proportione decupla*, by a tenne-fold proportion, yet is this doubtleſſe a foule errour, or at leaſt-wiſe a groſſe miſtake, whether wee regard their *entire bodies*, or their *parts*; in their *entire bodies*, it is certaine that the earth exceedes both the water and the aire by many degrees: The depth of the waters, not exceeding two or three miles, and for the moſt part not aboue halfe a mile, as *Marriners* finde by their line and plummet,

2. de Generat. c. 6.

met, whereas the *diameter* of the earth, as *Mathematitians* demonstrate, exceedes seaven thousand miles. And for the *aire*, taking the height of it from the place of the ordinary *Comets*, it containes by estimation about fifty two miles, as *Nonius*, *Vitellio*, and *Allhazen* shew by *Geometricall* proofes. Whence it plainely appeares that there cannot be that proportion betwixt the *intire Bodies* of the *Elements* which is pretended, nor at any time was since their Creation. And for their parts, 'tis as cleare by *experience*, that out of a few drops of *water* may bee made so much aire as shall exceed thē fiue hundred or a thousand times at least.

Clavius in Sacroboſc. c. 1. Lib. de Crepuſc. l. 10. propoſ. 60. 7. Perſpect.

But whatsoever their *proportion* be, it is certain that notwithstanding their continuall *transmutation*, or *transelementation*, as I may so call it, of one into another, yet by a mutuall *retribution* it still remaines the same that in former ages it hath beene, as I haue already shewed more at large in a former chapter: and *Philo* most elegantly expresseth, *Egregia quidem est in elementis quaternarum virium compensatio, æqualibus, justisque regulis ac terminis vices suas dispensantium: sicut enim anni circulus quaternis vicibus distinguitur alijs partibus post alias succedentibus, & per ambitus eosdem vsque recurrente tempore: pari modo & elementa mundi vicissim sibi succedentia mutantur, & quod diceres incredibile, dum mori videntur, reddūtur immortalia, iterum atque iterum metiendo idem stadium, & sursum atque deorsum per eandem viam cursitando continuè, à terra enim acclivis via incipit, quæ liquescens in aquam mutatur, aqua porrò evaporat in aerem, aer in ignem extenuatur, ac declivis altera deorsum tendit à Capite, igne per extinctionem subsidente in aerem, aere verò in aquam se densante, aquæ verò liquore in terram crassescente.* There is in the Elements a notable compensation of their fourefold qualities, dispencing themselues by even turnes and just measures. For as the circle of the yeare is distinguished by foure quarters, one succeeding another, the time running about by equall distances: in like manner the foure Elements of the World by a reciprocall vicissitude succeed one another: & which a man would thinke incredible, while they seeme to dye, they become immortall: running the same race and incessantly travailing vp and downe by the same path. From the Earth the way riseth vpward, it dissolving into water, the water vapors forth into aire, the aire is rarified into fire; again they descēd downward the same way, the fire by quēching being turned into aire, the aire thickneth into water, and the water into earth. Hitherto *Philo*, wherein after his vsuall wont he *Platonizes*, the same being in effect to bee found in *Platoes Timæus*, as also in *Aristotles* booke *de Mundo*, if it be his, in *Damascene*, and *Gregory Nyssen*. And most elegantly the wittiest of Poets.

Lib. de Mundi incorruptibilitate.

Lib. 1. de fid. orth. c. 3. De operibus sex dierum.

----resolutaque tellus
In liquidas rarescit aquas, tenuatur in auras,
Aeraque humor habet, dempto quoque pondere rursus
In superos aer tenuissimus emicat ignes.
Inde retro redeunt: idemque retexitur ordo,
Ignis enim densum spissatus in aera transit,
Hinc in aquas tellus glomeratâ cōgitur vndâ.

Ouid. Met. 15

The Earth resolu'd is turned into streames,
Water to aire, the purer aire to flames:

From thence they back returne, the fiery flakes
Are turn'd to aire, the aire thickned, takes
The liquid forme of water, and that earth makes.

The foure Elements herein reſembling an inſtrument of *Muſicke* with foure ſtrings, which may be tuned diverſe wayes, and yet the *harmony* ſtill remaines ſweete, & ſo are they compared in the booke of *Wiſdome*,

Cap. 19. v. 17. *The Elements agreed among themſelues in this change, as when one tune is changed vpon an inſtrument of Muſicke, and the melodie ſtill remaineth.*

Sith then the knot of ſacred marriage,
Which joynes the Elements, from age to age
Brings forth the worlds babes: ſith their emnities,
With fell divorce, kill whatſoever dies:
And ſith but changing their degree and place,
They frame the various formes, wherewith the face
Of this faire world is ſo imbelliſhed,
As ſix ſweet notes, curiouſly varied
In skilfull muſick, make a hundred kindes
Of heau'nly ſounds, that raviſh hardeſt mindes;
And with diviſion (of a choice device)
The hearers ſoules out at their eares entice:
Or as of twice-twelue letters thus tranſpoſ'd,
This world of words is variouſly compoſ'd,
And of theſe words, in diverſe order ſowen,
This ſacred volume that you read is growen.
Who ſo hath ſeene, how one warme lump of waxe
(Without increaſing or decreaſing) takes
A hundred figures, well may judge of all
Th'inceſſant changes of this neather ball:
Yet thinke not that this changing oft remiſes
Ought into nought: it but the forme diſguiſes
In hundred faſhions, and the ſubſtances
Inly or outly, neither win nor leeſe.
For all that's made, is made of the firſt matter
Which in th'old nothing made the All-creator.
All that diſſolues, reſolues into the ſame,
Since firſt the Lord, of nothing made this frame:
Nought's made of nought, and nothing turnes to nothing,
Things birth or death change but their formall cloathing:
Their formes do vaniſh but their bodies bide,
Now thick, now thin, now round, now ſhort, now ſide.

Bartas

Vtque novis facilis ſignatur Cera figuris,
Nec manet vt fuerat, nec formam ſervat eandem,
Sed tamen ipſa eadem eſt.

They be the verſes of *Ovid* in the 15 of the *Met.* but may well be rendred by thoſe of *Bartas* touching ſeverall prints ſtamped vpon the ſame lump of waxe.

SECT. 3.

SECT. 3.

An objection drawne from the continuall mixture of the Elements each with other answered.

THus then wee see that the *Elements* are still the same, no way impaired in regard of their *portions* or *proportions*. neither do I finde any *objection* against this of any moment or worthy our notice: Let vs now examine whether or no they be impaired in their *qualities*, for which I haue often heard it alleaged, that their frequent *interchange*, their continuall blending and mixing together now for the space of so many thousand yeares, cannot in reason but much haue altered their *inbred vigour* and originall constitution, as *Ilanders*, and in them specially their maritine parts are thought by *Aristotle*, and commonly by experience are found to be most tainted in their manners, by reasō that lying open to trade, they draw on the cōmerce & intercourse of sundry forraine Nations, who by long conversation, debauch them in regard of their *Customes*, their *language*, their *habite* and naturall *disposition*. But this allegation is in truth a bare and naked supposition. For though it be true that such a continuall traffique and inter-change there is betwixt the *Elements*, yet doth it not therefore follow that their *qualities* should thereby degenerate, or become more impure, inasmuch as that impurity which by intercourse they haue contracted, by perpetuall agitation they purge out againe, and by continuall generation each out of other renew their parts, and so by degrees returne to their former estate and purity. And againe, for the *fire*, if wee consider it in its owne spheare, (though as the rest of the *Elements*, it be indeed subject to a successiue generation & corruption, in regard of the parts thereof) yet is it alwayes most pure, which is the reason that it neither can bee seene, as fiery *Meteors* are, neither can any creature either breed or liue in it. And as for the *Aire*, *Water*, and *Earth*, if they were pure, it is certaine they could not be so serviceable as they are. If the *Aire* were pure, neither men, nor birds, nor beasts could breath in it, as S. *Augustine* reports of the hill *Olympus*, *Perhibetur in Olympi vertice aer esse tam tenuis vt neque sustentare alites possit, neque ipsos qui forte ascenderint homines, crassioris auræ spiritu alere sicut in isto aere consueverunt:* It is sayd that vpon the top of the hill *Olympus*, the aire is so thin and pure, that it can neither beare vp the birds that offer to flie in it, nor bee vsefull for the breathing of men, if any come thither, being vsed to thicker ayre. Neither could any *Meteors*, did it still continue pure, be bred in it: as *raine*, and *snow*, and *dewes*, and *frosts* and the like, which notwithstanding are many wayes commodious and profitable for the vse of all liuing creatures, so as they could not liue without them. And for the *water* if it were pure, it could neither feed the fishes, nor beare vp vessels of burden. As likewise if the *earth* were pure, it would be altogether Barren, and fruitlesse, like sand or ashes, not able to nourish the plants that hang vpon the breasts of it. The *Elements* then being ordained for the ornamentt of the world, but chiefely to serue the mixt bodies, there is nothing lost but much gained

De Gen. ad litteram. lib. 3. c. 2.

to

to the whole, by the losse of their purity, nay the restitution and recovery thereof (if so they were created) would vndoubtedly proue the vtter vndoing of the whole, as the vntainted virginity of either sexe would of the race of mankinde; yet for farther satisfaction, it shall not be amisse to consider these three asunder, in reference to the *mixt bodies*, the *ayre* I meane, the *water* and the *earth*, that so it may appeare whether the *aire* be decayed in it's *temper*, the *water* in it's *goodnesse* and *vertue*, the *earth* in it's *fatnesse* and *fruitfullnesse*.

CAP. 7.

Touching the pretended decay of the aire, in regard of the temper thereof.

SECT. 1.

Of excessiue drought and cold in former ages and that in former Countries.

THat the *ayre* is not distempered, more then in former ages, will as I conceiue appeare by this, that vnseasonable weather, for excessiue *heate* and *cold*, or immoderate *drought* and *raine*, *thunder* and *lightning*, *frost* and *snow*, *haile* and *windes*, yea and *contagious sicknesses*, *pestilentiall*, *Epidemicall diseases*, arising from the *infection* of the *aire*, by noysome mistes and vapours, to which wee may adde, *earthquakes*, *burning* in the *bowels* of the *earth*, *blazing Comets*, and the like; were as frequent, if not more, in former ages, then in latter times, as will easily appeare to such who please either to looke either into the *Generall history* of the world at large, or the severall *Chronicles* of particular nations. Such burning like that of *Phaeton*, such floodes like that of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion* recorded by *Orosius*, *Pliny*, *S. Augustine*, and *Varro*, the world hath not felt or knowne since those times. To like purpose I remember *Iustus Lypsius* a man rather partiall for *Antiquity* then for the present age, hath written an *Epistle* vpon occasion of a great *drought* which happened in the yeare one thousand sixe hundred and one, and lasted by the space of aboue foure moneths, to which hee makes his entrance, *Non tamen nimis insolens aut nova, etsi nobis sit visa.* It is no new or vnusuall thing, though to vs so it seeme: wherevpon hee produceth sundry instances of excessiue *heate* and *drought* in former ages as well from the *Romane history*, as the *Germaine Annales*. Among which the most remarkable, are that in the yeare one thousand two hundred twenty eight, the *heate* was such, that their harvest was fully ended at Midsommer, or to speake in his words, before the *Festivall* of S. *Iohn* the *Baptist*, which wee commonly call *Midsommer* day. And againe two yeares after, in the moneth of *July*, and *August*, it continued so fervently hot that men *rosted egges in the sand*.

Epist. Select. 47.

And least we should thinke that their *immoderate cold*, was not answerable to their heate, he goes on and tels vs that in the reigne of *Lewis* son

to

to *Charlemaigne*, in the yeare eight hundred twenty one, the winter was ſo long and ſharpe that not onely ſmall brookes and ſtreames, but the *Rhene*, *Danubius*, *Albis*, the *Seene*, and generally all the great riuers both of *France* and *Germany* were ſo hard frozen, that for the ſpace of thirty dayes or more, Loaden Carts paſſed over them, as it had beene vpon Bridges.

Virgill Georgickes. 3.

Vndaque jam tergo ferratos ſuſtinet orbes,
Puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hoſpita plauſtris.

The river on it's backe now iron wheeles ſuſtaines,
And what did ſhips ere while, now Wagons entertaines.

But in the yeare one thouſand eighty ſix, the winter continued ſo bitter that from S. *Martyns* day, which is the Eleventh of *November*, to the firſt of *Aprill*, the *Rheine* was paſſible on foote. And for vnſeaſonable cold, in regard of the time of the yeare, hee reports out of *Hermannus Contractus*, that in the yeare one thouſand ſixty three, in the midſt of *Aprill* for the ſpace of foure dayes the weather was ſo cruell with *raging windes* and abundance of *ſnow* that it kild their Cattle and birds, and deſtroyed their vines and trees. And laſtly hee vouches out of *Robertus de Monte*, that in the yeare one thouſand one hundred twenty fiue, it was ſo ſore and byting a *winter*, that innumerable *Eeles* by reaſon of the long continuance of the *Ice* came creeping out of the ditches & hiding themſelues in the meddowes, were there found dead, and rotten by the wonderfull exceſſe of *Cold*, and vpon the trees ſcarce appeared there any leaues till the moneth of *May*: his concluſion is *Quorſum ego iſta? vt opinio illa novitatis eximatur, quæ malè in omni dolore aut querela blanditur, nunquam tale, nemini tantum: nugæ & plebeij ſermones, quos hiſtoriæ refutent, & ſeriò lectæ hunc quoque Conſtantiæ fructum in animo gignant.* But now to what end are theſe examples alleaged by mee? Surely to no other purpoſe but to worke out of mens mindes that opinion of novelty and ſtrangeneſſe, wherewith wee vſually flatter our ſelues in our griefe and complaints, never was the like, no age ever ſaw or felt it, in ſuch a meaſure: Trifling ſpeeches, beſeeming the vulgar, but confuted by hiſtory, which being accurately read, may ſerue to arme vs with conſtancy againſt theſe and the like accidents.

Seneca in the entrance of 2. of his epiſtles to *Lucilius* complaines of vnſeaſonable & vnkindly ſpringes by reaſon of their cold, in the one he calls it *malignum ver & præpoſterum frigus*, a malignant Spring and preposterous cold; and in the other, *jam inclinatum in æſtatem, quo tempore calere debebat, intepuit: nec adhuc illi fides eſt, ſæpe enim in hyemem revolvitur:* it now growing on vpon Summer; when for the ſeaſon of the yeare it ſhould bee hote, the weather is but warme, neither yet it any truſt to be given to it, for that it often relapſes backe into winter: ſo as the complaint of vnſeaſonable weather is not new.

Epiſt. 23.

Epiſt. 67.

I thinke wee ſhall hardly reade or heare of a ſharper *froſt* in latter ages, then that which *Ovid* mentions, in the place whither hee was baniſhed, at his beeing there.

Ovid de Triſt.

Nudaque conſiſtunt formam ſervantia teſtæ
Vina, nec hauſta meri ſed data fruſta bibunt.

Bare

Bare wines ſtill keeping forme of Caske ſtand faſt,
Georg. 3. Not gulpes, but gobbets of their wine they taſt.

Agreeable wherevnto is that of *Virgill*,

Cæduntq; ſecuribus humida vina,

And liquid wines with axes do they cleaue.

Serres in the life of *Francis* the firſt reports, that at the ſiege of *Luxenburge*, in the yeare 1543, the weather was ſo cold, that the provant wine ordained for the army being frozen, was divided with hatchets, and
Annal. 13. 8. by the ſouldiers carried away in baskets. And *Tacitus* ſpeaking of the *Romanes* warre in *Armenia*, tells vs that the winter was ſo ſharpe, and the earth ſo long covered with yce, that they could not pitch their tents, vnleſſe they had firſt digged the ground; many of their limmes grew ſtarke with extremity of cold, and many dyed in keeping the watch, and there was a ſouldier noted carrying a fagot, whoſe hands were ſo ſtiffe frozen, that ſticking to his burthen, they fell from him as though they had beene cut from his armes.

SECT. 2.

Of exceſſiue drought and cold and raine in former ages heere at home, and of the common complaint of vnſeſonable weather in all ages, together with the reaſon thereof.

Survey of London. *cxl. Harmon.* AND if wee looke neerer home, wee ſhall finde that in the yeare one thouſand one hundred & fourteene, in the fourteenth yeare of King *Henry* the firſt, the river of *Thames* was dryed vp & ſuch want of water there betweene the *Tower* of London and the bridge, and vnder the bridge it ſelfe, that not onely horſe, but a great number of men women and children, did dayly wade over on foote. And for exceſſiue and vnſeaſonable *froſts*, *raine*, *ſnow*, *haile*, *windes*, & the like, our ſtories are full, ſpecially *Stowes Chronicles*: and many of them were ſo immoderate, as wee haue had none of latter times comparable therevnto.

It is true indeede that in generall, all *Ilands*, and ours, I beleeue, aboue any other in the world, is ſubject to ſuch vncertainty of weather, that many times wee can hardly diſtinguiſh *Chriſtmas* from *Mid-ſummer*, but onely by the length of daies: So warme it is at *Chriſtmas*, and againe ſo ſtormy and cold at *Mid-ſummer*. And for *raine*, thorow the yeare, I thinke, wee haue more then any where vpon the *Continent*: So that I may juſtly call our *Iland Matulam Planetarum*, the Vrinall of the Planets. I will giue one inſtance for all: In the two and twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third, from *Mid-ſummer* to *Chriſtmas*, for the more part, *Hollenſhed.* it continually *rain'd*: ſo that there was not one day and night dry together. But this I take to bee, ſpecially for that it is environed by the Sea, and withall ſtands ſo farre to the *Northweſt*. Since then it is ſtill ſituate where it was, it is likely that the *aire* was here for the moſt part, tempered or diſtempered in *former ages*, as now it is: Yet I know the complaint is common, that our ſummers by reaſon of cold and moiſt,

are

are not ſo kindly as they haue beene:

Sternuntur ſegetes & deplorata colonis
Vota jacent, longique perit labor irritus anni:
The corne lies downe, the plow-man doth complaine,
His hopes are voide, and toyling all the yeare,
Hee onely hath his labour for his paine.

Neither will I altogether deny it, it may bee *God* hath a quarrell to vs for our ſinnes, or ſeekes by this chaſtiſement to draw vs neerer to himſelfe: But what is this to the vniverſall decay of Nature? Doubtleſſe the ſame complaint hath ſtill beene in the times of our *Fathers*, and *Grandfathers*, and *Great Grandfathers*, and ſo vpward in regard of the *Generations* before them. *Nonne quotidie hoc murmuratis, & hoc dicitis, quamdiu iſta patimur! quotidie pejora & pejora: apud parentes noſtros fuerunt dies lætiores, fuerunt dies meliores. O ſi interrogares ipſos parentes tuos, ſimiliter tibi de diebus ſuis murmurarent: Fuerunt beati Patres noſtri, nos miſeri ſumus; malos dies habemus.* Doe you not dayly murmurre and thus ſay, how long ſhall wee ſuffer theſe things! All things grow worſe & worſe: Our Fathers ſaw better and merrier dayes: But I wiſh thou would'ſt aske the queſtion of thy Fathers, and thou ſhalt finde them murmurre likewiſe in regard of their daies: ſaying, Oh our Fathers were happy, wee miſerable: wee ſee nothing but badde dayes. But had this complaint beene as true as ancient, as juſt as vſuall in all ages, wee had not beene at this day to renue it: wee ſhould by this time haue had no weather to ripen our corne or fruites, in any tolerable manner. For my ſelfe then, mine opinion is, that men for the moſt part, being moſt affected with the preſent, more ſenſible of puniſhments then of bleſſings, and growing in worldly cares, and conſequently in diſcontent, as they grow in yeares and experience; they are thereby more apt to apprehend croſſes then comforts, to repine & murmurre for the one, then to returne thankes for the other. Whence it comes to paſſe that vnſeaſonable weather, and the like croſſe accidents, are printed in our memories, as it were with red letters in an Almanacke: but for ſeaſonable and faire, there ſtands nothing but a blanke: the one is graven in braſſe, the other written in water.

Auguſtinus in Pſal. 33. in illa verba: Quis eſt homo qui vult vitam, & diligit dies videre bonos.

SECT. 3.

Of contagious diſeaſes, and ſpecially the plague, both heere at home, and abroade in former ages.

NOw for *contagious diſeaſes*, and ſpecially the *plague* it ſelfe, it is well knowne, that this land hath now by Gods favour beene in a manner altogether free from it ſince the firſt yeare of his *Majeſties* raigne; whereas heretofore, it hath commonly every ſeaven or eight yeares at furtheſt ſpreade it ſelfe through the greateſt part of the land, and ſwept away many thouſands. In the yeare one thouſand three hundred forty eight, it was ſo hot in *Wallingford* a Towne of *Barkeſhire*, that in a manner it diſpeopled the Towne, reducing their *twelue Churches* to one or two which they now onely retaine. In *London* it had ſo ſharpe and quicke an edge, and mowed downe ſuch multitudes that

This was written in the laſt yeare of King Iames.

Camden in Barkeſhire.

that within the ſpace of twelue moneths, there were buried in one *Churchyard* commonly called the *Ciſterſians* or *Charterhouſe*, aboue fifty thouſand. They writ further, that through the Kingdome it made ſuch a ravage, as it tooke away more then halfe of men; *Churchyards* could not ſuffice to bury the dead, new grounds are purchaſſed for that purpoſe: And it is noted that there died, onely in *London* betweene the firſt of *Ianuary* and the firſt of *Iuly* 57374. Other *Cities* and townes ſuffering the like according to their proportions: The earth being every where filled with graues, and the aire with cries. In the tenth yeare likewiſe of *Edward* the ſecond, there was ſo great a *peſtilence*, and generall ſickneſſe of the common ſort, cauſed by the ill nutriment they receiued, as the *liuing ſcarce ſufficed to bury the dead.*

Rob. Auesbury & Fabian. Sam. Daniell. Ann. 22. Edward 3.

Ann. 1317.

Now if we caſt our eyes *abroade*, ſuch ſtrange peſtilences as *Virgill* deſcribes in the third of his *Georgickes*, and *Ovid* in the ſeaventh of his *Metam.* wee nowadayes no where heare of, nor yet ſuch as *Thuſidides* a graue Hiſtorian mentions in his ſecond booke, which was at *Athens*, and ſome other parts of *Greece*, ſo contagious that the birds being infected with it as they flew in the aire, fell down dead to the earth, & the beaſts of pray which fed vpō carriō, abſtained frō eating the dead bodies. Vnder the Emperors *Vibius Gallus*, & *Volutianus* his ſon about two hundred & fifty yeares after Chriſt, there aroſe a plague in *Ethiopia*, which ſpread it ſelfe into al the provinces of the Roman Empire & laſted by the ſpace of fifteene yeares together, without any interminſſion; & ſo great was the mortality, that in *Alexandria*, as *Dioniſius* himſelfe, at that very time *Biſhop* of that See reports it, there was not one houſe of the whole citty free, and the whole remainder of the the inhabitants did not equall the number of old men in former times: By meanes whereof S. *Cyprian*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, who liued in the ſame age, tooke occaſion to write, that his excellent Treatiſe *de Mortalitate*: And *Lypſius* his cenſure of this *peſtilence* is, *Non alia vnquam major lues mihi lecta, ſpatio temporum ſive terrarum:* I never read of a more grievous contagion, whether wee regard the long laſting or the large ſpreading thereof: Yet was that certainely for the time more impetuous and outragious vnder *Iuſtinian*, the fierceneſſe whereof was ſuch that only in *Conſtantinople* & the places neere adjoyning thereunto, it cut of at leaſt *fiue thouſand* and ſometimes *tenne thouſand* perſons in one day: Which my ſelfe ſhould hardly bee drawne, either to report or to beleeue, but that I finde it recorded by faithfull Hiſtoriographers of thoſe times. Neither leſſe wonderfull was that *peſtilence in Africa*, which ſnatcht away onely in *Numidia, Octingenta hominum millia*, ſayth *Oroſius*, eight hundred thouſand men. Or that vnder *Michael Duca* in *Greece*, which was ſo ſharpe and violent, *Vt vivi prorſus pares non eſſent mortuis ſepeliendis*; they bee the words of *Zonaras*, the living were no way ſufficient to bury the dead. But that which ſcourged Italy in *Petrarches* time, in the yeare one thouſand three hundred fifty nine, as himſelfe relates it, in my minde exceedes all hitherto ſpoken of, there beeing ſcarce left aliue *tenne* of a *thouſand* thorow the whole Countrey, and if wee credit *Boccace*, there died

Pompon. Letus Zonaras, tom. 2.

Euſebius. l. 7. c. 17

De conſtantia, l. 2. c. 22.

Procopius, l. 11. de bello Perſico. Agathias, lib. 5.

Lib. 5. c. 8.

Lypſius, vt ſupra.

dyed thereof onely in *Florence* from *March* to *Iuly* about one hundred thouſand perſons. Where by the way I cannot let paſſe, that vnder *David*, though by moſt Divines held to bee ſupernaturall and miraculous, in which there died of the people ſeventy thouſand men within the ſpace of three dayes: but he that deſires more fully to informe himſelfe of the greivous peſtilences in ancient times, let him reade *Secando Lancelloti* in his *L' Hoggidi: Cap.* 47. 2. Sam. 24. 15.

Now for other *infectious Epidemicall diſeaſes* in former ages, *Paſquier* aſſignes a whole chapter to them, which he thus entitles, *Des maladies qui ont ſeulement vnifois Cours par La diſpoſition de L' air.* Of thoſe diſeaſes which haue but once had their courſe through the diſtemper of the aire. And *Plutarch* in the eight booke and ninth queſtion of his *Sympoſiacks*, diſcourſing vpon the ſame ſubject, tells vs of theſe new vnheard of diſeaſes: *mirari non debemus ſi quædam exiſtant quæ olim non fuere, aut interciderunt quæ antiqui habuerunt*: wee neede not wonder if ſome be now rife, which in former ages were not heard of, and others againe be growne out which vexed the ancients: to which purpoſe he mentions out of *Agatharcides*, a very wonderfull & greivous diſeaſe torturing the inhabitants bordering vpon the *Red Sea*, which notwithſtanding, *prius aut poſterius vllis alijs obtigiſſe, nemo comperit*, no man ever obſerved to befall any other before or ſince. Heere with vs, we haue not heard of late dayes of any ſuch diſeaſes, as the *ſhaking of the ſheetes*, or the *ſweating ſickeneſſe*, touching which, it is very memorable that Mr *Camden* hath delivered in his deſcription of *Shreweſbury*; as for the cauſe thereof, ſaith he, let others ſearch it out, for mine owne part I haue obſerved, that this *malady* hath runne through *England* thrice in the ages afore going, and yet I doubt not but long before alſo it did the like, although it were not recorded in writing. Firſt, in the yeare of our Lord 1485, in which King *Henry* the ſeaventh firſt began his raigne, a little after the great *Conjunction* of the ſuperiour *Planets* in *Scorpio*. A ſecond time yet more mildely, (although the *plague* accompanied it) in the 33d yeare after, *Anno* 1518, vpon a great *oppoſition* of the ſame *Planets* in *Scorpio* & *Taurus*, at which time it plagued the *Netherlands* and high *Almany* alſo. Laſt of all, 33 yeares after that againe, in the yeare 1551, when another *Conjunction* of thoſe *Planets* in *Scorpio* tooke their effects: ſo that by Gods goodnes, for the ſpace now of theſe laſt ſeventy three yeares, wee haue not felt that *diſeaſe*. Twiſe thirty three yeares and more, and the ſame *Conjunction* and *oppoſition* of the *Planets* haue paſſed over, and yet it hath not touched vs. In the 31 yeare of King *Henry* the firſt, a terrible murraine of cattell ſpread through the whole kingdome, inſomuch as whole ſties of hogges, and whole ſtalls of oxen were every where ſuddenly emptied, and it continued ſo long, *vt nulla omninò hujus regni villa hujus miſeriæ immunis alterius incommoda ridere poteſt*, (ſaith *Malmeſburienſis*) ſo as no one village was ſo free from this miſery, that it could laugh at the miſhap of others. Lib. 4. c. 25. Novel. hiſt. l. 1.

Now adayes wee heare not of ſo frequent, of ſuch foule and fretting kindes of *Leproſies* any-where in the world, as were anciently among the *Iewes*; they had the *Leproſie* of the *skin*, of the *fleſh*, of the *ſcab*, Levit. 13.

of the *running ſore*, of the *haire*, of the *head*, and *beard*: their garments both linnen and wollen were infected with it, ſo as ſometimes it increaſed and ſpread it ſelfe in the very *garment*, though ſeparated from the body of the diſeaſed. Nay, which is more ſtrange, the *walles* of their houſes were not free from it: it tainted the very ſtones and the morter with *greeniſh & reddiſh ſpots*, ſo as they were forced ſometimes to plucke downe a part of the houſe, ſometimes the whole, whē no other meanes was found to cleanſe it. Now their great multitudes of *Lepers* appeares in this, that they had ſo many, and ſolemne *Lawes* for their triall; for their cleanſing, and for the ſhutting of them vp without the campe. And though wee may well conceiue, that ſome of them were ſtricken with this diſeaſe immediatly by the finger of *God*, as [a] *Myriam*, *Moſes* ſiſter for her murmuring, [b] *Gehazi* for his bribery, [c] *Azariah* for his backwardneſſe in reformation of Religion, [d] *VZZiah* for his preſumptuous forwardnes in taking vpon him the Prieſts office, yet thoſe *foure* that ſate together expecting the charity of paſſengers at the gate of [e] *Samaria*, and thoſe *tenne* that our [f] *Saviour* healed at once, ſhew that the number of their ordinary *Lepers* was very great. And heere with vs the number of them was doubtleſſe much greater, then now by Gods goodneſſe wee finde them to be, as is evident by the many hoſpitals which through the kingdome were built and endowed for them: in *Leiceſterſhire* is a towne named *Burton Lazers*, ſo called (ſaith *Camden*) from a famous hoſpitall which was there founded for the vſe of Leprous people, to whoſe Maſter all the leſſer houſes of that kinde were ſubordinate, as hee himſelfe was to the Maſter of the *Lazers* at *Hieruſalem*. By which order of government, it plainely appeares, that not onely in this kingdome, but through *Chriſtendome*, the number of thoſe houſes was very great, which at this preſent, for the moſt part, are either ruined, or growne altogether out of vſe.

Ibid. v.55.

Levit.14.33. &c.

a Num.12.10.
b 2 Kings.5.27.
c 2.Kings. 5.5.
d 2.Chron. 16. 19.
e 2.King.7.4.
f Luk.17.12.

Laſtly, none can bee ignorant, that the ſickneſſe which wee call the *French* diſeaſe, they the *Neapolitane*, and the *Neapolitanes* the *Indian*, (becauſe wee borrowed it from the *French*, they from the *Spaniards* at *Naples*, and they againe from the *Indians*) is neither ſo catching, nor ſo virulent, nor ſo contagious, nor ſo dangerous, as in former times it hath beene, as *Fracaſtorius*, a famous phyſition of *Verona* in *Italie*, long ſince foretold: *hic idem morbus interibit & extinguetur, mox etiam & nepotibus noſtris rurſus videndus renaſcetur, quemadmodum & præteritis ætatibus viſum à majoribus noſtris credendum eſt, de quo non pauca indicia etiamnum extant*: this very diſeaſe in proceſſe of time ſhall likewiſe weare out and be extinguiſhed, and ſhall againe in future ages be revived, as it is to bee thought that in former ages our anceſtours, felt it, whereof not a few tokens are extant: and that it was not vnknowne to the ancients, though the name of it were loſt, he elegantly expreſſes it in his verſes to *Bembus*,

Lib.2. de morbis contag.

Nec ſemel in terris viſam, ſed ſæpe fuiſſe
Ducendum eſt, quanquam nobis nec nomine nota

De Morbo Gallico

Hacte-

Hactenus illa fuit, quoniam longæva vetustas
Cuncta situ involvens & res & nomina delet,
Nec monumenta patrum ſeri videre Nepotes.

Nor that it onely now on earth hath beene
May wee conceiue, but often hath beene ſeene,
Though now the name vnknowne bee, with ruſt
Defac'd by tract of time, and wrapp'd in duſt,
For that the monuments of former ſages
Are not come downe to view of latter ages.

And to this purpoſe doth hee tell a ſtorie of a barber, a friend of his, who having in his keeping an ancient booke of medicinall experiments, and among the reſt, one with this title: *Ad ſcabiem craſſam, quæ cum doloribus junctura rum accidit:* for the tough ſcabbe which comes with a paine in the joynts: hee conſulted the Phyſitians what they thought of his receite; they, becauſe it chiefly conſiſted of quick-ſilver and brimſtone, ſharply forbade it, the barber notwithſtanding having a while after made tryall thereof, and finding it ſucceſſefull in the vſe, grew diſcontent with himſelfe that he had not vſed it ſooner, the gaines which hee might thereby well haue gotten, by the curing of it at the firſt appearing, being now much anticipated by others. But mine Authours concluſion therevpon, is: *ex quo videre profecto poſſumus, alijs etiam ætatibus viſum eum morbum fuiſſe:* from whence wee may ſee, that this diſeaſe hath beene ſeene in former ages.

SECT. 4.

Of Earthquakes in former ages, and their terrible effects liuely deſcribed by Seneca.

TO the peſtilences and other contagious diſeaſes of former ages, may bee added the *Earthquakes* ariſing likewiſe from the diſtemper of the *aire*, though in another kinde. Of theſe wee haue heard little in theſe latter times, or at leaſtwiſe they haue beene nothing ſo frequent and fearefull as in the dayes of our more ancient predeceſſours, inſomuch as they chiefly gaue occaſion to the compoſing of that *Letanie*, and therein to the petition againſt ſuddaine death, which by publicke authority is vſed through the *Chriſtian* Church at this day. By the force of *Earthquakes*, contrary to the proverbe, Mountaines haue met; the Citty of *Antioch* where the Diſciples of *Chriſt* were firſt called *Chriſtians*, with a great part of *Aſia* bordering vpon it, was in *Traianes* time ſwallowed vp with an *Earthquake*, as writeth *Dion*, reporting many marvalous things thereof. By the ſame meanes at one time were twelue famous Cities of *Aſia* over-turned vnder the reigne of *Tiberius*. And at another time as many townes of *Campania* vnder *Conſtantine*. And of the dreadfulneſſe of this accident, aboue the *peſtilence* or any other incident to mankinde, *Seneca* excellently diſcourſes in the fixth booke of his *Naturall queſtions*: *Hoſtem muro repellam*, ſaith hee, *præruptæ alti-*

Plin. l. 3.
Lib. 68.
Plin. l. 2. c. 14. Tac. Annal l. 2. 10.
Lipſius de Conſtan. li 1. c. 16. Cap. 1.

tudinis Caſtella, vel magnos exercitus, difficultate aditus morabuntur; à tempeſtate nos vindicant portus; nymborum vim effuſam & ſine fine cadentes aquas tecta propellunt; fungientes non ſequitur incendium, adverſus tonitrua & minas Cæli ſubterraneæ domus & defoſſi in altum ſpecus remedia ſunt, ignis ille cæleſtis non tranſverberat terram, ſed exiguo ejus objectu retunditur, in peſtilentia mutare ſedes licet, nullum malum ſine effugio eſt, nunquam fulmina populos percuſſerunt, peſtilens cælum exhauſit vrbes non abſtulit; hoc malum latiſſimè patet, inevitabile, avidum, publicè noxium, non enim domus ſolùm & familias, aut vrbes ſingulas haurit, ſed gentes totas regioneſque ſubvertit, & modo ruinis operit, modo in altam voraginem condit, ac ne id quidem relinquit ex quo appareat quod non eſt, ſaltem fuiſſe, ſed ſupra nobiliſſimas vrbes ſine vllo veſtigio prioris habitus ſolum extenditur. A wall will repell an enemy, rampiers rayſed to a great height by the difficulty of their acceſſe will keepe out powerfull armies, an Haven ſhelters vs from a tempeſt, and the covering of our Houſes from the violence of ſtormes and laſting raines, the fire doth not follow vs, if we flie from it, againſt thunder and the threats of Heaven, vaults vnder ground and deepe caues are remedies; thoſe blaſtings and flaſhes from aboue, doe not pierce the earth, but are blunted by a little peece of it oppoſed againſt them; in the time of peſtilence a man may change dwellings, there is no miſchiefe but may be ſhunned, the lightning never ſtroake a whole nation, a peſtilentiall ayre hath emptied Cities, not overturned them: but this miſchiefe is large in ſpreading, vnavoydable, greedy of deſtruction, generally dangerous. For it doth not onely depopulate Houſes, and families, and townes, but layes waſte and makes deſolate whole Regions and Countries: ſometimes covering them with their owne ruines, and ſometimes overwhelming them, & burying them in deepe gulfes, leaving nothing whereby it may ſo much as appeare to poſterity, that that which is not, ſometimes was, but the earth is levelled over moſt famous Cities, without any marke of their former exiſtence.

Epiſt. 210. *AEneas Sylvius* ſometimes *Pope* and knowne by the name of *Pius ſecundus* in a letter of his to the Emperour *Fredericke* thus pittifully deſcribes an Earthquake which fell out in his time, *audies ex latore præſentium quam mirabilia & incredibilia damna fecerit terræ-motus in regno Apuliæ, nam multa oppida funditus corruerunt, alia magnâ ex parte collapſa ſunt. Neapoli omnes ferè Eccleſiæ & maxima Palatia ceciderant, pluſquam triginta millia corpora oppreſſa ruinis tradũtur, populus omnis habitat in tẽtoriis:* You ſhall vnderſtand by the bearer of theſe preſents what wonderfull and incredible loſſes an *Earthquake* hath wrought in the kingdome of *Apulia*, for many townes are vtterly ruined, others for the greateſt part falne, in *Naples* almoſt all their Churches and fayreſt Palaces are overthrowne, more then thirty thouſand perſons are ſaid to haue beene ſlaine, all the inhabitants dwell in tents. But that of S^t *Auguſtine* (if the booke be his) is almoſt beyond credite, *in famoſo quodam terræ-motu centum Lybiæ vrbes corruiſſe*, that in a famous earthquake 100 Cities of *Lybia* were demoliſhed.

Lib. 2. de Mir. S.S. cap. 3.

SECT.

SECT. 5.

Of dreadfull burnings in the bowels of AEtna, *and* Veſuvius, *and the riſing of a new Iland out of the Sea with hideous roaring neere* Putzol *in Italy.*

AS the quakings of the Earth were more terrible in former ages, ſo were the *burnings* in the bowels thereof no leſſe dreadfull, the one being as it were the *cold*, and the other the *hot* fits thereof. The Mountaine *Ætna* in *Sicilie* hath flamed in time paſt ſo abundantly, that by reaſon of thicke ſmoake and vapours ariſing therefrom, the Inhabitants thereabout could not ſee one another (if we may giue credite to *Cicero*) for two dayes together. And in the yeare of the world 3982, it raged ſo violently, that *Africa* was thereof an aſtoniſhed witneſſe. But *Virgils* admirable deſcription thereof may ſerue for all. Sandys his Relation. Lib. 4.

Horrificis tonat Ætna ruinis,
Interdumque atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem;
Turbine fumantem piceo, & candente favillâ,
Attollitque globos flammarum, & ſydera lambit,
Interdum ſcopulos, avulſaque viſcera montis
Erigit eructans, liquefactaque ſaxa ſub auras
Cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exæſtuat imo.

Ætna here thunders with a horrid noiſe,
Sometimes blacke cloudes evapoureth to skies,
Fuming with pitchie curles and ſparkling fires,
Toſſeth vp globes of flames, to ſtarres aſpires:
Now belching rockes, the mountaines entrals torne,
And groaning hurles out liquid ſtones there borne
Thorow the aire in ſhowres,

But rightly did another Poet divine of this mountaine & the burnings therein.

Nec quæ ſulphurijs ardet fornacibus AEtna Ovid. Met. 15.
Ignea ſemper erit, neque enim fuit ignea ſemper.

Ætna which flames of ſulphure now doth raiſe,
Shall not ſtill burne, nor hath it burnt alwayes.

The like may be ſaid of *Veſuvius* in the kiugdome of *Naples*, it flamed with the greateſt horrour in the firſt, or as ſome ſay, in the third yeare of the Emperour *Titus:* where beſides beaſts, fiſhes & fowle, it deſtroyed two adjoyning Cities *Herculanum* and *Pompeios* with the people ſitting in the Theater: *Pliny* the Naturall Hiſtorian, then Admirall of the Romane Navy deſirous to diſcover the reaſon, was ſuffocated with the ſmoake thereof, as witneſſeth his Nephew in an Epiſtle of his to *Cornelius Tacitus.*

——Senſit procul Africa tellus,
Tunc ex pulverijs geminata incendia nymbis,
Senſit & Ægyptus Memphiſque & Nilus Atrocem
Tempeſtatem illam, Campano à littore miſſam,

Nec caruiſſe ferunt Aſiam Syriamq; tremendâ
Peſte, nec extantes Neptuni è fluctibus arces,
Cyprumque Cretamque & Cycladas ordine nullo
Per Pontum ſparſas, nec doctam Palladis vrbem:
Tantus inexhauſtis erupit faucibus ardor
Ac vapor.

They be the verſes of *Hieronymus Borgius* touching the horrible roaring and thundring of this mountaine, and may thus be Engliſhed.

Then remote *Africke* ſuffer'd the direfull heate
Of twofold rage with ſhowers of duſt repleate,
Scorcht *Egypt*, *Memphis*, *Nilus* felt amaz'd,
The wofull tempeſt in *Campania* raiſ'd;
Not *Aſia*, *Syria*, nor the towers that ſtand
In *Neptunes* ſurges, *Cyprus*, *Creet Iowes* land,
The ſcattered *Cyclades*, nor the *Muſes* ſeate
Minervaes towne, that vaſt plague ſcap'd; ſuch heate
Such vapours brake forth from full jawes.---

Marcellinus farther obſerues that the aſhes thereof tranſported in the ayre obſcured all *Europe*, and that the *Conſtantinopolitanes* being wonderfully affrighted therewith (in ſomuch as the Emperour *Leo* forſooke the Citty) in memoriall of the ſame, did yearely celebrate the twelfth of *November*. Who in theſe latter ages hath ever heard or read of ſuch a fire iſſuing out of the earth, as *Tacitus* in the 13 of his *Annals*, and almoſt the laſt words, diſcribes? The Citie of the *Inhonians* in *Germanie* confederate with vs, (ſaith he) was afflicted with a ſodaine diſaſter, for fires iſſuing out of the earth burned Townes, fields, villages every where, and ſpread even to the walls of a Colony newly built, & could not be extinguiſhed neither by raine nor river water, nor any other liquor that could be imployed, vntill for want of remedy, and anger of ſuch a diſtraction, certaine peſants caſt ſtones a far of into it; then the flame ſomewhat ſlacking, drawing neere they put it out with blowes of clubs, and otherlike, as if it had beene a wilde beaſt, laſt of all they threw in clothes from their backes, which the more worne and fouler, the better they quenched the fires.

But the moſt memorable both *Earthquake* and burning, is that which Mr *George Sands* in the fourth booke of his Travels reports to haue happened neere *Putzoll* in the kingdome of *Naples*, likewiſe in the yeare of our Lord 1538, & on the 29th of *September*, when for certaine dayes foregoing, the Country thereabout was ſo vexed with perpetuall *Earthquakes*, as no one houſe was left ſo intire, as not to expect an immediate ruine, after that the ſea had retired two hundred paſes from the ſhore, (leaving abundance of freſh water riſing in the bottome) there viſiblely aſcended a mountaine about the ſecond hower of the night with hideous roaring, horriblely vomiting ſtones, and ſuch ſtore of Cinders as overwhelmed all the buildings thereabout, & the ſalubrious Bathes of *Tripergula*, for ſo many ages celebrated, conſumed the vines to aſhes, killing birds and beaſtes; the fearefull inhabitants of *Putzoll* flying through the darke with their wiues and children naked, defiled, crying

out

out and deteſting their Calamities; manifold miſchiefes had they ſuffered, yet none like this which nature inflicted: yet was not this the firſt Iland that thus by the force of *Earthquakes* haue riſen out of the ſea, the like is reported both of *Delos* and *Rhodos*, and ſome others. *Pliny lib. 2. cap. 85.86.87. Met. lib. 15. Fab. 14.*

SECT. 6.

Of the nature of Comets and the vncertainty of predictions from them, as alſo that the number of thoſe which haue appeared of late yeares, is leſſe then hath vſually beene obſerved in former ages, and of other fiery and watry prodigious meteors.

IT remaines that in the next place I ſhould ſpeake ſomewhat of *Comets* or *Blazing ſtarres*, whether in latter times more haue appeared, or more diſaſtrous effects haue followed vpon their appearance, then in former ages. Some tooke the *Comet* to haue beene a *ſtarre*, ordained and created from the firſt beginning of the world, but appearing only by times and by turnes, of this minde was *Seneca. Cardan*, likewiſe in latter times harps much, if not vpon the ſame, yet the like ſtring. *Natur. Queſt. Lib. 7. cap. 22 23.* But *Ariſtotle* (whoſe weighty reaſons & deepe judgment I much reverence) conceiveth the matter of the *Comet*, to be a paſſing hot and dry exhalation, which being lifted vp, by the force & vertue of the Sun, into the higheſt region of the ayre, is their inflamed, partly by the Element of fire, vpon which it bordereth, and partly by the motion of the heavens which hurleth it about; ſo as there is the ſame matter of an *Earthquake*, the *winde*, the *lightning*, & a *Comet*: if it be impriſoned in the bowels of the earth, it cauſeth an *Earthquake*; if it aſcend to the middle region of the ayre, and be from thence beaten backe, *winde*; if it enter that region and be there environed with a thicke cloude, *lightning*; if it paſſe that region a *Comet*; or ſome other fiery *Meteor*, in caſe the matter be not ſufficiently capable thereof.

The common opinion hath beene, that *Comets* either as *Signes* or *cauſes*, or *both* haue alwayes prognoſticated ſome dreadfull miſhaps to the world, as outragious windes, extraordinary drought, dearth, peſtilence, warres, death of Princes and the like.

Nunquam futilibus excanduit ignibus æther: Manilius.

Ne're did the Heavens with idle blazes flame.

But the late Lord *Privy Seale* Earle of *Northampton*, in his *Defenſatiue againſt the poyſon of ſuppoſed propheſies*, hath ſo ſtrongly encountred this opinion, that for mine one part I muſt profeſſe, he hath perſwaded me, there is no certainty in thoſe *prædictions*, inaſmuch as *Comets* doe not alwayes forerunne ſuch events, neither doe ſuch events alwayes follow vpon the appearing of *Comets*. Some inſtances he produceth of *Comets*, which brought with them ſuch abundance of all things, and abated their priſes to ſo low an ebbe, as *ſtories* haue recorded it for monuments, and miracles to poſterity: And the like, ſaith he, could I ſay of others, *Ann. Dom.* 1555. 1556. 1557. 1558. after all which yeares nothing chanced that ſhould driue a man to ſeeke out any cauſe aboue *Cap.* 16.

the common reach: and therefore I allow the diligence of *Gemma-Frisius* taking notice of as many good, as badde effects; which haue succeeded after *Comets*. Moreouer hee tells vs that *Peucer*, a great *Mathematician* of *Germany*, prognosticated vpon the last *Comet*, before the writing of his *Defensatiue*, that mens bodies should bee parched and burned vp with heat: But how fell it out? Forsooth, saith he, wee had not a more vnkindely summer many yeares, in respect of extraordinary cold: neuer lesse inclination to warre, no Prince deseased in that time, and the plague which had beene somewhat quicke before in *Lombardy*, as God would haue it, ceased at the rising of the *Comet*. Besides all this, he reports of his owne experience, as an eye-witnesse, that when diverse vpon greater scrupulosity, then cause, went about to disswade Queene *Elizabeth*, lying then at *Richmond*, from looking on a *Comet* which then appeared, with a courage answerable to the greatnesse of her state, shee caused the window to be set open, aud cast out this word, *iacta est alea*; the dice are throwne, thereby shewing that her stedfast hope & confidence, was too firmely planted in the providence of God, to be blasted or affrighted with those beames, which either had a ground in nature wherevpon to rise, or at least-wise no warrant in Scripture to portend the mishap of Princes. Neither doe I remember that any *Comet* appeared either before *her death* (as at her entrance there did,) nor that of Prince *Henry*, nor of *Henry* the *Great* of *France*, the one being a most peereleſſe *Queene*, the other a most incomparable *Prince*, & the third for prudence & valour, a matchlesse *King*. And for the last *Comet* which appeared, it was so farre from bringing any excessiue heat with it, that for a long time there hath not bin knowne more cold yeares then three or foure immediatly ensuing it. And though it bee true that some great *Princes* died not long after it, yet after that immediatly going before, I cannot call to minde any such effect: but as *Seneca* truely notes, *Naturale est magis noua quàm magna mirari*, it is naturall vnto vs to be inquisitiue & curious rather about things new and strange, then those which are in their owne nature truly great. Yet euen among the Ancients, *Charlemaigne* professed, that he feared not the signe of the blazing starre, but the *Great* & potent *Creator* thereof. And *Vespasian*, as *Dyon* reports, when the apparition of a *Comet* was thought to portend his death, replied merrily: No said hee, *this bushy starre notes not me, but the Parthian King: Ipse enim comatus est, ego verò calvus sum:* For hee weares bushy locks, but I am bald. Lastly, some *Comets* haue bin the Messẽgers of *happy* & *joyfull* tidings as that at the birth of our *Saviour*, & another at the death of *Nero*; *Cometes summè bonus apparuit qui prænuntius fuit mortis magni illius Tyranni & pestilentissimi hominis*, saith *Tacitus*: There appeared a favourable & auspicious Comet, as an Herauld to proclaime the death of that great Tyrant and most pestilent man.

Ann. 1558.

Ann. 1618.

Natur. Quæst. lib. 7. *cap.* 1.

The prediction then, & successe of mischievous & vnfortunate accidents from the appearance of *Comets*, appearing to be thus vncertaine; it followes in the second place to be considered, whether more haue appeared in these *latter times*, then in *former ages*. For mine owne part

part I remember but two, for the ſpace of theſe laſt thirty yeares, and during his late Majeſties reigne but one, whereas my Lord of *Northampton*, (as we haue heard before,) ſpeakes of foure within the compaſſe of foure yeares. Before the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, *Virgill* witneſſeth, *Georg.* 1.

Non alias cœlo ceciderunt plura ſereno
Fulgura, nec diri toties arſere Cometæ.

Ne're in cleare sky more lightnings did appeare,
And direfull comets never rifer were.

Beda & *Paulus Æmilius* mention two, which by the ſpace of fourteene dayes appeared together, in the reigne of *Charles Martell*, father to *Charlemaigne*, the one in the morning going before the *Sunne*, & the other in the euening following after it. The like wherevnto I doe not remember wee any where read of. Now that which hath beene ſaid of *Comets* may likewiſe bee applied to other fierie & watery *Meteors*, as *ſtreamings*, *ſwords*, *flying dragons*, *fighting armies*, *gapings*, two or three *Sunnes* & *Moones*, & the like appearing in the aire many times to the great terrour & aſtoniſhment of the beholders: of all which & many more of that kinde, he that deſires to reade more, I referre him to *Vicomercatus*, *Garzæus*, *Pontanus*, & *Lycoſthenes*, *de Prodigijs & Portentis ab orbe condito, vſque ad annum* 1557. Of ſtrange & prodigious accidents from the beginning of the world, to the yeare of our Lord 1557. But the ſtrangeſt apparition in the aire in this kinde that ever I heard, or read of, was that which I finde reported by Mr *Fox*, whiles the *Spaniſh* match with *Queene Mary* was in the heat of treating, & neere vpon the concluding, There appeared in *London* on the fifteenth of *February* 1554, a Rainebow reverſed, the bow turning downeward, & the two endes ſtanding vpward: a prodigious & ſupernaturall ſigne indeed of thoſe miſerable & bloudy times which quickly followed after. *Garzæus.* *Acts & Mon p.* 1637.

SECT. 7.

Of ſtrange and impetuous windes and lightings, in former ages aboue thoſe of the preſent.

IN the laſt place wee may adde the impetuous *thunders* & *lightnings*, together with outragious *windes* in former times; ſuch as latter ages haue ſcarce beene acquainted with. And becauſe the latter of theſe haue of late plaid their partes more fiercely both by ſea & land, it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, that euen in the Prophet *Davids* time when in likelihood they lanched not forth into the maine, but coaſted along by the ſhore, they were notwithſtanding by the violence of *tempeſts, lifted vp to heaven, and carried downe againe to the depths*: which the *Poet* hath in a manner tranſlated word for word: *Ann.* 1624. Pſal. 107. ver. 26.

Tollimur in cœlum, ſublato gurgite et ijdem
Voluimur in barathrum.

With ſurging waues to heaven wee lifted are,
And in a trice to hel-ward downe we fare.

It

It was a terrible *ſtorme*, & ſeldome heard of which encountred S. *Paul* & his company in their voyage towards *Rome*, though they ſayled in ſight of land, rayſed by a tempeſtuous *winde* called *Euroclydon*, inſo-
Acts, 27. 20. much as beſide their imminent danger neither *Sunne* nor *Starres*, which ſhould haue beene their, guides in many dayes appeared vnto them. The *concurrence* & combating of contrary *windes*, which is now a dayes not often obſerved to happen, & I thinke in courſe of *Nature* & diſcourſe of *Reaſon* can hardly bee, yet *Virgill* mentions it more then once,

Aeneid. 1. *Vnà Eurusque Nothusque ruunt creberque procellis*
Affricus & vaſtos voluunt ad littora fluctus.
Th' Eaſtwinde, the Weſt, the Southweſt and by-Weſt,
Ruſh forth together, and with boiſtrous ſtormes
Huge waues to ſhore-ward roll--

Georg. 1. And againe,

Omnia ventorum concurrere prælia vidi,
I ſaw the windes all combating together.

And *Ouid* perchance in imitation of *Virgill*,

Met. 11. Fab. 10. ——*Omnique à parte feroces*
Bella gerant venti: ——
Fierce windes from euery Coaſt
Aſſault each others hoaſt.

Such a *winde* it ſeemes was that, which ſmote at once all the foure cor-
Iob. 1. 19. ners of the houſe of *Iobs* eldeſt ſonne.

Let any who is deſirous to inquire into, and compare things of this
Cap. 44. nature, but read what is recorded by *Lancellotti* of the miſerable ſhip-wracks of former ages by reaſon of outragious windes: & in the *Turkiſh* hiſtory of two wonderfull great ſtormes, the one by land in *Sultania*, ſet downe in the entrance of *Solymans* life; the other at *Algiers*, not far from the mid'ſt of the ſame life, at *Charles* the 5th his comming thither, as alſo at his parting from thence; and I preſume hee will admire nothing in this kinde, that hath falne out in theſe latter times. Hee loſt (ſayth the ſtorie) in a few houres 140 ſhipps, 15 gallies, beſide boates and Carvils, together with the greateſt part of their men, horſes, victuals and munition.

De aſcen. mentis in Deum per Scal Creat grada 2. *Vidi ego*, ſaith *Bellarmine*, *quod niſi vidiſſem non crederem, à vehementiſſimo vento effoſſam, ingentem terræ molem, eamque delatam ſuper pagum quendam, vt fovea altiſſima conſpiceretur, vnde terra eruta fuerat, & pagus totus coopertus, & quaſi ſepultus manſerit ad quem terra illa devenerat.* I my ſelfe haue ſeene, which if I had not ſeene, I ſhould not haue beleeued, a very great quantity of earth, digged out and taken vp by the force of a ſtrong winde, and carried vpon a village thereby, ſo that there remained to be ſeene a great empty hollownes, in the place from whence it was lifted, and the village vpon which it lighted, was in a manner all covered over & buried in it. This example I confeſſe, could not be long ſince, ſince *Bellarmine* profeſſes that himſelfe ſaw it, Yet it might well be ſome ſkores of yeares before our laſt great windes, which notwithſtanding by ſome, for want of reading and experience are thought

to

to bee vnmatchable: And I know not whether that outragious *winde* which happened in *London* in the yeare 1096. during the reigne of *William Rufus*, might not well bee thought to paralell, at leaſt, this recorded by *Bellarmine:* It bore downe in that City alone, ſix hundred houſes, & blew off the roofe of *Bow Church*, which with the beames were borne into the aire a greate heigth, ſix whereof being 27 foote long, with their fall were driuen 23 foote deepe into the ground, the ſtreetes of the City lying then vnpaued. And in the fourth yeare of the ſame King, ſo vehement a lightning, (which as hath beene ſaid, is of the ſame matter with the winde) pierced the ſteeple of the *Abbay* of *Winſcomb* in *Gloſterſhire*, that it rent the beames of the roofe, caſt downe the *Crucifixe*, brake off his right legge, and withall overthrew the image of our *Lady* ſtanding hard by, leauing ſuch a ſtench in the Church, that neither incenſe, holy-water, nor the ſinging of the Monkes could allay it: But it is now more then time I ſhould deſcend a ſteppe lower, from the *aire* to the *water*. John Stow.

CAP. 8

Touching the pretended decay of the waters and the fiſh, the inhabiters thereof.

SECT. 1.

That the ſea, and rivers, and bathes are the ſame at this preſent, as they were for many ages paſt, or what they looſe in one place or time they recover in another.

THough the *Pſalmiſt* tell vs, that *the Lord hath founded the earth vpon the Seas, and eſtabliſhed it vpon the flouds*, becauſe for the more commodious liuing of man & beaſts, he hath made a part of it higher then the ſeas, or at leaſt-wiſe reſtrained them from incurſion vpon it, ſo as now they make but one intire *Globe*; yet becauſe the waters in the firſt Creation couered the face of the earth, I will firſt begin with them. The mother of waters, the great deepe hath vndoubtedly loſt nothing of her ancient bounds or depth, but what is impaired in one place, is againe reſtored to her in another. The rivers which the Earth ſucked from her by ſecret veines, it renders backe againe with full mouth, & the vapours which the Sunne drawes vp, empty themſelues againe into her boſome. Pſal. 24. See lib. 1. cap. 7. Sect. 2.

> The pureſt humour in the Sea, the Sun
> Exhales in th'Aire: which there reſolu'd, anon
> Returnes to water, & deſcends againe,
> By ſundry wayes into his mother maine. Bartas

Her motion of ebbing & flowing, of high ſprings and dead Neapes, are ſtill as certaine & conſtant, as the changes of the Moone and courſe of the Sunne: Her natiue ſaltnes, & by reaſon thereof, her ſtrength, for the better ſupporting of navigable veſſells, is ſtill the ſame: And as the Sea

Sea the mother of waters, ſo likewiſe the rivers the daughters thereof, either hold on their wonted courſes and currents, or what they haue diminiſhed in one age or place, they haue againe recompenſed and repayed in another, as *Strabo* hath well expreſſed it both of the ſea and rivers, *Quoniam omnia moventur & tranſmutantur, (aliter talia ac tanta adminiſtrari non poſſent) exiſtimandum eſt, nec terram ita ſemper permanere, vt ſemper tanta ſit nec quicquam ſibi addatur aut adimatur, ſed nec aquam; nec eandem ſedem ſemper ab iſtis obtineri, præſertim cum tranſmutatio ejus cognata ſit ac naturalis, quinimò terræ multum in aquam convertitur, & aquæ multum in terram tranſmutatur. Quare minimè mirandum eſt ſi eas terræ partes quæ nunc habitantur, olim mare occupabat, & quæ pelagus ſunt prius habitabantur. Quemadmodum de fontibus alios deficere contingit, alios relaxari; item & flumina & lacus.* Lib. 17. Becauſe things moue and are changed (without which ſuch and ſo great matters could not well be diſpoſed) we are to thinke that the earth doth not remaine alwayes in the ſame ſtate, without addition or diminution, neither yet the water, as if they were alwayes bounded within the ſame liſts, ſpecially ſeeing their mutuall change is naturall & kindely; but rather that much earth is turned into water, & contrarywiſe no leſſe water into earth. It is not thē to be wondered at, if that part of the earth which is now habitable was formerly overflowed with water, and that againe which now is ſea, was ſometimes habitable, as among fountaines ſome are dried vp and ſome ſpring forth a freſh, which may alſo be verified of rivers and lakes. Dion in his booke of the life of *Trajan* giues an inſtance in both, by reaſon of a dreadfull earthquake *et aquæ* (ſayth hee) *vbi antea viſæ fuerant nunquam, extiterunt: Contrà, nonnullæ vbi fluxerant defecerunt.* Both the riuers where they never were ſeene before, brake forth: and ſome on the other ſide, where they had vſually runne where dryed vp. Wherewith accords that of the Poet.

Vidi ego quod fuerat quondam ſolidiſſima tellus
Eſſe fretum; vidi factas ex æquore terras:
Et procul à pelago Chonchæ jacuere marinæ,
Et vetus inventa eſt in montibus anchora ſummis:
Quodque fuit campus, vallem decurſus aquarum
Fecit; & eluvie mons eſt deductus in æquor.
Eque paludoſa ſiccis humus aret arenis
Quæque ſitim tulerant ſtagnata paludibus hument.
Hic fontes natura nouos emiſit, et illic
Clauſit, & antiquis tam multa tremoribus orbis
Flumina proſiliunt, aut exſiccata reſidunt.

Metamo. ph. 15.

What was firme land ſometimes that haue I ſeene
Made ſea, and what was ſea made land againe,
On mountaine tops old anchours found haue beene,
And ſea-fiſh ſhells to lie farre from the maine:
Plaines turne to vales by water falls, the downe
By overflowes is chang'd to champaine land,
Dry ground erewhile, now mooriſh fen doth drowne,
And fens againe are turn'd to thirſty ſand,
Here fountaines new hath nature opened,

There

There ſhut vp ſprings which earſt did flow amaine,
By earthquakes rivers oft haue iſſued,
Or dryed vp they haue ſunke downe againe.

The *Poet* there brings inſtances in both theſe. Which is in part verified by that of *Sabin* in his Commentaries vpon the *Metam.lib.5.fab.3.ex annaliũ monumentis conſtat anno* 1460 *in Alpibus inventam eſſe navim cum anchoris in cuniculo per quẽ metella effodiuntur*: it appears by the monuments of hiſtory that in the yeare 1460 in a mine of the *Alpes* was found a ſhip with the anchors. Such an invndation ſhould that ſeeme to haue beene which S.*Hierome* ſpeakes of in the life of *Hilarion*, after the death of *Iulian*, *naves ad prærupta delatæ montiũ pependerunt*, the ſhips being landed vpon the tops of the mountaines there ſtucke. Late yeares cannot afford vs the like exãples, either of the furious breaking in of the ſea vpon the dry land, or of the wonderfull overflowing of rivers beyond the banks, as former ages do: which to be true he that ſhall take the paines to read the 44 chap. of *Secondo Lancellotti* his *Hoggidi* will eaſily grant. And to like purpoſe is that of *Pontanus*, for the matter of perpetuall change. *Lib.4. Meteor.*

Sed nec perpetuæ ſedes ſunt fontibus vllæ
Æterni aut manant curſus, mutantur in ævum
Singula, & inceptum alternat natura tenorem,
Quodque dies antiqua tulit, poſt auferet ipſa.

Fountaines ſpring not eternally
Nor in one place perpetually do tary,
All things in every age for evermore do vary,
And nature changeth ſtill the courſe ſhe once begunne,
And will herſelfe vndoe what ſhe of old hath done.

Which though it be true in many, yet thoſe great ones as *Indus* & *Ganges* and *Danubius*, and the *Rhene* and *Nilus* are little or nothing varied from the ſame courſes and currents which they held thouſands of yeares ſince; as appeares in their deſcriptions by the ancient *Geographers*; But aboue all meethinkes the conſtant riſing of *Nilus* continued for ſo many ages, is one of the greateſt wonders in the world, which is ſo preciſe in regard of time, that if you take of the earth adjoyning to the river and preſerue it carefully, that it come neither to bee wet nor waſted, and weigh it dayly, you ſhall finde it neither more nor leſſe heavy til the ſeventeenth of *Iune*, at which day it beginneth to growe more ponderous and augmenteth with the augmentation of the river, whereby they haue an infallible knowledge of the ſtate of the deluge. Reported by Mr *Ge. Sands* as a common experiment, affirmed by *Alpinus* a Phiſitiã, *Marchitus* the French Conſull, *Elianus* a Ieſuite, and *Varrat* an Engliſh man.

Now for the *Medicinall* properties of *Fountaines* or *Bathes* no man I thinke makes any doubt, but that they are both as many and as efficacious as ever: ſome it may be haue loſt their vertue and are growne out of vſe: but others againe haue in ſteed thereof beene diſcovered in other places, of no leſſe vſe and vertue, as both *Bacchius* and *Blanchellus* in their bookes *de Thermis* haue obſerued Wholſome medicinall waters haue beene of late yeares diſcovered and vſed with good effect in *Eſſex*, *Northamton-ſhire*, and *Surrey*, which for any thing wee finde former ages were not acquainted with. And for thoſe hot ones at the citty of *Bath* I make no queſtion but *Nechams* verſes may as juſtly bee

verified of their goodneſſe at this preſent, as they were foure hundred yeares ſince, about which time hee is ſayd to haue written them.

Bathoniæ Thermas vix præfero Virgilianas
Confecto proſunt Balnea noſtra ſeni.
Proſunt attritis, colliſis, invalidiſque,
Et quorum morbis frigida cauſa ſubeſt.

Our Baines at Bath with *Virgils* to compare
For their effects I dare almoſt be bold:
For feeble folke, and crazie good they are,
For bruſ'd, conſum'd, farre ſpent, and very old
For thoſe likewiſe whoſe ſickneſſe comes of cold.

So as to it may not vntruly that of *Virgill* be applyed,

---Multiſque perhauſtis
Ignibus inſtaurat vires.

It ſpending ſtill the fewell which it burnes
Yet ſtill to former ſtrength a freſh returnes.

But how this fewell and fire (by which theſe bathes are thus warmed) ſhould thus ſtill continue, is (I confeſſe) a great doubt and for reſolution herein referre the curious reader to *Fallopius* his learned diſputations touching that point in his booke *de Thermis*,

SECT. 2.

That the fiſhes are not decayed in regard of their ſtore, dimenſions or duration.

BUt it is ſayd, that though the *waters* decay not, yet the *fiſh*, the inhabitants thereof, at leaſtwiſe in regard of their *number* are much decayed, ſo as wee may take vp that of the *Poet*,

Iuvenal. Sat. 5. *----Omne peractum eſt,*
Et jam defecit noſtrum mare---

All our Seas at length are ſpent and faile.

The *Seas* being growne fruitleſſe and barren, as is pretended, in regard of former ages, & that ſo it appeares vpon record in our Haven townes: But if ſuch a thing bee, (which I can neither affirme nor deny, having not ſearched into it my ſelfe) themſelues who make the objection, ſhape a ſufficient anſwere therevnto, by telling vs that it may ſo be by an extraordinary judgmēt of *God*, (as he dealt with the *Egyptians*) in the death of our fiſh for the abuſe of our fleſh-pots, or by the intruſion of the *Hollāder*, who carries frō our coaſt ſuch ſtore as we might much better load our ſelues with: & if we ſhould a little enlarge our view, & caſt our eyes abroad, cōparing one part of the world with another, we ſhall eaſily diſcerne, that though our coaſt faile in that abundance, which formerly it had, by over-laying it, yet others ſtill abound in a moſt plentifull māner, as is by experience found vpō the Coaſt of *Virginia* at this preſent. And no doubt but were our Coaſts ſpared for ſome ſpace of yeares, it would again afford as great plenty as ever. Finally, if the ſtore of *fiſh* ſhould decay by reaſon of the decay of the *world*, it muſt of neceſſity follow that likewiſe the ſtore of *plants*, of *beaſts*, of *birds*, & of *men* ſhould daily decay by vertue of the ſame reaſon. Nay rather, ſince the curſe lighting vpon *man* extended to *plants* & *beaſts*, but not to *fiſhes*, for any thing I finde expreſſely

preſſely regiſtred in holy Scripture. As neither did the vniverſall Deluge hurt, but rather helpe thē, by which the reſt periſhed. There are ſtil no doubt even at this day as at the firſt Creation, in the ſea to be found

As many fiſhes of ſo many features,
That in the waters one may ſee all Creatures:
And all that in this All is to bee found,
As if the World within the deepes were drown'd.

Bartas.

Now as the *ſtore* of *fiſhes* is no way diminiſhed: ſo neither are they decayed either in their *greateneſſe* or *goodnes*. I will inſtance in the *Whale*, the King of fiſhes, or as *Iob* termes him, *the King over the children of pride*. That which S. *Baſil* in his *Hexameron* reports, namely that the *Whales* are in bigneſſe equall to the greateſt *mountaines*, & their backes when they ſhew aboue water are like vnto *Ilands*, is by a late learned Writer not vndeſervedly cenſured, as intollerably *hyperbolicall*. *Pliny* in the ninth booke and third Chap. of his *Naturall hiſtory* tels vs, that in the *Indian* Seas ſome haue beene taken vp to the length of foure acres, that is, nine hundred and ſixty feete; whereas notwithſtanding *Arrianus* in his diſcourſe *de rebus Indicis* aſſures vs, that *Nearchus* meaſuring one caſt vpon that ſhore, found him to be but fifty cubits. The ſame *Pliny* in the firſt Chapter of his 32 booke ſets downe a relation of King *Iubaes*, out of thoſe books which he wrote to *C. Caſar* ſon to *Auguſtus* the Emperour, touching the Hiſtory of *Arabia*, where hee affirmes that in the bay of *Arabia*, *Whales* haue beene knowne to be 600. foote long, and 360. foote thicke, & yet as it is well knowne by the ſoundings of *Navigatours*, that Sea is not by a great deale 360 foot deepe. But to let goe theſe fancies, and fables: and to come to that which is more probable. The dimenſions of the Whale, ſayth *AElian*, is fiue times beyond the largeſt *Elephant*: but for the ordinary, ſayth *Rondeletius*, hee ſeldome exceedes 36 cubits in length, and 8 in height. *Dion* a graue Writer reports it as a wonder, that in the raigne of *Auguſtus*, a Whale leapt to land out of the *German* Ocean, full 20 foot in bredth, and 60 in length. This I confeſſe was much, yet to match it with latter times, *Geſner* in his Epiſtle to *Polidor Virgill* avoucheth it as moſt true, that in the yeare of our *Lord* 1532. in the *Northerne* part of our owne land, not farre from *Tinmouth* haven, was a mighty Whale caſt on land, found by good meaſure to bee 90. foot in length, ariſing to 30 *Engliſh* yards, the very bredth of his mouth was ſixe yardes and an halfe, and the belly ſo vaſt in compaſſe, that one ſtanding on the fiſh of purpoſe to cut off a ribbe from him, and ſlipping into his belly was very likely there to haue beene drowned with the moyſture then remaining, had hee not beene ſuddenly reſcued. From whence we may gather, that *Iobs* admirable diſcription of this fiſh vnder the name of *Leviathan*, is ſtill true, and that in vaſtneſſe, ſince *Auguſtus* his time, hee is nothing decreaſed: And yet I will beleeue, that thoſe on the *Indian* Seas may much exceede ours, which might perchance giue occaſion to thoſe large relations of *Pliny* and *Iuba*. Hervnto may bee added the obſervation of *Macrobius* touching the growth of the Mullet. *Plinius Secundus*, ſayth hee, *temporibus ſuis negat facile mullum repertum, qui duas pondo libras excederet, at nunc & majores paſſim videmus, & pretia hæc inſana neſcimus*. *Plinius Secundus* denies that in his time a

Lib. 51. c. 25.

Brierewoods inquiries c. 13.

Lib. 16. c. 12.
Lib. 16. c. 11.
Lib. 54.

Lib. 4.

Iob. 41.

Satur. l. 3. c. 16.
Nat. Hiſt. 9. 17.

Mullet was easily to be found which exceeded two pound weight; but now adayes wee everywhere see them of greater weight, and yet are not acquainted with those vnreasonable prises which they then payd for them.

I will close vp this chapter with a relation of *Gesners* in his Epistle to the Emperour *Ferdinand* prefixed before his bookes *De Piscibus*, touching the long life of a Pike which was cast into a pond or poole neere *Hailebrune* in *Swevia*, with this inscription ingraven vpon a collar of brasse fastned about his necke. *Ego sum ille piscis huic stagno omnium primus impositus per mundi Rectoris Friderici Secundi manus, 5 Octobris, anno* 1230. I am that fish which was first of all cast into this poole by the hand of *Fredericke* the second governour of the World, 5. of Octob. in the yeare 1230. Hee was againe taken vp in the yeare 1497 and by the inscription it appeared hee had then liued there 267 yeares: so as it seemes, that as fishes are not deminished in regard of their store or growth: so neither in respect of their age and duration. But I leaue floting on the *Waters*, and betake mee to the more stable Element the *Earth*.

CAP. 9.

Touching the pretended decay of the earth, together with the plants, and beasts, and minerals.

SECT. 2.

The divine meditations of Seneca *and* Pliny *vpon the globe of the Earth. An objection out of* Ælian *touching the decrease of mountaines answered. That all things which spring from the earth returne thither againe, and consequently it cannot decay in regard of the fruitfullnesse in the whole. Other objections of lesse consequence answered.*

BVt *Seneca* and *Pliny* haue most divine meditations vpon this consideration, that the *Globe* of the *Earth* in regard of the higher *Elements* and the *Heavens* wheeling about it, is by the *Mathematicians* compared to a pricke or point.

lib.2.c.68. ‘These so many peeces of Earth (sayth *Pliny*) or rather, as most haue ‘written, this *little pricke* of the World, (for surely the *Earth* is nothing ‘else in comparison of the whole) is the onely matter of our glory; this ‘I say, is the very seate thereof: heere wee seeke for honour and digni‘ties, heere we excercise our rule & authority, here we covet wealth and ‘riches, here all mankind is set vpon stirs and troubles, here we raise ci‘vill warres still one after another, and with mutuall massacres & mur‘thers we make more roome therein: And to let passe the publique fu‘rie of Nations abroad, this is it wherein wee chace and driue out ‘our neighbour Borderers, and by stealth dig turfth from our Neigh‘bours soyle to put into our owne: and when a man hath extended his ‘land, and gotten whole countries to himselfe farre and neere, what a ‘goodly deale of earth enjoyeth he? and say, that he set out his bounds

‘to

'to the full meaſure of his covetous deſire, what a great portion there-
'of ſhall hee hold, when hee is once dead, and his head laid. Thus *Pliny*, with whom *Seneca* ſweetely accords. *Hoc eſt punctum quod inter tot gentes, ferro & igne dividitur, ô quam ridiculi ſunt mortalium termini! Punctum certè eſt illud in quo navigamus, in quo bellamus, in quo regna diſponimus.* It is but a point which ſo many Nations ſhare with fire and ſword. O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men! It is verily but a point in which wee ſayle, in which wee wage warres, in which wee diſpoſe of kingdomes. But from theſe ſublime ſpeculations, we are to deſcend to the examination of the *Earths ſuppoſed decay*. *Nat. quaſt. l. 1. præf.*

Ælian in the eight booke of his hiſtory, telleth vs, that not onely *Cap. 11.* the mountaine *Ætna*, (for thereof might be given ſome reaſon, becauſe of the dayly waſting and conſuming of it by fire,) but *Parnaſſus* and *Olympus* did appeare to bee leſſe and leſſe, to ſuch as ſayled at ſea, the height thereof ſinking as it ſeemed; and therevpon inferres, that men moſt skilfull in the ſecrets of *Nature*, did affirme that the world it ſelfe ſhould likewiſe periſh and haue an end. His concluſion I cannot but approue, and moſt willingly accept of, as a rich teſtimony for the confirmation of our *Chriſtian* doctrine, from the penne of a *Gentile*: But that hee inferres it, from ſo weake grounds, I cannot but wonder at the ſtupidity of ſo wiſe a man. For to graunt that thoſe mountaines decreaſe in their magnitude, yet ſhall I never yeeld an vniverſall decreaſe in the whole globe of the *Earth*, ſince the proportions aſwell of the *Diameter* as *Circumference* thereof, are by *Geometricall* demonſtrations found to be the ſame which they were in former ages, or at leaſtwiſe not to decreaſe. And for the difference, which is obſerved betwixt the Calculation of *Auncient* and *Moderne* writers; it is certainely to bee referred to the difference of miles, or of inſtruments, or the vnskilfullneſſe of the Authours; not to the different *dimenſions* of the *Earth*, which I thinke no *Geometrician* ever ſo much as dreamed of. Notwithſtanding which trueth, I muſt, and do readily ſubſcribe to that of *Iob*, *Surely the mountaine falling commeth to nought, and the rocke is remoued out of his place*, but let vs take *Iobs* reaſon with vs which hee immediately addes: *The waters weare the ſtones, thou waſheſt away the things which grow out of the duſt of the earth*: This diminution then of the *Mountaines* (as *Blancanus* obſerues) is cauſed partly by *Raine water*, and partly by *Rivers*, which by continuall fretting, by little and little waſh away and eate out both the tops, and ſides, and feete of *mountaines*; whence the parts thus fretted through, by continuall falling downe, weare out the *mountaines*, and fill vp the lower places of the *valleyes*, making the one to increaſe, as the other to decreaſe; whence it comes to paſſe, that ſome old houſes, heretofore fairely built, bee now almoſt buried vnder ground, and their windowes heretofore ſet at a reaſonable height, now growne even with the pauement. So ſome write of the triumphall Arch of *Septimius*, at the foote of the *Capitoll* mountaine in *Rome*, now almoſt covered with earth, inſomuch as they are inforced to deſcend downe into it, by as many ſtaires as formerly they were vſed to aſcend; whereas contrariwiſe the *Romane Capitoll* it ſelfe ſeated *Cap. 14. v. 18. & 19.*

on the mountaine which hanges over it (as witneſſeth *George Agricola*) diſcovers its foundation plainely aboue ground, which without queſtion was at the firſt laying thereof deepe rooted in the earth, whereby it appeares, that what the mountaine looſeth the valley gaines; and conſequently that in the whole globe of the earth nothing is loſt, but onely remoued from one place to another, ſo that in proceſſe of time the higheſt mountaines may be humbled into valleyes, and againe the loweſt valleyes exalted into mountaines.

If ought to nought did fall;
All that is felt or ſeene within this all,
Still looſing ſomewhat of it ſelfe, at length
Would come to nothing: if deaths fatall ſtrength
Could altogether ſubſtances deſtroy,
Things then ſhould vaniſh even as ſoone as die.
In time the mighty *mountaines* tops be bated;
But, with their fall, the neighbour vales are fatted;
And what, when *Trent* or *Auon* overflow,
They reaue one field, they on the next beſtow.

Bartas.

And whereas another *Poet* tels vs that,

Fluvie mons eſt diductus in æquor.

The mountaine by waſhing oft
Into the ſea is brought.

Ouid. lib. 1. Met.

It is moſt certaine, and by experience found to bee true, that as the rivers dayly carrie much earth with them into the ſea, ſo the ſea ſends backe againe much ſlime and ſand to the earth, which in ſome places, and namely in the North part of *Devonſhire* is found to bee a marveilous great commoditie for the enriching of the ſoyle. *Anaxagoras* (as *Diogenes Laertius* reports it in his life) beeing demanded what hee thought, whether the mountaines called *Lapſaceni* would in time be covered with ſea; anſwered *yes*, *vnleſſe time it ſelfe faile*: which anſwere of his ſeemes to confirme the opinion of *Ioſephus Blancanus* profeſſour of the Mathematiques at *Parma*, in his booke *de Mundi fabrica*, *cap.*4. where hee maintaines that if the world ſhould laſt long enough, by reaſon of this continuall decreaſe of the mountaines and the levelling of the valleyes the Earth would againe be overflowne with waters as at the firſt it was: whereas *Blancanus* might haue remembred the covenant of God himſelfe, *Gen.*9.11. *Neither ſhall all fleſh bee cut off any more by the waters of a floud, neither ſhall there any more bee a floud to deſtroy the earth*, for the effecting whereof *hee hath ſhut vp the ſea with doores and barres: Iob.*38.8. *and ſet boundes to the proud waues thereof, which they may not paſſe over, nor turne againe to cover the earth. Pſal.* 104.9.

Now as the *Earth* is nothing diminiſhed in regard of the *dimenſions*, (the meaſure thereof from the *Surface* to the *Center*, being the ſame, as it was at the firſt *Creation.*) So neither in the *fatneſſe* and *fruitfullneſſe* thereof, at leaſtwiſe ſince the *flood*, or in regard of *duration* alone any whit impaired: though it haue yeelded ſuch ſtore of increaſe by the ſpace of ſo many revolutions of ages, yet hee that made it, *continually reneweth the face thereof*, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks, by turning all things which

Pſal. 104. 30.

ſpring

ſpring from it into it againe.
Sayth one, *Cuncta ſuos ortus repetunt, matremque requirunt.*
And another:

E terris orta, terra rurſus accipit.

And a third:

----Capit omnia tellus
Quæ genuit. Lucan

And a fourth joynes all together:

Quapropter merito maternam nomen adepta eſt,
Cedit enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante
In terras. Lucr. l. 2

And altogether they may thus not vnfittingly be rendred.

All things returne to their originall,
And ſeeke their mother: what from earth doth ſpring,
The ſame againe into the earth doth fall.

Neither do they herein diſſent from *Siracides*, *with all manner of living things hath hee covered the face of the earth, and they ſhall returne into it againe.* 16. 30. And that doome which paſſed vpon the firſt man after the fall, is as it were ingrauen on the foreheads, not onely of his poſterity but of all earthly Creatures made for their ſakes; *Duſt thou art, and vnto duſt thou ſhalt returne.*

As the *Ocean* is maintained by the returne of the rivers, which are drayned and deriued from it: So is the earth by the diſſolution and reverſion of thoſe bodies, which from it receiue their growth and nouriſhment. The graſſe to feede the beaſts, the corne to ſtrengthen, and the wine to cheere the heart of man, either are, or might bee both in regard of the Earth and Heavens, as good and plentifull as ever. That decree of the Almighty, is like the law of the *Medes* and *Perſians* irrevocable; *They ſhall bee for ſignes, and for ſeaſons, and for dayes, and for yeares.* Gen. 8. 22. And againe *Hereafter ſeed-time, and harveſt, and cold, and heate, and ſummer, and winter, and day, and night, ſhall not ceaſe ſo long as the earth remaineth.* Which is well expreſſed by *Seneca*, in ſenſe the ſame, and in words not much different. *Hyems nunquam aberravit, Æſtas ſuo tempore incaluit, Autumni Veriſque, vt ſolet, facta mutatio eſt, tam ſolſtitium quam æquinoctium ſuos dies retulit.* Nat. qu. lib. 3. cap. 16. The winter never failed, the ſummer in its ſeaſon waxed hot, the autumne and ſpring haue had their changes, both the ſolſtice and the equinoctiall haue at a fixed day their conſtant returnes. And were there not a certainty in theſe revolutions, ſo that

---In ſe ſua per veſtigia volvitur annus, Virgil.

The yeare in its owne ſteps into it ſelfe returnes:

It could not well bee, that the *Storke* and the *Turtle*, the *Crane* and the *Swallow*, and other fowles, ſhould obſerue ſo preciſely as they doe the appointed times of their comming and going. Ier. 8. 7. And whereas it is commonly thought, and beleeued, that the times of the yeare are now more vnſeaſonable then heretofore, and thereby the fruites of the Earth neither ſo faire nor ſo kindely as they haue beene; To the firſt I anſwere, that the ſame complaint hath beene ever ſince *Salomons* time. Eccleſ. 11. 4. *Hee that obſerveth the winde ſhall not ſow; and hee that regardeth the cloudes*

ſhall

ſhall not reape. By which it ſeemes, the weather was even then as vncertaine as now; and ſo was likewiſe the vncertaine and vnkindely riping of fruites, as may appeare by the words following in the ſame
v. 6. place: *In the morning ſow thy ſeede, and in the evening let not thy hand reſt: for thou knoweſt not whether ſhall proſper this or that, or whether both ſhall bee alike good:* And if ſometimes wee haue vnſeaſonable yeares, by reaſon of exceſſiue wet and cold, they are againe payd home by immoderate drought and heate, if not with vs, yet in our neighbour countries; and with vs, I thinke, no man will bee ſo vnwiſe, or partiall, as to affirme that there is a conſtant and perpetuall declination, but that the vnſeaſonableneſſe of ſome yeares, is recompenſed by the ſeaſonableneſſe of others. It it true that the erroneous computation of the yeare wee now vſe, may cauſe ſome ſeeming alteration in the ſeaſons thereof, and in proceſſe of time, muſt needes cauſe a greater if it be not rectified: but let that errour be reformed, and I am perſwaded that *communibus annis*, we ſhall finde no difference from the ſeaſons of former ages: at leaſtwiſe in regard of the *ordinary courſe of nature:* For of Gods extraordinary judgments, wee now diſpute not, who ſometimes for our ſinnes emptieth the botles of heaven inceſſantly vpon vs: and againe at other times makes the heavens as braſſe over our heads, and the earth as yron vnder our feete.

SECT. 2.

Another objection, touching the decay of the fruitfulneſſe of the holy-land, fully anſwered.

Epiſt. 129. ad Dardanum. WHen I conſider the narrow bounds of the land of *Canaan*, (it being by S. *Hieromes* account, who lived long there, but 160 miles in length, from *Dan* to *Berſheba*, and in bredth but 40. from *Ioppa* to *Bethlem*,) and withall the multitude incredible (were it not recorded in holy Scripture) both of *men* and *cattell* which it
1. Chron. 13. 3. fedde, there meeting in one battle betweene *Iudah* and *Iſrael* twelue hundred thouſand choſen men: Nay the very ſword-men, beſides the
2. Chron. 21. 5. *Levites* and *Benjamites* were vpon ſtrict inquirie found to bee fifteene hundred & ſeaventy thouſand, whereof the yongeſt was twenty yeares old, there being none by the law to bee muſtered vnder that age: and which is more ſtrange, the very guards of *Iehoſophats* perſon amounted
2. Chron. 17. 14. to almoſt an eleven hundred thouſand. And for the number of *Cattell*, there were ſlaine in one ſacrifice at the dedication of *Salomons* temple,
1. Chron. 7. 5. two and twenty thouſand bullockes, and an hundred and twenty thouſand ſheepe. When I ſay, I compare theſe multitudes of men & cattell with the narrow bounds of that countrey; I am forced to beleeue that it was indeede a moſt fruitfull ſoyle, *flowing with milke and honey*, & richly abounding in all kinde of commodities: Yet the reports of ſome, who haue taken a ſurvey of it in theſe latter ages, beare vs in hand, that the fruitfullneſſe thereof, is now much decayed in regard of thoſe times: From whence they would inferre a generall decay in all ſoyles,

and

and conſequently in the whole courſe of nature. But it may truly bee ſayd that this wonderfull fruitfullneſſe proceeded from a *ſpeciall favour* of *Almighty God* towards this people, as appeares in the 11 of *Deuteronomy*, *this land doth the Lord thy God care for, the eyes of the Lord thy God are alwayes vpon it, from the beginning of the yeare even to the end of the yeare.* And more clearely in the 26. of *Leviticus*: *If yee walke in mine ordinances, and keepe my commandements, I will ſend you raine in due ſeaſon, and the land ſhall yeeld her increaſe, and the tree of the field ſhall giue their fruite, and your threſhing ſhall reach vnto the vintage, and the vintage ſhall reach vnto the ſowing time, and you ſhall eate your bread in pleaſantneſſe, and dwell in your land ſafely.* But the miraculous providence of *God* ſhewed it ſelfe moſt evidently over this land in anſwering their doubt, what they ſhould eate the ſeaventh yeare, if they ſuffered the land to reſt, as *God* had injoyned them; the reply is, *I will ſend my bleſſing vpon you in the ſixth yeare, and it ſhall bring forth fruite for three yeares.* Now then as this *extraordinary fruitfullneſſe* proceeded from an *extraordinary favour*: ſo this favour ceaſing the fruitfullneſſe might likewiſe ceaſe without any *naturall decay* of the ſoyle: The countrey about *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* was for fruitfulneſſe as the *Paradice*, or garden of the Lord, till the curſe of God fell vpon it, then it became a waſt land, and ſo remaines to this day: Yet can it not bee gaine-ſayd but that beſide the ſpeciall bleſſing of God, this ſoyle of *Paleſtina* was naturally very rich in it ſelfe, inaſmuch as it fed one and thirty *Idolatrous* Kings, with their people before the entrance of Gods choſen nation into it, one of which alone poſſeſſed, as it ſhould ſeeme threeſcore cities. And the pomegranats, the figs & the grapes, which the ſpies (ſent by *Moſes* to diſcover the land) brought backe with them, were marvailous goodly & faire. And as this ſoyle was thus rich before the entrance of this people, ſo ſince the diſplanting of them from thence, and the *Saracens* poſſeſſing it, it hath not altogether loſt its ancient fruitfulneſſe whatſoever is pretended to the contrary, if wee may credit *Brocardus*, who about three hundred yeares ſince was himſelfe an eyewitneſſe thereof. His words are theſe. *Non eſt credendum contrarium nunciantibus, neque enim eam diligenter conſiderârunt; his oculis vidi quanta fertilitate Terra benedicta fructificat: frumentum enim vix terra exculta ſine ſtercore & ſimo mirabiliter creſcit & muliplicatur. Agri ſunt velut horti in quibus feniculum, ſalvia, ruta, roſa paſſim creſcunt.* There is no heede to be giuen to them who affirme the contrary; For they haue not throughly conſidered of the matter; with theſe eyes did I behold the exceediug fertility of that bleſſed land: The Corne with a very little making of the earth proſpers and multiplies beyond beleefe, the fields are as it were gardens of delight, in which fennell, ſage, rue, and roſes every where grow: And ſo having largely deſcribed the admirable fruitfulneſſe thereof in all kindes, at length hee concludes: *Denique illic extant omnia mundi bona, & verè terra fluit rivis lactis & mellis.* Finally, there are to be had all the good things the world can afford, ſo that it may ſtill bee truely tearmed, a land flowing with rivers of milke and honey. And if it be degenerated from it's ancient fertility (which vpon the report of *Bredenbachius Adrichomius* and others, I rather beleeue) I ſhould

v. 12.

v. 3.

Levit. 25. v. 20. 21.

Gen. 13. 10. Wiſdome, 10. 7. Ioſhua, 12. 24.

Numb. 13. 24.

De Terra ſancta, part. 2. c. 1.

ſhould rather impute it to the curſe of God vpon that accurſed nation which poſſeſſeth it, or to their ill manuring of the earth, (from which the proverbe ſeemes to haue growne, that where the *Grand Signiors* horſe once treades, the graſſe never growes afterward) then to any *Naturall decay* in the goodneſſe of the ſoyle.

My laſt anſwere herevnto ſhall bee in the words of *Iovianus Pontanus* to *Aldus Manutius*, in the proeme of his tenth booke *de rebus Cæleſtibus*, *Terra ipſa ſic conſeneſcit, vt per partes regioneſque, multum amittat de veteri vbertate ſolique opulentia: quemadmodum è contrario aliæ atque aliæ regiones ac loca novas vires ad fœcunditatem ſuſcipiant, novaque alimenta ad frugum procreationem ac rerum copiam.* The earth it ſelfe ſo waxeth old as by parts and regions it looſeth much of its ancient fatneſſe and fruitfullneſſe of the ſoyle: as on the contrary other places and countries recover new ſtrength in their fertility, and freſh nouriſhment for the bearing of ſtore of corne, and the bringing forth of plenty in all kindes.

Which is in effect the ſame with that of *Manilius* in his fourth booke:

Et fœcunda ſuis ſubſiſtunt frugibus arva
Continuoſque negant partus, effœta creando
Rurſus quæ fuerant ſteriles ad ſemina terræ
Poſt nova ſuffeciunt, nullo mandante, tributa.

The fruitfull fieldes do ſomewhere barren grow,
And elſewhere barren, with bleſt fruites do flow.

SECT. 3.

The teſtimonies of Columella *and* Pliny *produced that the earth in it ſelfe is as fruitfull as in former ages, if it bee made and manured.*

Now that which by *Brocardus* hath beene delivered touching the holy land in *particular*, is by *Columella* in his bookes of *Husbandry* with no leſſe aſſuredneſſe averred touching the nature of the *Earth* in *Generall*: nay to ſhew his confidence herein, hee makes that aſſertion, the *entrance* to his whole worke, thus beginning the very firſt chapter of his firſt booke. *Sæpenumero Civitatis noſtræ principes audio culpantes, modo agrorum infœcunditatem, modo Cæli per multa jam tempora noxiam frugibus intemperiem, quoſdam etiam prædictas querimonias velut ratione certa mitigantes, quòd exiſtiment vbertate nimia prioris ævi defatigatum & effœtum ſolum, nequire priſtina benignitate præbere mortalibus alimenta; quas ego cauſas Publi Sylvine procul à veritate abeſſe certum habeo, quod neque fas eſt exiſtimare rerum naturam, quam primus ille mundi genitor perpetua fœcunditate donavit (quaſi quodam morbo) ſterilitate affectam, neque prudentis credere tellurem, quæ divinam & æternam juventam ſortita, communis omnium parens dicta ſit, quia & cuncta peperit & deinceps paritura ſit, velut hominem conſenuiſſe, ne poſthæc reor violentia Cæli nobis iſta, ſed noſtro potius accidere vitio, qui rem ruſticam peſſimo cuique ſervorum velut carnifici noxæ dedimus quam majorum noſtrorum optimus quiſque & optimè tractaverit.* I haue often heard the chiefe of our Citty complaining of the vnfruitfullneſſe of the earth, and ſometimes againe of the vnkindli-

neſſe

neſſe of the weather now for a good ſpace hurtfull to the fruites, and ſome haue I heard with ſhew of reaſon qualifying theſe complaints in that they beleeue the earth beeing worne out and become barren by the exceſſiue fruitfullneſſe of former ages, not to bee able to yeeld nouriſhment to mankinde, accor ding to the proportion of her accuſtomed bounty; but for mine owne part(*Publius Sylvinus*) I am well aſſured that theſe pretended cauſes are farre from truth, it being a peece of impiety ſo much as once to imagine that nature (which the firſt founder of the world bleſſed with perpetuall fruitfullneſſe) is affected with barrenneſſe, as a kinde of diſeaſe, neither is it the part of a wiſe man to thinke that the Earth (which beeing indued with a *divine and eternall youth*, is deſervedly tearmed the *Common Parent* of all things, inaſmuch as it both doth and hereafter ſhall bring all things forth) is now *waxen old like a man*, ſo as that which hath befalne vs, I ſhould rather impute it to our owne *default*, then to the *vnſeaſonableneſſe* of the weather, inaſmuch as wee commit the charge of our husbandry to the baſeſt of our ſlaues, as it were to a publique executioner, whereas the very beſt of our Anceſtours with moſt happy ſucceſſe vnderwent that charge themſelues, and performed that worke with their owne hands. Now *Sylvinus* to whom hee dedicated his workes having receiued and read this reſolute aſſertion, by reaſon he knew it to bee againſt the common tenet, and ſpecially of one *Tremellius*, vpon whole judgment it ſeemes he much relyed, made a *Quære* thereof, and ſent it to *Columella*, to which in the very firſt chapter of his ſecond booke hee returnes anſwere with this title prefixed.

Terram nec ſeneſcere nec fatigari, ſi ſtercoretur.

That the earth is neither wearied nor waxed old, if it be made.

And then thus goes on. *Quæris à me, Publi Sylvine, quod ego ſine cunctatione non recuſo docere, cur priori libro veterem opinionem fere omnium qui de cultu agrorum loquuti ſunt à principio confeſtim repulerim, falſamque ſententiam repudiaverim cenſentium longo ævi ſitu, longique iam temporis exercitatione fatigatam & effœtam humum conſenuiſſe.* You demand a queſtion of mee *Sylvinus*, which I will endeavour to anſwer without delay, which is, why in my former booke preſently in the very entrance, I haue reiected the ancient opinion almoſt of all, who haue writtē of huſbandry, & haue caſt of their imagination as falſe, who conceiue that the earth by long tract of time and much vſage is growne old and fruitles: where he is ſo farre from recalling his aſſertion, or making any doubt of the certaine truth thereof, that he labours farther to ſtrengthen it with new ſupplies of reaſons, and at length concludes, *Non igitur fatigatione, quemadmodum plurimi crediderunt, nec ſenio, ſed noſtra ſcilicet inertia minus benignè nobis arva reſpondent: licet enim maiorem fructum percipere, ſi frequenti & tempeſtiva & modica ſtercoratione terra refoveatur.* It is not through the tiredneſſe or age of the earth, as many haue beleeued, but through our owne negligence that it hath not ſatiſfied vs ſo bountifully, as it hath done. For wee might receiue more profit from it, if it were

cheriſhed

cherished with frequent and moderate, and seasonable dressing.

And with *Columella* agrees *Pliny* in the eighteenth booke of his *Naturall History*, and third chapter, where discoursing of the great abundance and plenty in fore-going ages, and demaunding the reason thereof, he thereupon shapes this reply; 'Surely, sayth he, the cause was this, 'and nothing else: Great Lords and Generalls of the field, as it should 'seeme, tilled themselues their grounds with their own hands: And the 'Earth again for her part, taking no small pleasure as it were to be aired 'and broken vp, *Laureato vomere & triumphali aratore*, with ploughs laureat, & ploughmen triumphant, strained her selfe to yeeld increase to 'the vttermost. Like it is also that these braue men & worthy Personages were as curious in sowing a ground with corne, as in setting a battle 'in aray; as diligēt in disposing & ordering of their lands, as in pitching 'a field. And commonly every thing that commeth vnder good hands, 'the more neat & cleane that the vsage thereof is, and the greater paines 'that is taken about it, the better it thriueth and prospereth afterwards. 'And having instanced in *Attilius Serranus*, and *Quintius Cincinnatus*, 'he goes on in this manner. But now se how the times be changed: they 'that do this businesse in the field, what are they but bond-slaues fettered, condemned malefactours, and in a word noted persons, such as are 'branded and marked in their visage with an hot iron, yet wee forsooth 'marvaile that the labour of these contemptible slaues and abject villaines doth not render the like profit, as that travaile in former ages, of 'great Captaines and Generals of Armies. By which it appeares that *Columella* & *Pliny* imputed the barrennesse of the *Earth* in regard of former ages (if any such were) not to any *deficiency* in the earth it selfe, but to the *vnskilfullnesse* or *negligence* of such as manured it. To which purpose *Ælian* reports a pretty story of one *Mises* who presented the great King *Artaxerxes*, as hee rode through *Persia*, with a pomegranate of wonderfull bignesse: which the King admiring; demaunded out of what *Paradise* he had gotten it, who answered, that he gathered it from his owne garden, the King seemed therewith to bee marvellous well content, and gracing him with royall gifts, swore by the *Sunne*, this man with like diligence and care might as well in my judgment of a little city make a great one. *Videtur autem hic sermo innuere*, sayth the Authour, *omnes res curâ & continuâ sollicitudine, & indefesso labore meliores & præstantiores quàm Natura producat, effici posse.* It seemes by this, that all things by labour and industry may bee made better then Nature produces them. And it is certaine that God so ordained it, that the *industry of man* should in all things concurre with the *workes of Nature*, both for the bringing of them to their perfection, and for the keeping of them therein being brought vnto it. As the Poet speaking of the degenerating of seedes hath truly expressed it.

Virg. in his *Georg.* l. 1.

Vidi lecta diu & multo spectata labore
Degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis
Maxima quæque manu legeret.

Oft haue I seene choice seedes, and with much labour tryed,
Eftsoones degenerate, vnlesse mans industry,

Yearely

Yearely by hand did leaſe the greateſt carefully.

And this I take to bee the true reaſon (as before hath beene touched) why neither ſo good, nor ſo great ſtore of *wine* is at this day made in this kingdome, as by *records* ſeemes to haue beene in former ages; the neglect I meane, of planting and dreſſing our vines as they might be, & at this preſent are in forraine countreyes, and with vs formerly haue beene; & this neglect hath perchance ariſen from hence, that we & the *French* being often and long at defiance, & all friendly commerce ceaſing betwixt vs, *partly* to croſſe them in the venting of their commodities, & *partly* to inrich themſelues, men were either by publique authority ſet on worke, or they ſet themſelues on worke, to trie the vtmoſt of their indeavour in the making of wines; but ſince *peace* and *trade* hath beene ſetled betwixt both kingdomes, that practiſe hath by degrees growen out of vſe, for that men found by experience that both better wines & better cheape might bee had from *France* then could be made heere; and I make no doubt but as tillage with vs, ſo the planting of *Vineyards* is increaſed with them, and for this reaſon, together with the Cauſes before alleadged, it ſeemes to be, that the *French* wines are better cheape with vs at this preſent then they were in the raigne of *Edward* the ſecond, as ſhall by Gods helpe be fully manifeſted in the next Section. And that which hath beene ſpoken of the making of *wines* may likewiſe be vnderſtood of the making of *Bay-ſalt* in this kingdome in former ages, for which (as I am credibly informed) *records* are likewiſe to be ſeene, for to aſcribe either the one or the other to the *Sunnes* going more *Southerly* from vs in Summer, is in my judgment both *vnwarrantable* and *improbable*. *Vnwarrantable* as hath alreadⱶ beene ſhewed in this very booke Cap. 4. Sect. 4. *improbable*, for that if this plant ſhould decay for this reaſon, all other *plants*, & *trees*, & *hearbes*, & *flowers* ſhould conſequently partake of the like decay, at leaſtwiſe in ſome proportion, which our beſt *Phyſitians* and *Herbaliſts* haue not yet found to be ſo, nay the contrary is by them avouched; & as our wines are in a māner vtterly decayed here ſo their ſtrength in *France*, in *Spane*, in *Italy*, in *Hungary*, in *Germany*, ſhould vpon the ſame ſuppoſition be much abated, which notwithſtanding I haue no-where found to be obſerued.

SECT. 4.

An argument drawne from the preſent ſtate of huſbandmen, and another for the many & miſerable dearth in former ages, together with an objection taken from the high prizes of victuals anſwered.

BVt that which farther perſwadeth me, that neither the *goodnes* of the ſoyle, nor the *ſeaſonableneſſe* of the weather, nor the *induſtry* of the huſbandman is now inferiour to that of former ages, is this, that both his fyne and rent being rayſed, his apparell and education of his children more chargeable, & the rates of publique payments more burdenſome, yet he fares better, and layes vp more money in his purſe, then vſually in thoſe times he did.

Beſides it is certaine, that if we compare time with time, the famines

of former ages were more grievous then ours: I omit thoſe of *Ieruſalem* and *Samaria*, becauſe occaſioned by the ſieges of thoſe Cities, as alſo thoſe which either *Civill* warres, or *forraine* invaſions hath drawen on. *De Conſt. l. 2. 22.* Of the reſt, that of *Lypſius* is vndoubtedly true. *Iam de fame nihil profectò nos aut ætas noſtra vidimus, ſi videmus antiqua.* Now touching famine, verily wee and our age haue ſeene nothing, if we behold ancient records. During the reigne of *Valentinian*, the famine through *Novel. tit. 11. apud Cod. Theod.* *Italy* was ſo extreamly ſharpe, that fathers were forced to ſell their ſonnes, *vt diſcrimen mortis effugerent*, that they might ſhunne the danger of death, and thus to part with them *pietatis genus putabant*, they thought it a kinde of pietie. Vnder the Emperour *Honorius*, ſo great was *Zozimus 6. Annal. Lib. 4.* the ſcarcity and dearth of victuals in *Rome* it ſelfe, that in the open market place this voice was heard, *Pone pretium humanæ carni*, ſet a price to mans fleſh: to which grievous dearth, S^t *Ierome* alluding, as it ſhould ſeeme, in his epiſtle to *Principia*, thus writes thereof: *Ad nefandos cibos erupit eſurientium rabies, & ſua invicem membra laniarunt: dum mater non parcet lactenti infanti, & ſuo recipit vtero, quem paulo ante effuderat.* The rage of the hunger-ſtarved brake forth into abominable exceſſe, in as much as they mutually devoured the members of each other: nay, even the mother her ſelfe ſpared not the ſuckling child, but received him againe into her bowels, whom a little before ſhee had brought forth. And long before when *L. Minutius* was made the firſt over-ſeer of the graine, *Livy* reports, *multos è plebe, ne diutinâ fame cruciarentur, capitibus obvolutis ſeſe in Tyberim præcipitaſſe.* That many of the Commons leſt they ſhould be tortured with long famine, covering their faces, caſt thẽſelues headlong into *Tyber*. Even in King *Numa* his time, the Poet aſſures vs, that the earth anſwered not the labour and expectation of the huſbandman, but miſcarried ſometimes by reaſõ of exceſſiue drought, and ſometimes againe by meanes of exceſſiue wet.

Ouid. lib. 4. Faſt.

Rege Numa, fructu non reſpondente labori
Irrita decepti vota colentis erant,
Nam modo ſiccus erat gelidis Aquilonibus annus,
Nunc ager aſſidua luxuriabat aqua.

And *Plato*, who lived neere about the ſame age with *Numa*, in his booke *de contemnenda morte*, ſpeaking of huſbandry; *dulcis* (ſaith he) *eſt agricultura; eſt ſane; nonne tota tamẽ eſt quod aiunt vlcus? ſẽper paratã doloris habens cauſam, nunc quidem ſiccitatem, nunc pluvias, nunc vredinem, nunc rubiginem, nunc vel æſtum intempeſtivum, vel frigus conquerens?* Huſbandry is pleſant, truly it is, yet is it not in a manner wholly an vlcer? having alwayes in readines ſome occaſion of complaint, ſometimes of drought, ſometimes of rain, ſometimes of blaſting, ſometimes of ruſt, ſometimes of vnſeaſonable heate, & ſometimes of cold? What a miſerable death *Gen. 47. 33.* was that in *Egypt*, (held by the *Ancients* for abundance of Corne, the *Granary* of the world) when for want of bread, their greateſt Nobles were forced to ſell, not only their lands, but thẽſelues, & become bond-ſlaues to *Pharaoh*? How vniverſall was that fore-told by *Agabus*, which alſo *Act. 11. 28.* came to paſſe vnder *Claudius Cæſar*, as both *Dion* and *Suetonius* beare witneſſe to *S. Luke*. But to come neerer home, few *hiſtories*, I thinke, exceed

ceed our owne in this point. About the yeare 514, during the raigne of *Ciſſa* king of *South-Saxons*, in his countrey raigned ſuch an extreame famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies caſt themſelues from the rockes into the Sea, in the yeare 1314, about the beginning of the reigne of *Edward* the ſecond, the death was generally ſuch ouer the land, that purpoſely for the moderation of the prices of victuals, a Parliament was aſſembled at *London*: but it increaſed ſo vehemently that vpon S. *Lawrence* Eue, there was ſcarcely bread to be gotten for the ſuſtentation of the Kings owne family. And the yeare following it grew ſo terrible, that horſes & doggs, yea men and children were ſtollen for food, and which is horrible to thinke, the theeues newly brought into the gaoles, were torne in peeces, and preſently eaten halfe aliue by ſuch as had beene longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed that no Corne ſhould be converted to Brewers vſes, which Act the King (moved with compaſſion toward his Nation) imitating, cauſed to be executed through all the kingdome: otherwiſe ſaith *Walſingham*, the greater part of the people had periſhed with penury of bread. And againe, to conclude this ſad diſcourſe, in the yeare 1317, in the tenth yeare of the ſame King, there was ſuch a *murraine* of all kinde of *cattell* together with a generall fayling of all fruits of the *Earth* by exceſſiue raines and vnſeaſonable weather, as proviſion could not be had for the *Kings* houſe, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their *Tables*: Inaſmuch as they put away their ſeruants in great numbers, who having beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, ſcorning to beg, fell to robbery and ſpoyle, which added much to the miſery of the *Kingdome*.

Beda. l. 4. c. 13.

Thomas de la Moore.

Sam. Daniel.

It will be ſaid, if the plenty of *corne* and *victuals*, be as great as in former ages, how comes it to paſſe that their *prices* are ſo much inhanced? But if we compare our prices with thoſe of the ancient *Romanes*, wee ſhall finde that theirs farre exceeded ours. The *Romane* penny by the conſent of the learned, and the judgement of our laſt Tranſlatours in diverſe parts of their Marginall notes, was the eight part of an *ounce*, accounting fiue *ſtillings* to the ounce, ſo that it was worth of our money *ſeaven pence halfe penny*. Now by the teſtimony of *Varro* and *Macrobius*, their *Peacockes* egges (which are now of no reckoning with vs,) were ſold with them for fiue *Roman* pence a peece: and the *Peacockes* themſelues for fifty. *Thruſhes* and *Ouſells* or *blackbirds* were commonly ſold for three pence a peece. Nay *Varro* mentions one *L. Axius*, a *Romane* Knight, who would not let goe a paire of *doues*, *minoris quadringentis denarys*, for leſſe then foure hundred pence. But theſe *inſana pretia*, as *Macrobius* calls them, mad, and vnreaſonable prices, wee ſhall haue fitter occaſion to ſpeake of, when we come to treate of the *luxury* of the *Ancients*; In the meane time it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember what our *Saviour* tells vs in the *Goſpell*, that two *Sparrowes*, or *paſſerculi*, as *Beza* renders it, were then ſold for a *farthing*, thereby implying their great cheapenes: Yet for the ſame money, it being the tenth part of a *Romane penny*, and anſwering in value to halfe penny farthing of our coyne, more may be had at this day with vs: But I leaue *forraine*

De Re Ruſt. l. 3. c. 6.

Sat. l. 3. 13.

Varro, l. 3. c. 2. Cap. 7.

Cap. 16.

Mat. 10. 29

Nations and returne to our owne. If then together with the inhancing of *prices*, wee likewiſe take into our conſideration the inhancing of *Coyne*, it will appeare that the prices of things are not ſo much inhanced as is ſuppoſed. About three hundred yeares agoe, in the latter part of the reigne of *Edward* the ſecond, and beginning of *Edward* the third, an *ounce* of ſilver was valued at one *ſhilling* and eight *pence*, whereas now it is valued at fiue *ſhillings*: ſo that one hundred pounds then was both in *weight* and *worth* fully as much as three hundred *pounds* are now; and conſequently, if they gaue a *groat* for that which wee now giue a *ſhilling*, they gaue juſt the ſame price which we now giue. The price of *Claret wine*, as appeares vpon *record* among the ſtatutes of *Edward* the ſecond, was at that time *twelue pence* the *gallon*, ſo that by proportion the price ſhould now be *three ſhillings*, and looke how much it comes ſhort of that price, it is certaine that ſo much the cheaper it is at this day, then it was in that age. Wherevnto may be added the plenty of *coyne* and multitude of *men*, both which are doubtles in regard of thoſe times much increaſed. For the former of which, though it be true that ſome great ones heaped vp huge *maſſes* of treaſure, yet I thinke it will not be denied, but that there are now more rich men then in thoſe times: Some wiſe men being of opinion that there is now more *plate* in the land, then there was in *Edward* the thirds time both *money* and *plate*: And for the latter, hee that ſhall duely conſider the daily inlarging of our *cities* and *townes*, and the adding of new *Iles* to the greateſt part of our *Pariſh Churches*, within theſe laſt two or three hundred yeares, will eaſily beleeue that the *number* of our people is not a little increaſed. Either of which aſunder, but much more both together muſt needes be a meanes of raiſing the prices of all things: yet this complaint as it hath beene in all ages ſo will it ſtill continue, *ſince wee left to burne incenſe to the Queene of heaven, and to powre out drinke offeringes vnto her, wee haue had ſcarceneſſe of all things, and haue beene conſumed with the ſword and with the famine.*

Ier. 44. 18.

SECT. 5.

That there is no decreaſe in the fruitfulneſſe, the quantities or vertues of plants & ſimples, nor in the ſtore & goodnes of mettalls & minerals, as neither in the bignes or life of beaſts, together with an objection touching the Elephant *in the firſt of* Maccabees, *anſwered.*

NOw if ſuch bee the condition of the *Earth* it ſelfe, and the *fruites* thereof, what reaſon haue wee to conceiue otherwiſe of the *trees* and *plants*, ſpringing vp and nouriſhed from thence? I cannot finde that either *Dioſcorides*, *Theophraſtus*, or *Pliny* among the *Ancients*; or among latter writers, *Ruellius*, *Fuchſius*, or our owne *Gerard* euer obſerued any *decay*, either in the *growth*, the *vertues*, or *duration* of theſe *Vegetables*; the *Oake* and *Beetch*, riſe to as great an height and bignes, ſpread their branches and rootes as farre, laſt as long, bring forth as faire maſt, as they did a thouſand yeares agone. Thoſe *vnder-ground trees*

trees, whoſe bulkes are ſometimes takē vp intire, in *Cheſhſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, & other places, & are commonly thought to haue lyen buried there euer ſince *Noahs* flood, are not found in *length* or *largeneſſe* to exceed the bodies of ours at this day. In former ages I graunt was greater choyce of good *timber*, becauſe greater plenty of woods, but thoſe being cut downe, *tillage* hath ſucceeded in the place thereof, which in regard of our increaſe of people, ſeemed of the two, the more neceſſary, & for *fewell*, it is in moſt places ſupplied with other kindes which were not then thought vpon. *Camden.*

The like may be ſaid for the *vertues* of *Plants*, *Iſſop*, *Garlicke*, *Hemlocke*, and the reſt, they are ſtill indued with the ſame *temper*, with the ſame degrees of *heat* or *cold*, & are availeable for the ſame *vſes*, as in former ages; as may eaſily appeare by comparing *Galen de ſimplicium medicamentorum facultatibus* with *Wecker* a moderne *Phyſitian*. The former makes *Garlicke* hot in the fourth degree, ſo doth the latter. The former *Iſſop* hot in the third degree, and ſo doth the latter. The former *Hemlocke* extreamely cold, ſo doth the latter. Theſe may ſuffice for a taſte, and thus may wee paralell *ſimples*, as for their *firſt* ſo for their *ſecond* & *third* qualities, and *application* to diſeaſes. The difference of their ſtrength is doubtles very great in regard of the different *Clymats* they grow in: But that it ſhould by ſucceſſion of ages be abated in their ſeverall *ſpecies*, and in the ſame *Clymate*, is more I thinke then euer any *Herbaliſt* in his writings, or learned *Phyſitian* in his practiſe hath yet obſerved. *practic. General. l. 4.*

And if there be no *decay* found in the *Vegetables*, very likely it is that the ſame may likewiſe be verified of the *beaſt*, thoſe at leaſtwiſe which make them their food, and are nouriſhed by them. Surely he that ſhall compare the preſent proportions of the *elephant*, the *cammell*, the *horſe*, the *dogge*, with the deſcriptions of *Ariſtotle*, as alſo the preſent extention of their liues, with that which both hee, and other Ancients record of them, will eaſily finde that there is in them, no ſenſible *decreaſe* *Vita equorum*, (ſaith hee) *plurimis ad decimum octavum, atque etiam vice-ſimum annum, ſed nonnulli vigenti quinque, & trigenta egerunt: Etſi cura diligenter adhibeatur vel ad quinquaginta protrahitur ætas*: horſes cōmonly liue eighteene or twenty yeares, yet ſome laſt fiue & twenty or thirty, & if they bee very well kept, they may come to forty or fifty; which he makes in a manner their vtmoſt period. Whereas *Albertus* tells vs, that himſelfe was aſſured by a ſouldier, that the horſe hee then vſed, was threeſcore yeares old, and yet was ſerviceable in the warres. And *Auguſtinus Niphus* yet latter, that hee was crediblely informed by the horſemen of *Ferdinand* the firſt, that there was then in the *Kings* ſtable an horſe that was ſeaventy yeares old. *Hiſt. Animalium, lib. 12. c 8.*

Butæo, a man much commended for his rare learning by many learned writers, labouring to demonſtrate by *Geometricall* proportions, that the *Arke* was capable of ſo many ſeverall kinde of beaſts, as are ſaid to haue beene in it, as alſo their proviſion for one yeare ſpace, takes the ground of his demonſtration from the preſent dimenſions of their bodies, and their preſent allowance for foode, proportioning the capaci-

ty of the *Arke* therevnto, and is therein applauded not only by *Goropius Becanus*, but by *Pererius* and S^r *Walter Rawleigh*: whereas were there ſuch a continuall diminution in the quantity of their bodies, and conſequently in their foode, as is ſuppoſed, his ground were falſe, and his demonſtration frivolous. Wherevnto may be added that the ſame allowance of foode, which *Cato* and *Varro* and *Columella*, in their bookes of huſbandrie agreed vpon to be ſufficient for an oxe, or a horſe, or a ſheepe in their times, is now likewiſe thought to be but competent: And the ſame proportions of body, which the Ancient *Painters* & *Carvers* allowed to horſes and dogges, is now likewiſe by the ſkilfulleſt in thoſe *Arts* found to be moſt convenient. Indeede in the firſt booke of *Macchabees* & ſixth chapter, is ſomewhat a ſtrange relation made of *Elephants*, which are there deſcrided to be ſo bigge, that each of them carryed a wooden towre on his backe, out of which fought thirty two armed men, beſides the *Indian* which ruled the beaſt. Whence ſome haue conceited that the *Elephants* of thoſe times were farre greater then thoſe of the preſent age: But doubtles the Authour of that booke ſpeakes of the *Indian* race, which are farre beyond the *Ethiopian*, as *Iunius* in his annotations on that place hath obſerved out of *Pliny*. And there are of them, ſaith *Ælian*, nine cubits high, which is thirteene foote and a halfe. And thoſe which haue beene in the *great Mogulls* countrey aſſure vs, that at this day they are there farre more vaſt and huge then any that wee haue ſeene in theſe parts of the world. But leaving the *Vegetables* and *beaſts* ſpringing and walking vpon the face of the earth, let vs a little ſearch into the bowels thereof, and take a view of the *mettalls* and *mineralls* therein bredde. Of the *nature*, *cauſes*, and *growth*, whereof, beſides *Matheſius* in his *Sarepta* and *Lideate de Subtarraneis*, *Georgius Agricola* hath written moſt exactly, but neither he nor any man elſe, I thinke, euer yet obſerued that by continuance of time their veines are waſted & impaired, one treatiſe he hath expreſly compoſed *de veteribus & novis metallis*, wherein he ſhewes that as the old are exhauſted, new are diſcovered. It is true indeed which *Pliny* 'hath obſerved, that wee deſcend into the entralles of the earth, wee 'goe downe as farre as to the ſeate and habitation of the infernall 'ſpirits, and all to meete with rich treaſure, as if ſhee were not fruit-'full enough, & benificiall vnto vs in the vpper face thereof, where 'ſhee permitteth vs to walke and tread vpon her: Yet notwithſtanding 'by the couetouſneſſe and toyle of men can her mines neuer be drawne dry nor her ſtore emptied.

v. 37.

Lib. 33. in Proem.

The Earth not onely on her backe doth beare
Abundant treaſures gliſtring every where,
But inwardly ſhee's no leſſe fraught with riches,
Nay rather more (which more our ſoules bewitches)
Within the deepe folds of her fruitfull lappe,
So *bound-leſſe mines* of treaſure doth ſhee wrappe,
That th' hungry hands of humane avarice
Cannot exhauſt with labour or device.
For they be more then there be ſtarres in heaven,

Bartas 3 day of the 1 weeke.

Or

Or ſtormie billowes on the Ocean driv'n,
Or eares of corne in Autumne on the fields,
Or ſavage beaſts vpon a thouſand hils,
Or fiſhes diving in the ſilver floods,
Or ſcattred leaues in winter in the woods.

I will not diſpute it, whether all mineralls were made at the firſt creation, or haue ſince received increaſe by tract of time, which latter, I confeſſe, I rather with *Quercetan* incline vnto, they being ſomewhat of the nature of ſtones, which vndoubtedly grow, though not by *augmentation* or accretion, yet by affimulation or *appoſition*, turning the neighbour earth into their ſubſtance, yet thus much may wee confidently affirme, that the *minerals* themſelues waſte not in the *ordinary courſe*, but by the *inſatiable deſire of mankinde*. Nay ſuch is the *divine providence*, that even there where they are moſt vexed and wrought vpon, yet are they not worne out, or waſted in the *whole*. Of late within theſe few yeares *Mendip* hills yeelded, I thinke, more lead then ever, & at this day I doe not heare that the *Iron mines* in *Suſſex*, or the *Tinne workes* in *Cornewall* are any whit abated, which I confeſſe to be ſomewhat ſtrange, conſidering that little *corner* furniſhes in a manner all the *Chriſtian* world with that mettall: & for *mines of gold & ſilver*, though by ſome it be thought that they faile in the *Eaſt Indies* in regard of former ages; yet moſt certaine it is, that in the *Weſt Indies*, that ſuppoſed defect is abundantly recompenſed.

In his epiſtle to *Aubertus de ortu & cauſis metallorum.*

SECT. 6.

An objection taken from the Eclypſes of the Planets, anſwered.

BEfore wee conclude this Chapter, there remaines yet one rubbe to bee removed, touching the *Eclypſes* of the *Sunne* and *Moone*. for as ſome haue beene of opinion, that the *bodies* of thoſe *Planets* ſuffered by them, ſo many haue thought that theſe *inferiour bodies* ſuffered from them, & conſequently that the more *Eclypſes* there are, (which by tract of time muſt needes increaſe in number) the more doe all things depending vpon thoſe *planets*, decay and degenerate in their *vertues* & *operations*. But as the former of theſe opinions is already proved to be *certainely falſe*, ſo is this latter altogether *vncertaine*. What effects *Eclypſes* produce, I cannot punctually define. Strange accidents I graunt, aſwell in the courſe of *Nature*, as in the *Civill* affaires, haue often followed vpon them, as appeares in *Cyprianus Leovicius*, who hath purpoſely compoſed a tract of them. And Mr *Camden* obſerues, that the towne of *Shreweſbery* ſuffered twice moſt grievous loſſe by fire within the compaſſe of fiftie yeares vpon two ſeverall *Eclypſes* of the *Sunne* in *Aries*; but whether thoſe Accidents were to be aſcribed to the precedent *Eclypſes*, I cannot certainely affirme. Once we are ſure that the *Moone* is *Eclypſed* by the interpoſition of the *Earth*, as is the *Sun* by the *Moone*. Since then the night is nothing elſe but the interpoſition of the *Earth* betweene vs and the Sunne, I ſee no reaſon but wee

ſhould daily feare as dangerous effects from every night or thicke cloud, as from any *Eclypſe*. But I verily beleeue, that the ground of this error, as alſo of the former, ſprang from the ignorance of the *Cauſes* of *Eclypſes*; *Sulpitius Gallus* being the firſt amongſt the *Romanes*, and amongſt the *Greekes*, *Thales Miteſius*, who finding their nature, did prognoſticate and forſhew them. After them, *Hipparchus* compiled his *Ephimerides*, containing the courſe and aſpects of both theſe *Planets* for ſix hundred yeares enſuing, and that no leſſe aſſuredly, then if he had beene privy to *Natures counſells*. Great perſons, and excellent doubt-
Lib. 2. cap. 12. 'les were theſe, ſaith *Pliny*, who aboue the reach of all humane capaci-
'ty, found out the reaſon of the courſe of ſo mighty ſtarres, and divine
'powers. And whereas the weake minde of man was before to ſeeke,
'fearing in theſe *Eclypſes* of the ſtarres, ſome great wrong, or violence,
'or death of the *Planets*, ſecured them in that behalfe. In which dread-
'full feare ſtood *Steſicorus* and *Pyndarus* the *Poets*, notwithſtanding their
'lofty ſtyle, and namely at the *Eclypſe* of the *Sunne*, as may appeare by
their Poemes, In this fearefull fit alſo of an Eclypſe, was King *Archelaus* (as witneſſeth *Seneca* in his fifth booke and ſixth chapter *de beneficijs*) *vt quo die Solis defectio fuit, regiam clauderet, & filium* (*quod in luctu, & rebus adverſis moris eſt*) *tonderet*: that the day in which the Sunne was eclypſed, he ſhut vp his palace, and ſhaved his ſonne, which in time of mourning and affliction was the cuſtome. And in the like agonie *Nicias* the Generall of the *Athenians* (as a man ignorant of the cauſe thereof) feared to ſet ſaile with his fleete out of the haven, and ſo greatly indangered and diſtreſſed the ſtate of his countrey. But on the contrary, the forenamed *Sulpitius* being a *Colonell* in the field, the day before that King *Perſeus* was vanquiſhed by *Paulus*, was brought forth by the *Generall* into open audience before the whole hoſt, to foretell the *Eclypſe* that ſhould happen the next morrow, whereby he delivered the army from all penſiueneſſe and feare, which might haue troubled them, in the time of battell, and within a while after he compiled alſo a booke thereof. Thus farre *Pliny* touching the harmeleſſe and innocent nature of *Eclypſes*, himſelfe in the next chapter reducing their certaine revolutions, and returnes to the ſpace of two hundred
De Benefic. lib. 5. cap. 6. twenty two moneths. *Atque hic ibit ordo per ſecula* (ſaith *Seneca*) *quæ diſpoſitos ac prædictos dies habent, quibus Sol intercurſu Lunæ veretur omnes radios effundere*: and this order ſhall continue in all ſucceeding ages, which haue certaine ſet and foretold dayes, in which the Sunne by the interpoſition of the Moone looſeth his light. And the *Roman* Oratour hath obſerved in his ſecond booke *de natura Deorum*: *Defectiones Solis & Lunæ prædicatas in omne poſterum tempus quæ, quanta, quando futuræ*: The Eclypſes of the Sun & Moone, are both knowne, & may be prognoſticated for all ages to come, both in what faſhion & in what quantitie, and at what time they ſhall happen: notwithſtanding the cleere evidence of which truth, ſome haue beene found, and thoſe not of the vulgar only, but of profeſſed Mathematicians, conſtantly to
Lib. 3. cap. 32. Pro. 2. affirme (as witneſſeth *Bartholinus* in his *Enchiridion* of naturall Philoſophy,) that *Eclypſes* are in theſe latter ages more frequent then in former

mer times, which opinion hee there plainely confutes to be moſt erroneous: the more I wonder at our late learned Dr *Caſe*, who in his *Lapis Philoſophicus lib.* 8. among other weake arguments for the *worlds decay*, makes the *irregularitie* of our late *Eclypſes* to be one. And for their threatning aſpect, (which he there likewiſe vrgeth) former ages, no doubt, haue ſeene as fearefull ones as ever we, or our next predeceſſours ſaw: I will inſtance in two, the one mentioned in the Chronicle of the Kings of *Mann*, annexed by Mr *Camden* to his *Britannia* anno 1133, in which yeare, ſo great (ſaith that Chronicle) was the eclypſe of the Sun, *vt dies in noctem verteretur*, that the day was turned into night: the other recorded by *Malmeſbury* in the 2 booke of his *Hiſt. Novell.* anno 1140: at which time, the eclypſe of the ſame planet was ſo terrible, *vt homines antiquum Chaos timerent*, (ſaith he) that men feared the returne of all things into the firſt *Chaos* or confuſion.

I will ſhut vp all with a memorable ſtory to this purpoſe taken out of *Iohn de Royas* in his Epiſtle to *Charles* the fifth, prefixed to his *Commentaries* vpō the plaine *Sphere*, *Colonus* the leader of King *Ferdinands* army, at the *Iland* of *Iamaica*, being in great diſtreſſe for want of victuals, which he could by no meanes attaine of the inhabitants, & by his skill foreſeeing an *Eclypſe* of the *Moone* ſhortly to enſue, tooke order that it ſhould be declared to the Governours of the *Iland*, that vnleſſe they ſupplyed him & his with neceſſaries, imminent danger hanged over their heads; in witneſſe whereof, they ſhould ſhortly ſee the *Moone Eclypſed*. The *Barbarians* at firſt, refuſed his demaunds and contemned his threatning: but when at the ſet time they indede beheld the *Moone* by degrees to faile in her light, & vnderſtood not the cauſe thereof, they firſt gaue credite to his words, and then ſupply of victuals to his army, caſting themſelues to his feete and craving pardon for their offence.

Finally to the preſent objection, if any harmefull malignant effect be for the preſent or afterward produced by the *Eclypſe* in thoſe parts where it is ſeene, yet no man I thinke will deny it, but to bee *repairable* by the tract and revolution of time, or if irrepairable, yet this decay in the Creatures, ariſeth not from any *deficiency* in themſelues, from any waxing old or remoueall from their firſt originals, (which is the very poynt in queſtion) but from an *adventicious* and *externall cauſe*. And ſo I paſſe from the other Creatures to the Conſideration of *Man* the *Commaunder* and *Compendium* of all the reſt, for whoſe ſake both they were firſt made, and this diſcourſe was firſt vndertaken.

LIB.

LIB. III.

Of the pretended decay of mankinde in regard of age and duration, of ſtrength and ſtature, of arts and wits.

CAP. 1.

Touching the pretended decay of men in regard of their age, and firſt by way of compariſon betweene the ages of the Ancients, and thoſe of latter times.

SECT. 1.

Of the ſhort life of man in regard of the duration of many other Creatures, and that he was created Mortall, but had he not falne, ſhould haue beene preſerved to immortality.

SInce vpon examination we haue found that there is no ſuch *perpetuall* & *vniverſall decay* as is pretended in the *Heavens*, in the *Earth*, in the *Aire*, in the *Water*, the *Fiſhes*, the *Plants*, the *Beaſts*, the *Mineralls*: I ſee no reaſon but that from thence we might ſafely and ſufficiently conclude, that neither is there any ſuch decay in *man*. But becauſe this diſcourſe was principally vndertaken and intended for the ſake of *mankinde*, I will conſider and compare them of former ages with thoſe of latter, firſt in regard of *age*; ſecondly, in regard of *Strength* and *ſtature*; thirdly, in regard of *wits* and *inventions*; fourthly, in regard of *manners* and *conditions*. And if vpon due conſideration and compariſon it ſhall appeare that there is no ſuch decay in any of theſe as is ſuppoſed, the *Queſtion*, I truſt, touching the *worlds decay* in generall will ſoone be at an end.

The ordinary *age* of man being compared with that of the heavens, the ſtones, the mettals, ſome beaſts & trees, is very ſhort; but the longeſt being cõpared with *God* and *eternity*, is but as a *ſpan*, a *ſhadow*, a *dreame* of a *ſhadow*, nay meere *nothing*, which the *Romane Oratour* hath both truly obſerved, and elegantly expreſſed. *Apud Hypanim fluvium, qui ab Europæ parte in Pontum influit, Ariſtoteles ait beſtiolas quaſdam naſci quæ vnum diem vivant; ex ijs igitur horæ octavæ quæ mortua eſt, provectæ ætate mortua eſt, quæ vero occidente ſole decrepita, eo magis ſi etiam Solſtitiali die. Confer noſtram longiſſimam ætatem cum æternitate, in eadem propremodum brevitate quæ iſtæ beſtiolæ reperiemur.* *Ariſtotle* writes, that by the river *Hypanis*, which on the ſide of *Europe* fals into *Pontus*, certaine little *animals* are bred, which liue but a day at moſt: Amongſt them then, ſuch as die the eight houre, die old; ſuch as die at ſun-ſet, die in their decrepit age, ſpecially if it be vpon the day of the Summer Solſtice. Now compare our *age* with *eternity*, & we ſhall be found in regard of duration almoſt in the

Pſal. 39. 5.
1. *Tuſculan.*

ſame

ſame ſtate of ſhortneſſe that thoſe Creatures are.

The body of man even before the fall was doubtleſſe in it ſelfe by reaſon of contrary Elements, contrary humours, and members of contrary temper whereof it was compoſed, *diſſoluble* and mortall: As alſo by reaſon of outward accidents, the daily waſting of his natiue heate, and the diſproportionable ſupply of his radicall moiſture: But theſe defects his *Creator* ſupplied, arming him againſt outward accidents by *diuine* providence, the guard of *Angels* and his owne excellent *wiſedome* againſt the contrarieties fighting in his body, by the *harmony* of his ſoule: againſt the waſting of his natiue heate and radicall moyſture by that ſupernaturall vertue & efficacy which he gaue to the fruit of the tree of life: He was then *Naturally Mortall*: (for otherwiſe even after his fall ſhould he haue continued *immortall*, as the *Apoſtate Angells* did) but by *ſpeciall priviledge* and diſpenſation *immortall: mortalis erat*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine, conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris:* He was *mortall* in reſpect of his naturall body, but *immortall* by the favour of his Creator: Yet doubtles had he not ſinned, he had not ſtill lived here vpon earth, though in likelihood his age might be extended to ſome thouſands of yeares, but ſhould haue beene at length tranſlated from hence to heaven where he could neither haue ſinned nor dyed: *Sic eſt immortalis conditus*, Sayth *Gregory*, *vt tamen ſi peccaret, & mori poſſit; & ſic mortalis eſt conditus, vt ſi non peccaret etiam non mori poſſit, atque ex merito liberi arbitrij beatitudinem illius regionis attingeret, in qua vel peccare vel mori non poſſit.* He was ſo created *immortall* that if he ſinned, he might dye: and againe ſo was he created *mortall*, that if he ſinned not, he could not dye: But by the merit of his free-will ſhould haue beene tranſlated to that place of bliſſe where he could neither ſinne nor dye.

Lib. 7. de Gen. ad Lit. c. 25.

Moral. lib 4. cap. 26.

SECT. 2.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs, and of the manner of Computing there yeares, and that Almighty God drew out the lines of their liues to that length for reaſons proper to thoſe firſt times.

THough vpon the *fall of man* the duration of his continuance here vpon the earth was much ſhortned, yet certaine it is that many of the Ancient *Patriarches* before the floud liued aboue nine hundred, and ſome to allmoſt a thouſand yeares: Neither ought this to ſeeme incredible, though *Pliny* mentioning ſome who were reported to haue liued fiue, ſix, or eight hundred yeares, at length concludes that all theſe ſtrange reports ariſe from the ignorance of times 'paſt, and for want of knowledge how they made their account. For 'ſome, ſaith he, reckoned the Summer for one yeare & the Winter for 'another. There were alſo that reckned every quarter for a yeare, as 'the *Arcadians* whoſe yeare was but three moneths, and ſome againe 'you haue, as namely the *Egyptians*, who count every chaunge or *New* '*moone* for a yeare, and therefore no marvell if ſome of them are reported

Lib. 7 cap. 48.

ted to haue liued a thousand yeares. Thus *Pliny*. But *Iosephus* to justifie the truth of *Moses* his history touching the age of the first *Patriarches*, vouches the authority of *Manathon* the writer of the *Egyptian* story, *Berosus* of the *Chaldean*, *Moschus* and *Esthieus* of the *Phenician*, as also *Hesiodus*, *Hecataeus*, *Elamius*, *Acuselaus*, *Ephorus* and others, all affirming that those of the first age liued to a thousand yeares, but how they made there computation, *Iosephus* doth not expresse: Wherevpon some haue beene so bold as to tell vs, that the yeares *Moses* there speakes of, are not to be computed as ours, but were somewhat aboue the monethly yeare contayning in them thirty six dayes which is a number quadrate, being made vp of six times six: So that one of our yeares containes tenne of them, and those dayes being divided into twelue moneths, there could not aboue three dayes be attributed to each of them. But this opinion (for I will not spare it though it make for mee,) how not only false it is, but manifestly repugnant to the *sacred Scriptures*, any man may of himselfe easily discerne. For if we embrace this computation, it will from thence follow that *Caynan* and *Enoch* begat children when they were but six yeares old and an halfe, or seauen at most, for the *Scripture* tells vs, that the one begat them when he was but sixty fiue yeares old, and the other at seuentie: so that if tenne of their yeares made but one of ours, it would consequently follow, that they begat children whē they were yet but seaven yeares of age: *Besides*, since none of those Ancient *Patriarches* attained to a thousand yeares, if their yeares were so to be accounted, as these men would haue it, none of them should haue arrived to ninety seaven yeares; and yet many we know are now found to passe an hundred. Againe, the *Scripture* testifies, that *Abraham died in a good old age full of dayes, being one hundred seaventy fiue yeares old*, which number, according to their computation, makes but seaventeene yeares and an halfe; a ridiculous old age. *Lastly*, in the seaventh and eight of *Genesis* in that one yeare alone, in which the flood lasted, mention is made of the *first*, *second*, and *tenth* moneth, & least any should imagine, that those moneths lasted only three dayes, we haue there named the *seaventeenth* day of the second, and the *twenty seaventh* of the seaventh moneth.

Lib. 1. *Antiq.* Cap. 4.

Gen. 5. 12. Gen 5. 21.

Gen 25. 7. 8.

Gen. 7. 11. & 8. 4. 5. 13. 14

Gen. 7. 11. & 8. 5.

To take it then as granted, that *Moses* his computation of the yeare, was the same with ours, and that those first *Patriarches* liued much longer then any of latter times, yet from thence cannot any sufficient proofe be brought, that there hath beene & still continues, *a constant & perpetuall decrease in mans age*, since for speciall Reasons and by *speciall priuiledge Almighty God* granted that to them, which to their successours was denied: which I will rather choose to expresse in *Iosephus* his words then in mine owne. Where hauing assigned some other causes thereof, peculiar to those times & persons, at length he concludes. *Deinde propter virtutes & glorioſas vtilitates quas iugiter perſcrutabantur, id eſt Aſtrologiam & Geometriam, Deus ijs ampliora viuendi ſpatia condonavit, quæ non edidiſcere potuiſſent, niſi ſexcentis viuerent annis, per tot enim annorum curricula magnus annus impletur.* Againe in regard of the excellent and profitable vse of *Astronomy* and *Geometry*, which they daily searched

Lib. 1. *Antiq.* cap. 4.

ſearched into, *Almighty God* graunted them a longer ſpace of life, in as much as they could not well finde out the depth of thoſe *Arts*, vnleſſe they liued ſix hundred yeares, for in that revolution of time, the *great yeare* comes about. Where what hee meanes by the *great yeare*, ſince the moſt learned make a great doubt, I for my part will not vndertake poſitiuely to determine. But to this reaſon of *Ioſephus* may well bee added another principall one, which is, that God ſpared them of this firſt age the longer *for the multiplying of the race of mankinde*, and repleniſhing the *Earth* with Inhabitants. Wherevpon *Rabbi Levi* (as witneſſeth *Genebrard* in the firſt of his *Chronologie*) calls the *Longevitie* of the *Patriarches opus providentiæ non naturæ*, a worke of the divine providence, not of nature. And as hee graunted them for theſe reaſons a longer ſpace of life by *ſpeciall priviledge:* ſo likewiſe hee fitted their *foode*, their *bodies*, and all other *neceſſaries* proportionable therevnto; as extraordinary carefullneſſe and skilfulneſſe in the moderation & choice of their diet, together with a ſingular knowledge in the vertues of *plants*, and *ſtones*, and *mineralls*, and the like, as well for the preſervation of their health, as the curing of all kinde of diſeaſes; which well agrees with that of *Roger Bacon*, ſpeaking of the *Patriarches* in his booke *de ſcientia experimentali*. *Quum fuerunt magna ſapientia præditi, excogitaverunt omne regimen ſanitatis & medicinas ſecretas quibus ſenectus retardabatur, & quibus cum venit potuit mitigari; & filij eorum hoc regimen habebant & experimenta contra ſenectutem, nam Deus illuſtravit in omni ſapientia, & ergo diu vivere potuerunt.* They beeing indued with ſingular wiſdome, found out the whole courſe of the regiment of health and ſecret medicines, whereby the pace of old age was ſlackned, and when it arrived the rigour of it was abated, and from them their ſonnes as by a tradition derived this skill, and theſe experiments againſt old age, for God enlightned them with all kinde of wiſdome; and from hence it come to paſſe that they liued long. Yet even among them before the *floud*, wee finde that the *firſt man*, who in caſe of decreaſe ſhould in reaſon haue liued longeſt, was notwithſtanding in number of yeares exceeded not onely by *Mathuſalath*, and *Iered* before, but by *Noah* after the flood, except wee will adde vnto *Adams* age threeſcore yeares, and ſome divines doe, vpon a ſuppoſition that hee was created in the flower of mans age, agreeable to thoſe times.

SECT. 3.

That ſince Moſes *his time, the length of mans age is nothing abated, as appeares by the teſtimony of* Moſes *himſelfe, and other graue Authours, ſpecially* Petrarch *and* Mantuan, *compared with the experience of theſe times.*

HOwſoever it faired with the *Patriarches*, ſure wee are that ſince *Moſes* his time; who was borne in the yeare of the world 2434, or thereabout, aboue three thouſand yeares agoe, when the world was now well repleniſhed, and the moſt neceſſary ſcientes depending vpon obſervation and experience, in a manner perfected, *the*

length of mans age is nothing abated, as clearely it appeares by that moſt famous and evident teſtimony of his: *the time of our life*, (ſayth hee) *is threeſcore yeares and tenne, and though men bee ſo ſtrong that they come to foureſcore yeares, yet is their ſtrength then but labour and ſorrow, ſo ſoone paſſeth it away, and wee are gone.* And that indeed theſe are the words of *Moſes*, appeares by the very *Title* of the Pſalme prefixed to it. *A Pſalme of Moſes the man of God.* For though S. *Auguſtine* ſeeme to make ſome doubt of it, becauſe hee findes it not recorded in his hiſtory. And *Aben Ezra* a *Iewiſh Rabbin*, thinkes the Authour to haue beene one of *Davids* ſingers ſo named, yet S. *Hierome* doubts not conſtantly to averre it to be that ſame *Moſes*, who was the penman of holy writ, and the Captaine of the *Hebrewes*, and that wee might not call it into queſtion, the *Holy Ghoſt* ſeemes purpoſely to haue annexed that *Epithite*, *The man of God*, that is, not onely a godly religious and excellent man, but a man endued with a propheticall ſpirit, and ſo is it taken, 1. *Sam.* 2. 27. and 1. *Kings* 13. 1. In which regard *Moſes* himſelfe giues himſelfe this ſame *Title*, *Deuter.* 33. 1. *This is the bleſſing wherewith Moſes the man of God bleſſed the children of Iſrael before his death*. And for *S. Auguſtines* objection, hee would leaue very few *Pſalmes* to *David* himſelfe, were his argument of any force. Yet ſome *Expoſitours* there are, who referre it to that *ſtory* of the *Iſraelites*, written in the 32 of *Exodus*. Others in the 14 of *Numbers*, which I the rather am induced to beleeue, for that of all thoſe ſix hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, which vnder the conduct of *Moſes* came out of AEgypt, only two, *Caleb* and *Ioſhua* entred into the land of promiſe, all the reſt, men, women, and children, young and old, leaving their carkaſes in the Wildernes within the ſpace of *forty yeares*. True indeede it is, that both *Moſes* himſelfe and his brother *Aaron* out liued the number of yeares ſet downe in that *Pſalme*; yet ſayth judicious *Calvin*, *de communi ratione loquitur*, hee ſpeakes of the ordinary courſe, how it commonly faired with men in that reſpect even in thoſe times. And thus do I take *Herodotus* to bee vnderſtood jumping in the ſame number with *Moſes*, *ſpacium vivendi longiſsimum propoſitum eſſe octoginta annos*, that the vtmoſt ſpace of mans life is foureſcore yeares: Though *Solon* come a degree ſhorter, making the age of man threeſcore and tenne, as both *Laertius* and *Cenſorinus* in his booke *de die natali* teſtifie of him. *Plato* who had (as *Seneca* witneſſeth) a ſtrong and able body, borrowing his name from his broad breſt, not without much care and diligence arrived to the age of *eighty* one years, which was then held a rare and admirable matter, and therefore did the *Magitians* ſacrifice vnto him, as being more then a man. And *Barzillai* who liued in *Davids* time, is ſayd to haue beene *Senex valde*, a very aged man, yet was hee by his owne confeſſion, but *foureſcore* yeares old. Nay *David* himſelfe is ſayd to haue beene *old, ſtriken in yeares*, and *Satur dierum*, full of dayes, inſomuch as *they covered him with cloathes, but hee got no heat*: yet was hee but *threeſcore and ten* when hee died, *thirty* when hee began to raigne, and *forty* yeares hee raigned, being naturally of a ſound and healthfull conſtitution. *Solomons* age wee cannot by *Scripture* certainely determine: ſome *Divines* conjecture, that he little exceeded

Pſal. 90. 10.

In *Thalia.*

Laert. l. 1. *c.* 14.

Epiſt. 51.

2. Sam. 19. 32. v. 35.

1. King. 1. 1. 1. Chro. 19. 28. 2. Sam. 5 4.

ded *forty*, but the moſt learned, that he paſſed not *fifty* or *threeſcore* at moſt, yet is it noted of him, that *cùm ſenex eſſet*, when hee was old, his wiues turned away his heart after other Gods: Of all the Kings of *Iudah* and *Ieruſalem* which followed after, the greateſt part came not to *fifty*, very few to *threeſcore*, and none full home to *threeſcore* and *tenne*. In the whole *Catalogue* of *Romane*, *Greeke*, *French*, and *Germane Emperours*, onely *foure* are found which attained to *faureſcore*, and thoſe not among the firſt of that ranke. In the bed roll of *Popes*, *fiue* only liued to ſee thoſe yeares, and thoſe of latter dayes in compariſon, namely *Iohn* 23. *Gregory* 12 & 13. *Paulus* 3 and 4. and which is more remarkeable, our *Queene Elizabeth* of freſh and bleſſed memory out-liued all her predeceſſours ſince the *conqueſt*, raigning the yeares of *Auguſtus*, and living the age of *David*.

Petrarch a graue Author, (as himſelfe tels it in the ſixteenth booke of his Epiſtles which hee intitles *Rerum Senilium*) having heard of a Lawyer who in his publique Lectures (thereby to ſlight the induſtry of the more ancient, and to excuſe the ſloath of the preſent times) was wont to aſcribe the difference betweene them in matter of learning, to the difference in the duration of their liues, the one beeing longer, the other ſhorter; ſent him word by a ſcholler of his, that hee ſhould no more ſo ſay, *ne inter doctos ipſe indoctus haberetur*, leaſt among the learned himſelfe might perchance bee held vnlearned: and therevpon preſently addes *à duobus & eo amplius annorum millibus circa humanæ vitæ ſpacium nulla mutatio facta eſt*: For the ſpace of two thouſand yeares and more, there is no change made in the ſpace of mens liues; and then goes on and ſhewes how the auncients ordinarily liued the ſame number of yeares that wee doe: and laſtly, if (ſayth hee) you object to mee *Varro* and *Cato* and others who liued to an hundred, I haue thoſe in readineſſe whom I can oppoſe againſt them, but becauſe their names are obſcure, I will inſtance onely in one inſtead of many, and that is *Romualdus* of *Ravenna*, a famous *hermite*, who notwithſtanding his continuall watchings and faſting for the loue of *Chriſt*, arrived to the age of an hundred and twenty yeares. *Epiſt. 2.*

And with *Petrarch* herein doth *Baptiſta Mantuanus* fully accord, who in the latter end of his fourth booke *de Feſtis*, ſpeaking of the contracting of the yeare of *Iubily* from one hundred to fifty, and againe from fifty to fiue and twenty, vpon a ſuppoſition that the age of man is likewiſe contracted in compariſon of former times; profeſſedly oppoſeth himſelfe againſt that opinion, though maintained by the Biſhops of *Rome*, as being the principal reaſon by them pretended for that change.

Iudice me concors vero ſententia non eſt
Tempora quæ dicit vitæ breviata, ſuperſunt
Nunc quoque qui viuunt Centum vel circiter annos
Incolumes, vidi ipſe hominem quem diceret annos
Vndecies vixiſſe decem, vicinia tota,

Ire ſuis alacrem plantis, & viribus vti
Nec ſe deſidiæ nec inerti dedere ſomno,
If I may judge, th'opinion is not true
Which ſayes the life of man is ſhortned; you
Even now may ſee, ſome ſuch ſtill kept in ſtore
As liue one hundred yeares, in perfect health and more,
My ſelfe haue ſeene a man whom all the towne
With full an hundred yeares and ten did crowne,
Yet did he walke vpright, with ſtrength and nimbleneſſe
Not giuen to ſleepe, nor reſtie idleneſſe.

SECT. 4.

The ſame confirmed by the teſtimony of other Ancient and learned Writers.

Lib. 7. c. 48. 49.

HEſiodus the firſt Writer as I take it (ſayth *Pliny*) who hath treated of this argument, in his fabulous diſcourſe touching the *age* of man, affirmeth, (but vpon what ground I know not) that a *crow* liveth nine times as long as we, and the *Harts* or *Stagges* foure times as long as the *crow*, but the *ravens* thrice as long as they: And if we ſhould conſult with *Aſtrologers*, *Epigines* ſaith, that it is not poſſible to liue an *hundred and two and twenty yeares:* and *Beroſus* is of opinion, that one cannot paſſe an *hundred and ſeaventeene*. *Auſonius* out of *Heſiod* makes the juſt age of an old man to bee ſixe yeares.

Ter binos decieſque novem ſuperexit in annos
Iuſta ſeneſcentum quos implet vita virorum.

These verſes of *Heſiod* are alleaged by *Plutarch* in his treatiſe of the *ceſſation* of *Oracles*, and tranſlated by *Auſonius* in his eighteenth *Edyllium*.

In the Oracle of *Sybilla Erithræa* by the teſtimony of *Phlegon Trallianus* are found theſe verſes.

Viginti & centum revolutis protinus annis
Quæ ſunt humanæ longiſſima tempora vitæ.
When ſix ſcore winters are expir'd, which fate
Of humaine life hath made the longeſt date.

Moreover *Trebellius Pollio* in his booke to *Conſtantius* thus writeth, *Doctiſſimi Mathematicorum centum viginti annos homini ad videndum datos judicant, neque amplius cuiquam conceſſum dicunt, illud etiam adjcientes, Moſen ipſum, (vt Iudæorum libri teſtantur) Dei familiarem viginti quinque ac centum annos vixiſſe, qui cùm interitum hunc vt immutatum forte quereretur, ferunt illi ab incerto Numine reſponſum, neminem deinceps amplius eſſe victurum.* The moſt learned *Mathematicians* are of opinion, that a man can liue but an *hundred and twenty yeares*, and that none can goe beyond that period, yet they adde, that *Moſes* himſelfe, as the writings of the *Iewes* teſtifie, beeing familiar with *God*, liued to the age of one *hundred twenty fiue* yeares, who when he complained of this change, they report this anſwere to haue beene giuen him by ſome *divine power*, that no man after that ſhould paſſe thoſe bounds. Thus *Pollio* ignorantly miſtaking the age of *Moſes*, but alluding as it ſeemes to that ſpeech of *God* in the ſixth of *Geneſis*, *his dayes ſhall be an hundred & twenty yeares*. Which words notwithſtanding I ſhould rather chooſe to referre to the continuance

of

of the world till the comming of the floud, then to the duration of the age of particular men. For it is certaine that after this, not onely *Noah*, but *Sem*, and *Arphaxad*, and *Salah*, and *Eber*, and *Peleg*, and *Nahor*, and *Terah*, and *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, some of them by much, and all of them by some number of yeares exceeded this proportion.

Crinitus in his seaventh booke *de honesta disciplina* reports out of *Terentius Varro* from the authority of *Dioscorides* a great Astrologer, that the *Egyptians*, (who tooke speciall care about the imbalming of dead bodies) by a subtill and witty kinde of reasoning found out, within what bounds of space to the very vtmost the *age* of man is confined, taking their estimate from the weight of the heart; they affirmed then that the life of man is limitted to *one hundred yeares*, so that it could not passe that tearme, which the heart of those, say they, who dye not vntimely, doth manyfest; inasmuch as together with *age* if it bee examined, it either receiues *increase* or *decrease*; It receiving the increase of two drams every yeare till a man come to *fifty*, & then againe the *decrease* of two yearely till hee arriue to an *hundred*, and so returning to its originall weight, it can then make no farther progresse. Now this obseruation though it be doubtlesse more *curious* then *true*, yet doth it shew that the common opinion of the *Ancients* was, that men did seldome passe *one hundred years*. *Seculum centum annorum spacium vocârunt, dictum à sene, quòd longissimum spacium id putârint senescendorum hominum*, saith *Varro*, *Seculum* was the space of an *hundred yeares*, so called *à sene*, because they held that to bee the vtmost point of growing old. And with *Varro* herein accords the son of *Syrach*, *The number of a mans dayes at the most are an hundred yeares.* And with the sonne of *Syrach* the Prophet *Esay*, *The sinner being an hundred yeares old shall bee accursed*, and with them all the divine *Seneca*, *Peruenisse te ad vltimum ætatis humanæ videmus, centesimus tibi premitur annus*, wee see thou art come the vtmost point of the age of mankinde, thou art now in thy hundreth yeare: nay the same *Seneca* in the very next chapter there following tells vs, that even then very few arrived to fifty or sixty; though himselfe, if wee may beleeue *Calvin* in the life *Seneca* prefixed before his Commentaries vpon the booke *de Clementia*, reached to an hundred and fifteene. So as that prerogatiue extraordinary of *Longevity* was as I take it, specially annexed, as to those first ages of the world, so to the *Church* and people chosen by *God* in those times. For had men in all *places* and all *ages* arrived to the liues of the *Patriarches*, the *Earth* by this time had not beene able to sustaine them with foode, nor hardly to containe their multitude; yet can it not be denyed but that in all times, and in all *Nations*, some haue beene alwayes found who haue exceeded that number of yeares which many of the *Ancients* (as wee haue heard) accounted the vtmost *period* of mans life.

Lib. 5. de lingua latina.

Ecclus. 18.8.

Cap. 65. v. 20.

De brevit. c. 3.

cap. 4.

SECT. 5.

SECT 5.

That in all times and nations ſome haue beene found who haue exceeded that number of yeares which the wiſeſt of the ancients accounted the vtmoſt period of mans life, and that often thoſe of latter ages haue exceeded the former in number of yeares, as is made to appeare as well from ſacred as prophaine ſtory.

Plin. l. 7. c. 48. TO let goe fabulous and vncertaine reports of the *Arcadian* kings and ſuch like, certaine it is, that *Marchus Valerius Corvinus*, liued one hundred yeares compleate, *Metellus* the *Pontife*, or *Supreame Prieſt* liued full as long. *Epimenides* the *Cretian* liued one hundred and fifty, whereof the laſt fifty he ſpent vnder ground in a Caue. *Zenophanes* the *Colophonian* one hundred and two at the leaſt: for hee travelled at twenty fiue, and returned at ſeventy ſeven after his ſetting forth, but after his returne how long he liued it is vncertaine. *Gorgias* the *Sicilian* a famous Rhetorician in his time, liued to one hundred and eight. *Hippocrates* the renowned *Phyſitian* to one hundred and foure, both approving and honouring the excellencie of his Art by his age. *Aſinius Pollio* inward with *Auguſtus*, though of a luxurious life, ſurmounted an hundred. And for women *Ciceroes* wife *Terentia* lived till ſhee was one hundred and three. *Clodia* wife to *Oſilius* went beyond her, and ſaw one hundred & fifteene years, & yet had ſhe in her youth fifteene children: *Luceia* a common *vice* in playes followed the ſtage and acted thereon an hundred yeares, ſuch another *vice* that played the fooles part, and made ſport betweene whiles in *interludes*, named *Galeria Copiola* was brought againe to act her feates vpon the ſtage when *Cn. Pompeius* and *Q. Sulpitius* were Conſuls, at the ſolemne playes vowed for the health of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, when ſhe was in the hundred and fourth yeare of her age. The firſt time that ever ſhee entred the ſtage to ſhew proofe of her skill in that profeſſion, was ninety one yeares before, and then was ſhee brought thither by *M. Pomponius* an *Edile* of the Commons in the yeare that *C. Marius* and *Carbo* were *Conſuls*. And once againe *Pompeius* the great, at the ſolemne dedication of his ſtately *Theater*, trained the old woman to the ſtage, thereby to make a ſhew of her to the wonder of the world.

And if from *prophaine* ſtories wee ſhould come to the *ſacred*, wee ſhall there likewiſe finde that ſome in all ages haue reached to that number of yeares, and that often (whice I deſire to bee obſerved) thoſe of *latter* times haue exceeded the *former*. To let goe the *Patriarches* of whome as far as *Iaacob* I haue in part allready ſpoken, *Ioſeph* attained to an hundred & ten, his brother *Levi* to one hundred thirty ſeven, and *Moſes* and *Aron* were each of them one hundred and twenty at the leaſt. *Phineas Arons* nephew, it may be by *ſpeciall favour* for his great *Zeale*, is ſuppoſed to haue liued *three hundred yeares*: and juſtly no doubt, if the warre of the *Iſraelites* againſt the tribe of *Benjamin*, (in which expedition *Phineas* was conſulted with) were acted in the ſame *ſeries* of time, in which the *hiſto-*

Gen. 50. 26. Exod 6. 16. Deut. 34 7. Num. 33 39.

Iud 28.

ry

ry is recorded. *Ioshua* liued one hundred and tenne. *Iob* after his reſtitution liued one hundred and forty yeares, notwithſtanding that before his affliction he had children of the age of men and women. *Elizeus* ſeemes to haue beene aboue an hundred, inaſmuch as hee liued threeſcore yeares after the aſſumption of *Elias*, and ſuch hee was at that aſſumption as the children taunted him for his bald pate. *Tobias* the *Elder* lived to one hundred fifty and eight, the *yonger* to one hundred twenty ſeven. Long after this *Anna* the *Propheteſſe* mentioned by S. *Luke* ſeemes to haue out pitched an hundred, as our common tranſlation, reads it, ſhe being a widdow foure ſcore and foure yeares, married ſeven, & by common account no leſſe then foureteene or fifteene when ſhe was married, which being put together make vp an hundred and ſix yeares or there about: though I am not ignorant that *Iunius* and our laſt tranſlation agreeable to the *originall* render it thus, *& erat vidua annorum quaſi octoginta & quatuor*, ſhee was a widdow of about foureſcore and foure yeares, that is according to an vſuall *Hebraiſme*, about foureſcore and foure yeares old, as *Noah* is ſayd to haue beene *filius quingentorum annorum*, the ſonne of fiue hundred yeares, that is, *natus quingentos annos*, fiue hundred yeares old. *Iohn* the divine and beloued *Diſciple* an *Apoſtle* a *Prophet* and an *Evangeliſt*, who of all the *Apoſtles* only died in his bed, all the reſt ſuffering martyrdome for the name of *Chriſt*, was doubtleſſe very aged when hee reſigned his ſpirit, for as witneſſeth *Euſebius* out of *Irenæus*, he deceaſed in the 2 yeare of *Traian* which was the 101 from the nativity, the 68 from the paſſion of *Chriſt*; *Cedrenus* affirms that he liued to 106, but ſurely conſidering he wrote his *Goſpell* after he was 90 by the teſtimony of *Epiphanius*, it is more then probable that hee drew neere vpon 100 if he exceeded it not.

Iosſ. 24. 29. Iob. 42. 16. Tob. 14. 13 & 16. 2. cap. v. 37. Gen. 5. 32. *In Chron.* *In Comp.* *Her.* 51.

After this againe *Pliny* to ſhew the errour of ſome *Mathematicians*, who thought that the life of man could not even then be extended beyond an *hundred* yeares, produced a *taxation* or review of the ſeverall ages of men betweene *Apennine* and the *Poo* made vnder the Emperours, *Veſpatian* the father, and the ſonne, in which vpon examination were found at *Parma* three men that had liued each of them *one hundred and twenty* yeares, at *Brixels* one that was *one hundred twenty fiue* yeares old: Moreover at *Parma* two, *one hundred and thirty* yeares of age; at *Plaiſance* one elder by a yeare: at *Faventia*, there was one woman *one hundred thirty two* yeares old: at *Bononia L. Taurentius* the ſon of *Marcus*, and at *Ariminium M. Aponius* reckoned each of them *one hundred and fifty* yeares. About *Playſance*, is a towne ſituate vpon the hils named *Velleiacum* wherein ſix men brought a certificate that they had liued *one hundred and ten* yeares a piece, foure likewiſe came in with a note of an *hundred and twenty* yeares, & one of an *hundred and forty*: But becauſe we will not dwell (ſaith he) vpon a matter ſo evident and commonly confeſſed; in the *review* taken of the *eight Region* of *Italy*, there were found in the *roole fifty foure* of one *hundred* yeares of age, *fifty ſeaven* of one *hundred & tenne*, *two* of one *hundred twenty fiue*, *foure* of one *hundred and thirty*, as many that were an *hundred thirty fiue*, or one *hundred thirty ſeaven*, and laſt of all three men of one *hundred and forty*.

Lib. 7. c. 49.

Now

Now had *Pliny vir vnus apud Latinos in obſervandis inveſtigandiſque Naturæ arcanis diligens & accuratus*, the onely man among the *Latines* who is a diligent and curious tracer of the prints of *Natures* footſteps, had this man I ſay obſerved any ſuch decreaſe as is pretended in mens ages in regard of former times, hee would doubtleſſe haue noted it, either in that chapter where ſo faire an oportunity was offered him, or ſome where elſe through his *hiſtory*: which I preſume cannot be found: and I doubt not but if the like *review* and liſt were made in thoſe parts at this day, as many of like ages would bee found within the like compaſſe, or if there were found defect in that place, it may happily be ſupplied in another; or if a generall defect in this age by reaſon of ſome accidentall occaſions, yet may it bee repaired and recompenced againe in future times by their removall: The defect then (if any be) is not in the courſe of *Nature*, but in our wronging it; and yet I make no doubt, but a number in ſucceding ages haue equalled and ſome exceeded thoſe recounted by *Pliny* in number of yeares.

SECT. 6.

The ſame aſſertion farther proued and inlarged by many inſtances, both at home and abroad.

Arteſius the Philoſopher boaſted, as witneſſeth *Roger Bacon* in his booke *de erroribus medicorum* among which this perchance maybee one, that he had liued 1029 yeares and farther addes that himſelfe had ſpoken with many eye-witnſſes worthy Credit who knew a man *qui magnifico medicamine ſumpto vixerat nongentis & multis alijs annis, & habuit literas Papales in teſtimonium hujus rei*; who having vſed a princely preſervatiue, liued nine hundred yeares, and had the Popes letters teſtimoniall to ſhew for it. Though herein I preſume his Holineſſe will not challenge to himſelfe an infallibility of judgment.

To ſay nothing of the *wandring Iew*, by ſome named *Iohannes Buttadeus*, of whom about ſix yeares ſince, beeing ſeene and conferred with at *Antwerpe*, and againe about ſixteene before that in *France*, was every where in thoſe times ſo much talke, as if hee had beene preſent at our *Saviours* paſſion, and had liued in this wandring manner ever ſince: among bookes publiſhed to that purpoſe, I will onely referre the curious Reader, (who deſires to be farther informed in that point) to the relations of *Guido Bonatus*, (who liued about 400 years ſince) in the firſt part, 5 tract, and 141 conſideration of his Iudiciary *Aſtrologie*, and the ſeaventh booke of the *Hiſtory* of the peace betwixt the Kings of *France* & *Spaine* in the yeare 1604. where the ſtorie is not onely related but learnedly diſputed; and to an old manuſcript *Chronicle de geſtis Regis Iohannis* lately in the keeping of the ever renowned Sr *Henry Savill*, where report is made that in the yeare of *Grace* 1228, an Archbiſhop of *Armenia* arriving as a pilgrime in this kingdome to viſite the reliques of our *Saints*, and demaunded if hee could ſay any thing touching the

wandring

wandring Iew, of whom at that very time was much rumour; a certaine Knight in his traine made answere for him in *French*, that he knew him well, and had oftenconversed with him; and therevpon describes him both for his person, and manners, and the occasion of his liuing in that fashion, much like as doth *Paul* of *Eitsen*, Bishop of *Sleswing*, who is sayd to haue met & conferred with him at *Hamborough*, in the yeare 1542, in the *French history* before alleaged, but leauing him to his wandring life, and the Reader to his liberty of beleefe, I returne to more certaine Relations.

Paul the *Hermite* liued to one hundred and fifteene, S. *Anthony* to one hundred and fiue. *Gartius Aretinus* great Grandfather to *Petrarch*, arrived to one hundred and foure. *Gulielmus Postellus*, a French-man in our age held out to almost an hundred and twenty; the tops of his beard in his higher lip being then somewhat blackish and not altogether white. But aboue all, most memorable is the age of *Iohannes de Temporibus*, 'which *Verstegan* out of the *Dutch* Authours thus reports: Here by the 'way, sayth he, I must note to the Reader that *Iohannes de Temporibus*, 'that is to say, *Iohn of times*, so called for the sundry times or ages hee 'liued, was *shieldknaue* or *Armour bearer* to *Charles the Great*, of whom 'he was also made *Knight*. This man being of great temperance, sobrie-'ty, and contentment of minde in his condition of life, but aboue all, of 'a most excellent constitution of body, residing partly in *Germany* 'where he was borne, and partly in *France*, liued vnto the ninth yeare 'of the reigne of the Emperour *Conrade*, and died at the age of *three hun-'dred sixty one yeares*, seeming thereby a very miracle of *Nature*, and one 'in whom it pleased *God* to represent vnto latter ages the long yeares '& temperate liues of the ancient *Patriarches*. Mine *Authour* goeth on; ''tis said that there hath a man lately liued in the *East Indies*, of some 'thought to be yet living, of greater age then this *Iohn of Times*: The 'certainty hereof I cannot affirme, but it is credibly reported that a wo-'man lately lived at *Segovia* in *Spaine* of an hundred and threescore 'yeares of age. And *Franciscus Alvarez* sayth, that he saw *Albuna Marc*: chiefe Bishop of *Ethiopia* beeing of the age of an hundred and fifty yeares: *Anthony Fume* an *Historiographer* of good account, reporteth that in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and seaventy, there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman Generall* of the *Turkes* army, who had out liued three hundred yeares. And S^r *Walter Rawleigh* tels vs, that himselfe knew the old Countesse of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who liued in the yeare 1589 and many yeares since, & yet was married in *Edward* the fourths time, and held her joynter from the Earles of *Desmond* till then: And that this is true (sayth he) all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witnesse. My Lord of S. *Albans* casting her age, brings her to one hundred and forty at least, adding withall, *ter per vices dentisse*, that shee recovered her teeth after casting them three severall times. The same Authour reports that a while since in *Hereford-shire* at their *Maygames* there was a *Morice* daunce of eight men, whose yeares put together made vp eight hundred, that which was wanting of an hundred in some superabounding in others. M^r *Carew* in his *Survey* of

Cornwall

Cornewall, assures vs vpon his owne knowledge that foureſcore, and foureſcore and tenne yeares of age is ordinary there in every place, and in moſt perſons accompanied with an able vſe of the body and their ſences. One *Polezew*, (ſayth hee) lately living reached to one hundred and thirty, a kinſman of his to one hundred and twelue. One *Beauchamp* to one hundred and ſixe, and in the pariſh where himſelfe dwelt hee profeſſed to haue remembred the deceaſe of foure within foureteene weekes ſpace, whoſe yeares added together made vp the ſumme of three hundred and forty. The ſame Gentleman made this merrie Epigram or Epitaph vpon one *Brawne* an Iriſh man, but *Corniſh begger*.

Heere *Brawne* the *quondam* begger lies
Who counted by his tale
Some ſixſcore winters and aboue;
Such vertue is in ale.
Ale was his meate, his drinke, his cloth,
Ale did his death depriue,
And could hee ſtill haue drunke his ale,
Hee had beene ſtill aliue.

And I make no doubt but the like obſervation might bee made in other countries vnder his Majeſties dominions, aſwell as in thoſe two ſhires, if the like particular ſurvey and ſearch were made.

I haue beene credibly informed that *Pawlet* Marqueſſe of *Winchester*, and Lord Treaſurer of *England*, who died in the tenth yeare of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the laſt yeare of *Henry* the ſixth, hee lived in all 106 yeares 3 quarters, and odde dayes, during the raigne of nine Kings & Queenes of *England*: as alſo that *Iames Sands* of *Horborne* in *Stafford-ſhire* neere *Bremnigham*, liued 140 yeares, and his wife 120, and died about tenne yeares paſt, hee out lived fiue leaſes of 21 yeares a peece made vnto him after he was married.

Buchanan in his *Scottiſh* hiſtory toward the latter end of his firſt booke, ſpeaking of the *Orcades*, names one *Laurence* who dwelling in one of thoſe Ilands married a wife after hee was one hundred yeares old, and more then ſo, *centeſſimum quadrageſimum annum agens, ſæviſſimo mari in ſua navicula piſcatum prodebat*, being now ſevenſcore yeare old in a tempeſtuous ſea hee went out a fiſhing in his owne little boate.

And if wee pleaſe a little to caſt our eyes abroad, wee ſhall likewiſe finde that even at this day the *Indians*, a barbarous people and living according to *Nature*, reach to a marvailous great age, matchable to any that wee read of ſince the flood, either in *ſacred* or *prophaine* ſtory. Sr *Walter Rawleigh* in his diſcovery of *Guiana* reports that the King of *Aromaia*, being one hundred and tenne yeares old, came in a morning on foote to him from his houſe which was foureteene *Engliſh* miles, and returned on foote the ſame way: but that which is written by *Monſieur Beſanneera* a *French* Gentleman in the relation of Captaine *Laudonneireis* ſecond voyage to *Florida*, is much more ſtrange, and not vnworthy to be ſet downe at large. Our men, ſayth he, regarding the age of their *Paracouſſy* or Lord of the countrey, began to queſtion with him there-

thereabouts, wherevnto hee made anſwere that hee was the firſt liuing *Originall* from whence fiue generations were deſcended, ſhewing them withall another old man which farre exceeded him in age, and this man was his father, who ſeemed rather an *Anatomie* then a liuing body: for his ſinewes, his veines, his arteries, his bones, and other parts appeared ſo clearely thorow his skin, that a man might eaſily tell them, and diſcerne them one from another. Alſo his age was ſo great that the good man had loſt his ſight, and could not ſpeake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. *Mounſieur d' Ottigni* having ſeene ſo ſtrange a ſight, turned to the younger of theſe two old men, praying him to vouchſafe to anſwere to that which hee demaunded touching his age: then called hee a company of *Indians*, and ſtriking twice vpon his thigh and laying his hand vpon two of them, he ſhewed by ſignes that theſe two were his ſonnes; againe ſmiting vpon their thighs, hee ſhewed him others not ſo old, which were the children of the two firſt, and thus continued hee in the ſame manner vntill the *fifi generation*: But though this old man had his father aliue more old then himſelfe, and that both their haire was as white as was poſſible, yet it was told them that they might yet liue *thirty* or *forty* yeares more by the courſe of nature, although the younger of them both, was not leſſe then *two hundred* and *fifty* yeares old.

Mr *George Sands*, in the ſecond booke of the *Relation of his journey*, in the *hiſtory of Ægypt*, alleaging thoſe verſes of *Lucan*,

----Veſanus in ortus Lib. 10.
Cambyſes longi populos pervenit ad ævi,
Furious *Cambiſes* to the longliu'd went,

Tels vs that the *Æthiopians* are there to be vnderſtood, who (ſaith he) are ſaid ordinarily to liue vnto 120 yeares which notwithſtanding it ſhould ſeeme in ancient time was not ſo, for that *Plutarch* in his fifth booke and thirtieth chapter *de placitis philoſophorum* affirmes, that *Aſclepiades* reports that the *AEthiopians* are accounted old if they liue to 30 whereas in *Britaine* (ſayth he) many liue to 120.

Torquemado in the firſt journey of his diſcourſe aſſures vs, that being at *Rome* about the yeare 1531: it was bruted thorow all *Italy* that at *Tarentum* there liued an old man, who at the age of an *hundred* yeares was *growne young* againe, hee had changed his skin like vnto the ſnake and had recovered a new, being withall become ſo young & freſh, as thoſe which had ſeene him & knowne him before, could then ſcarce beleiue their owne eyes: and having continued aboue *fifty* yeares in this eſtate, he grew at length to be ſo old, as hee ſeemed to bee made of barkes of trees; wherevnto hee further adds (and that the aboue written relation, ſayth he, may not ſeeme impoſſible) we haue a more admirable thing in the ſame kinde, recorded by *Fernand Lopez* of *Caſtegnede*, hiſtoriographer to the King of *Portugall* in the eight booke of his *Chronicle*, where hee ſayth, that *Nonnio de Cugne*, being *Viceroy* at the *Indies* in the yeare 1536, there was a man brought vnto him as a thing worthy of admiration, for that it was averred by good proofes and ſufficient teſtimony, that hee was *three hundred and forty* yeares old, hee remembred hee had

ſeene

ſeene that Citty wherein hee dwelt vnpeopled, beeing then when hee ſpake it one of the chiefe of all the *Eaſt Indies*; hee had growne young againe foure times, changing his white haire and recovering new teeth. When the *Viceroy* did ſee him, hee then had the haire of his head and of his beard blacke, although he had not much, and there being by chance a *Phiſitian* at that time preſent, the *Viceroy* willed him to feele the old mans pulſe, which hee found as good and as ſtrong as a young mans in the prime of his age. This man was borne in the Realme of *Bengala*, and did affirme that he had had at times neere ſeaven hundred wiues, whereof ſome were dead and ſome were put away. The King of *Portugall* advertiſed of this wonder, did often inquire, and had yearely newes of him by the fleete which came from thence: Hee liued aboue *three hundred and ſeaven yeares*. The ſame *Caſtegnede* addes, that in the time of the ſame *Vice-roy*, there was alſo found in the Citty of *Bengala* another man, a *Moore* or *Mahometane* called *Xequepeer* borne in a *Province* named *Xequc*, who was *three hundred yeares* old, as he ſayd: all thoſe that did know him did alſo certifie it having great preſumption ſo to doe. This *Moore* was reputed among them an holy man by reaſon of his auſtereneſſe and abſtinence: The *Portugals* did converſe familiarly with him. Now beſides that the hiſtories of *Portugall* touching the *Indies* are faithfully collected and certified by very authenticall witneſſes, there were in my time, ſayth *Torquemado*, both in *Portugall* and *Caſtile* many which had ſeene theſe old men.

I may not here forget a diſcourſe, written by *Thomas* of *Ravenna*, and dedicated to Pope *Iulius* the third *de vita hominis vltra* 120 *annos protrahenda* of protracting the life of man beyond 120 yeares, wherein hee prefixed this title to his firſt chapter, *Qui ævo noſtro præſenti vltra annos* 120 *ſupervixere*; of thoſe who in this *preſent age* haue out liued 120. Nor yet that which *Fælix Platerus* late Profeſſour at *Baſil*, in his *quæſtiones Hygicinæ* reports of his grandfather that he liued to 126. Nor laſtly that which *Iohannes Temporarius* in his *Chronologicall demonſtrations*, writes to this purpoſe of his owne experience, *anno mundi* 410. Cap. 4. *Duos ipſi novimus qui agreſti manuum labore vitam traduxerunt alterum ad annos* 112, *alterum ad* 116, *vitæ commodis nihilominus fruentes, mente ſana in corpore ſano.* Wee our ſelues haue knowne two, who getting their liuing by the labour of their hands, the one of them liued to 112 the other to 116. injoying their life in a commodious manner, as having a ſound minde in a ſound body.

SECT. 7.

That if our liues be ſhortned in regard of our Anceſtours, we ſhould rather lay the burthen of the fault vpon our intemperance, then vpon a decay in Nature, as is proved by the authority of Leonardus Leſſius, *and* Ludovicus Cornarus.

THe *High-landers* likewiſe in *Scotland*, and the wild *Iriſh* commonly liue longer then thoſe of ſofter education, of nice and tender bringing vp, (which often falls out in the more civill times and countries)

countreyes) being no doubt a great enemy to *Longevity*, as alſo the firſt feeding and nouriſhing of the *Infant* with the milke of a ſtrange dug; an *vnnaturall curioſity*, having taught all women but the beggar to finde out nurſes, which neceſſity only ought to commend vnto them. Wherevnto may be added *haſty marriages* in tender yeares, wherein nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her, and replant her branches, while her ſelfe hath not yet any roote ſufficient to maintaine her owne top. And ſuch halfe-ripe ſeedes, for the moſt part, wither in the bud, and waxe old even in their infancy. But aboue all things the preſſing of *Nature* with *over-weighty burdens*, and when we finde her ſtrength defectiue, the helpe of ſtrong waters, hot ſpices, and provoking ſauces, is it which impaires our health, and ſhortens our life.

--- Simul aſſis
Miſcueris elixa, ſimul conchylia turdis,
Dulcia ſe in bilem vertent, ſtomachoque tumultum
Lenta feret pituita; vides vt pallidus omnis
Cœna deſurgat dubia?
Mixe ſod with roſt, and fiſh with fleſh, ſtraightwayes
The ſweet will turne it ſelfe to bitter gall:
Tough flegme will in the ſtomacke tumults raiſe.
Seeſt not how doubtfull ſuppers make men pale?

Horat. lib. 2. Sat. 2.

But elegant to this purpoſe are thoſe verſes of *Lucan*,

---- O prodiga rerum
Luxuries! nunquam parvo contenta paratu,
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſis!
Diſcite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam,
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhaque bibunt, ſed gurgite puro
Vita redit, ſatis eſt populis fluviuſque Cereſque.
O waſtefull riot! never well content
With low-priz'd fare, hunger ambitious
Of Cates by land and ſea farre fetcht and ſent,
Vaine-glory of a table ſumptuous!
Learne with how little, life may be preſerv'd.
In gold & myrrhe they neede not to carrouſe,
But with the brooke the peoples thirſt is ſerv'd,
Who fed with bread and water are not ſtarv'd.

Multos morbos multa fercula fecerunt, ſaith *Seneca*, our variety of dainty diſhes hath bred variety of diſeaſes. And againe, *Maximus ille medicorum, & hujus ſcientiæ Conditor, fœminis nec capillos defluere dixit, nec pedes laborare; atqui hæ jam & capillis deſtituuntur, & pedibus ægræ ſunt, non mutata fœminarum natura, ſed vita eſt.* The greateſt of *Phyſitians* & the founder of that Science affirmes, that women neither looſe their haire, nor grow diſeaſed in their feete: but now we ſee they are both bald and gowty, not becauſe their nature is chang'd, but the courſe of their life. *Beneficium ſexus ſui vitijs perdiderunt, & quia fœminam exuerunt, damnatæ ſũt morbis virilibus.* They haue forfeited the priviledge of their ſexe by

Epiſt. 95.

their owne viciouſneſſe, and hauing together with their modeſty put off their womanhood, they are deſervedly plagued with mens diſeaſes. Two diſcourſes I haue lately met with, written by two learned men, in both which it is ſufficiently proued that if we fall ſhort of the length of our predeceſſours liues, it is rather by reaſon of our intemperance then their antiquitie: the one by *Leonardus Leſſius* a Ieſuite, which hee intitles *Hygiaſticon, ſeu vera ratio valetudinis bonæ & vitæ vna cum ſenſuum judicij et memoriæ integritate ad extremam ſenectutem conſervandæ:* wherein hee makes the principall meanes of preſerving health to be a moderate & temperate diet, by which meanes the *Brachmanes* among the *Indians*, the *Votaries* among the *Mahometans*, the *Eſſens* among the *Iewes* liue till they bee very old; and among *Chriſtians, omitto plurimos noſtræ ætatis* (ſaith hee) I omit many of our age, who by obſerving ſobrietie in their diet, haue ſpunne out the threed of their liues, and that in perfect health, ſome to 80, ſome to 90, ſome to 95, ſome to more yeares; wherevnto hee farther addes, that there are ſome monaſteries of women, in which they vſe ſo ſpare and thinne diet, as thereby they ordinarily liue to 80 or 90: *adeo vt ſexagenariæ et ſeptuagenariæ vix inter ſeniores numerentur*, ſo as with them thoſe of 60 or 70 are ſcarce ranked among the elder ſort. The other diſcourſe tending to the ſame purpoſe, is written by *Ludovicus Cornarus* a gentleman, and I thinke a Senatour of *Venice*, *de vitæ ſobriæ commodis*, whereof himſelfe had made tryall from his 36th yeare euen to his laſt, and being before but of a weake and ſickly diſpoſition, thereby became ſo ſtrong & quicke both in bodie and minde, that at 83 hee wrote a pleaſant comedie, and at 95 another booke, his diet being by preciſe waight 14 ounces of drinke and 12 of bread and meate by the day, hee likewiſe tells vs, how of latter times *Pope Paule* the 3, Cardinall *Bembus*, and two Dukes of *Venice Landus* and *Donatus* held out very long by vſing the like temperance; and at laſt concludes, that as many of the ancients by that meanes outreached 100, ſo might wee too, *eundem ducem ſequuti*, following the ſame guide and treading in the ſame ſteps.

Beſides, our *Anceſtors* vſed ſome things now growne out of vſe with vs, which were no doubt ſpeciall meanes to preſerue their health and prolong their liues, as the annointing of their bodies, their frequent vſe of ſaffron and hony, their wearing of warmer clothes, and dwelling in cloſer houſes with little doores and windowes, chooſing rather to admit leſſe aire then much light, preferring their health before their pleaſure, as alſo for the moſt part they vſed leſſe Phyſicke and more exerciſe: ſo that if our liues be ſhortned in regard of them, we haue reaſon to acquit and diſcharge nature, and to lay the whole burden of the fault vpon our ſelues.

----- *Natura beatis*
Omnibus eſſe dedit, ſi quis cognoverit vti.
Nature allowes that all ſhould bleſſed be,
Knew they to vſe her bounty prudentlie.

And doubtleſſe through our owne ignorance or negligence it is if wee make not that vſe of Natures bounty which wee might and ſhould:

and

and herewith that of *Roger Bacon* accords in his booke *de retardatione accidentium ſenectutis*: *Mundo ſeneſcente ſeneſcunt homines, non propter mundi ſenectutem, ſed multiplicationem viventium inficientium ipſum aërem qui nos circumdat, & negligentiam regiminis & ignorantiam illarum rerum, illarumve proprietatum quæ regiminis defectum ſupplent.* The world waxing old, men likewiſe waxe old, not ſo much by reaſon of the worlds old age, as the multiplication of living creatures, infecting the aire which environs vs, and our negligence in the government of our health, and our ignorance in the vertue of thoſe things which ſhould ſupply the defect of that government: and againe in his booke *de ſcientia experimentali.* *Cauſa autem hujuſmodi prolongationis & abbreviationis exiſtimaverunt multi à parte cœli, nam exiſtimaverunt quod cœli diſpoſitio fuit optima à principio, & mundo ſeneſcente omnia tabeſcant, æſtimantes ſtellas fuiſſe creatas in locis convenientioribus, & in meliori proportione earum ad invicem ſecundùm diverſitatem aſpectuum, & projectionem radiorum inviſibilem, & quod ab illo ſtatu paulatim receſſerunt, & ſecundùm hunc receſſum ponunt vitæ decurtationem vſque ad aliquem terminum fixum in quo eſt ſtatus, ſed hoc habet multas contradictiones & difficultates de quibus non eſt modo dicendum.* The cauſe of this prolonging and ſhortning our liues, many conjecture to be in regard of the Heavens, for they thought that the Heavens were beſt diſpoſed at the firſt, and that as the world waxeth old, all things decayed, ſuppoſing that the Starres were created in more convenient places, and in a fitter proportion each to other according to the diverſities of their aſpects, and the inviſible projection of their beames, & that by degrees they are fallen off from that eſtate, and according therevnto they proportion the decreaſe of life vntill it come to ſome ſetled period, beyond which there is no farther progreſſe; but this aſſertion includes many contradictions and difficulties, of which I cannot now ſpeake.

Yet me thinkes it may be demonſtrated by evident reaſon, beſides the argument already alleadged, that at the leaſt for theſe laſt *thouſand* or *two thouſand yeares*, the age of mankinde is little or nothing abated, which I will endeavour to make good in the next Chapter.

CHAP. 2.

Farther Reaſons alleaged, that the age of man for theſe laſt thouſand or two thouſand yeares, is little ſhortned, or nothing abated.

SECT. 1.

The firſt reaſon taken from the ſeverall ſtops and pawſes of nature in the courſe of mans life, as the time of birth after our conception, our infancie, childhood, youth, mans eſtate, and old age, being aſſigned to the ſame compaſſe of yeares as they were by the Anciens; which could not poſſibly be, were there an vniverſall decay in mankinde in regard of age; And the like reaſon there is in making the ſame Clymacterricall yeares, and the ſame danger in them.

THat the *age* of mankind for theſe laſt thouſand or two thouſand yeares is nothing ſhortned, will farther appeare by the ſeverall *ſtages* and *ſtops* which the *Ancients* haue marked out, aſwell in the growth of the infant in the mothers wombe, and time of birth, as in the diſtribution of mans age after the birth, agreeable vnto that which is generally received by the learned, and for the moſt part we finde to be verified by experience at this day. As among *Plants*, thoſe which laſt longeſt, haue likewiſe their ſeedes longeſt buried vnder the earth before their ſpringing aboue ground: ſo likewiſe among *beaſts*, thoſe which liue longeſt, are carried longeſt in the wombe of their dammes; the *bitch* carries her young but foure moneths, the *mare* nine, the *elephant* two yeares (not *ten* as ſome haue vainely written) and looke what proportion is found betwixt their *conception* and *birth*, the like is commonly found betwixt their *birth* and *death*. *Nature* then in her proceedings in naturall actions being alike, aſwell to them as to *mankinde*, it ſhould in reaſon ſeeme, that as their time is the ſame which the *Ancients*, (namely *Hippocrates* and *Ariſtotle*) haue left vpon record from their *conception* to their *birth*, and againe ordinarily (or *cæteris paribus*, as in Schooles we ſpeake) from their *birth* to their *death*; ſo it ſhould fare with *mankinde* too: If then it ſhall appeare that the *Ancients* aſſigned the ſame ſpace of time for the deliverie of a woman with childe, which we now doe, me thinkes the conſequent from hence deduced ſhould be more then probable, that as the ſpace of their abode in the *wombe* of the mother, and comming from thence into the world, is the ſame as then it was, ſo likewiſe ordinarily, and in the courſe of nature (if ſhee be not wronged or interrupted, nor on the other-ſide by a ſupernaturall power advanced aboue herſelfe) it ſhould bee the ſame during their abode here in the world, and their returne to the *wombe* of their common mother the earth: Now though it be true, that the ſpace of time from the conception to the birth of man is more variable then that of any other Creature (perchance becauſe his foode and fancie are more variable, or becauſe nature is more ſollicitous of him, as being

being her darling) yet moſt certaine it is, the ſame *periods* which by *Hippocrates* were aſſigned for his firſt comming into the light, are now alſo by Phyſitians obſerved, & that ſo preciſely as they exactly agree with him, not only in the number of moneths but of dayes; the moneths aſſigned by him were the *ſeaventh*, the *ninth*, the *tenth*, & ſometimes the *eleuenth*, & ſo they ſtill remaine; and as the *eight* was by him held dangerous & deadly, ſo is it now; & as the *tenth* moneth is our vſuall computation, ſo was it likewiſe theirs, as appeares by that of *Neptune* in *Homer* ſpeaking to a *Nymph*. *Lauren. hiſt. Anat. l. 8.*

Anno circumacto ſpecioſum partum edes
nimirum decimo menſe. *Odiſ. x.*

The yeare ended thou wilt be deliuered
of a faire child, that is to ſay, in the 10th moneth.

From whence it may be obſerued that the *Æolians* (of whome was *Homer*) counted their yeare from thence, as did alſo the *Romanes* till *Numa's* raigne, I meane from the vſuall time of a womans going with childe.

Quod ſatis eſt vtero matris dum prodeat infans,
Hoc anno ſtatuit temporis eſſe ſatis.

Sayth the Poet ſpeaking of *Romulus*. *Faſt. lib. 1.*

That ſpace which is vnto our birth aſſign'd,
The ſame by him was to the yeare confin'd.

And to the end we may fully know what ſpace is there by him vnderſtood, hee preſently adds.

Annus erat decimum cum luna receperat orbem,
Hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit,
Seu quia tot digiti per quos numerare ſolemus,
Seu quia bis quino fœmina menſe parit.

Our yeare tenne full moones did containe
This number then was honoured,
For that a woman going in paine
So long, was then diſburdened.

But I proceede from the time of the birth, to the *Ancients* diſtribution of *mans age* after the birth.

Some of them divided the age of man into *three*, ſome into *foure*, ſome into *fiue*, ſome into *ſix*, ſome into *ſeaven* parts: which they reſembled to the ſeaven *Planets*; comparing our *infancie* to the *Moone*, in which wee ſeeme only to liue & grow as plants; the ſecond age or *childhood* to *Mercury*, wherein wee are taught and inſtructed; the third age or *youth* to *Venus*, the dayes of loue, deſire, & vanity: the *fourth* to the *Sunne*, the ſtrong flouriſhing and beautifull age of mans life; the *fifth* to *Mars*, in which wee ſeeke honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travell to ambitious ends; the *ſixth* to *Iupiter*, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of our ſelues, and grow to the perfectiõ of our vnderſtãding: The laſt & *ſeaventh* to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are ſad and overcaſt, & in which we finde by deere & lamentable experience, & by the loſſe which neuer can be repaired, that of all our vaine paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow only abideth. *Rodeg. 10. 61; 62.*

Philo Iudæus in that excellent booke of the workemanſhip of the world, diſcourſing of the admirable properties of the *ſacred* number of *ſeaven*, among many other things alleadged to that purpoſe, he affirmes, that at the end of every *ſeaventh* yeare, there is ſome notable change in the body of man, and for better proofe thereof, hee produceth the authority of *Hippocrates*, and an *Elegie* of *Solons*, which thus begins.

Impubes pueri ſeptem volventibus annis
Claudunt enatis dentibus eloquium:
Poſt alios totidem Divorum numine dextro
Occultum pubis naſcitur indicium.
Annus ter ſeptem primâ lanugine malas
Veſtiet ætatis robore conſpicuus. &c.

When children once to ſeaven yeares haue aſpired,
The tale of all their teeth they haue acquired.
By that the next ſeaven ended haue their date,
Pubertie comes, and power to generate.
The third ſeaven perfect's growth, and then the chin
With youthly downe to bloſſome doth begin.

Cap. 6. But among all the *Ancients* I haue met with *Macrobius* in his firſt booke of *Scipio's* dreame, extolling (as *Philo* doth) the rare and ſingular effects of the *ſeptenary* number, moſt cleerely and learnedly expreſſeth the remarkeable pawſes and changes of *Nature* every *ſeaventh* yeare in the courſe of mans age, as the caſting of the *teeth* in the *firſt* ſeaven, the ſpringing of the *pubes* in the *ſecond*, of the *beard* in the *third*, the vtmoſt period of *growth* in the *fourth*, of *ſtrength* in the *fifth*, a *conſiſtence* in the *ſixth*, and a *declination* in the *ſeaventh*. Now that which theſe *Ancients* obſerved touching theſe ſecret *ſtations* and *progreſſes* of *Nature* in the ſtate of mans body and courſe of his life, is ſtill found to be true, aſwell by the *Verdict* and judgement of learned men, as by the proofe and triall of *Experience*, which could not poſſiblely bee, were there a conſtant abatement in the length of our whole age, by ſuch an vniverſall and irrevocable decay of *Nature* as is pretended: for then ſhould men doubtles grow to ripenes and perfection ſooner, as they are ſuppoſed ſooner to haſten to death and diſſolution, which muſt needes draw on an alteration and confuſion in all the noted *changes* through the courſe of mans life: And therefore the holy Scripture aſſigning the *Patriarches* a longer life, aſſignes them likewiſe proportionablely there-
Loc. Com. c. 12. Claſſis. 1. vnto a longer time before they were ripened for generation, as *Peter Martyr* hath rightly noted.

It is true & ever was, which *Galen* in his ſixth booke of the regiment of health hath obſerved, that theſe changes cannot ſo be tyed to any ſuch preciſe number of yeares, but that a *variation* of *latitude* is to be admitted in them in regard of ſome particulars: ſome growing to their *puberty* at fourteene, others at fifteene: ſome declining at *thirty*, others at *thirty fiue*, according to their ſeverall conſtitutions, educations, diet, ſituation of Climates and Countreyes, and the like; The *Poet* profeſſed of himſelfe aboue *ſix hundred* yeares agoe, that his beard began to ſprout and paint his cheekes before twenty.

Quamvis

Quamvis jam juvenile decus mihi pingere malas Ovid.
Caperit, & nondum viceſima venerit ætas.
Though now my beard began my cheekes to grace,
Nor had I liued yet twice tenne yeares ſpace.

And of another at ſixteene.

--- Octonis iterum natalibus actis: Met. 2.
Signarat teneras, dubia lanugine, malas.

But as all rules in Science, ſo theſe are held ſufficiently currant and warrantable, if they be found *infallible* in the greateſt part, and *vniforme*, where all circumſtances concurre in a like degree.

It is now commonly thought, that *thirty three*, or betweene that and 35 yeares, is the flowre & perfection of mans age, (it being the mid-way to ſevẽty, which both *Moſes* & *Solon* held the Epilogue & cõcluſiõ thereof: ſo as thoſe who run beyõd that, are like Racers which run beyõd the goale.) And this was the age of our bleſſed *Saviour*, to the perfection whereof, the *Apoſtle* ſeemes to allude in the 4 to the [a] *Epheſians*: *Till we meet together vnto a perfect man and vnto the meaſure of the age of the fullnes of Chriſt*: which paſſage [b] S. *Auguſtine* interpreting, is of opiniõ, that we ſhall riſe againe by reaſõ of the perfectiõ thereof, *in ea ætate vſque quã Chriſtũ perveniſſe cognovimus*, as men of that age vnto which *Chriſt* himſelfe the head of the *Church* arrived. I know there want not ſome, as namely [d] *Iræneus* & others, who by occaſion of that ſpeech of the *Iewes*, [c] *thou art not yet fifty yeares old, and haſt thou ſeene Abraham?* conjecture that he was about that age: but whether it were his cares & troubles that made him ſeeme elder then indeede he was, or the *Iewes* would thereby ſignifie, that though he had beene much elder then he was, yet was it not poſſible for him to haue ſeene *Abraham* in the fleſh; certaine it is that he came not to forty: ſome late *Divines* being of opinion that he reached *thirty five*, but the moſt part, as alſo the moſt Ancient and moſt learned, that he little exceeded *thirty three*: Nay, long before the birth of our *Saviour*, *Heraclitus*, as witneſſeth *Plutarch* in his booke of the ceaſing of *Oracles*, accounted the moſt flouriſhing eſtate of mans age to be about *thirty*, becauſe it is the time when the father may haue begotten a ſonne able to beget another: ſince then our *infancie* ends and *childhood* begins, our *childhood* ends and *youth* begins, our *youth* ends and *manhood* begins, and laſtly our *manhood* ends & our *declining eſtate* begins where it did a *thouſand* or *two thouſand* yeares agoe, I ſee no reaſon, but we may ſafely conclude, that at leaſtwiſe ſince that time *mankind* is nothing *decayed* in regard of *age*: & the like reaſon there is in their obſerving anciently the ſame *Clymactericall* yeares, and in them the ſame danger of ſickneſſe or death that we doe, as appeares not only in *Brodeus* his *Miſcellanea lib. 6. cap. 26.* & in a little diſcourſe, which Mr *Wright* hath written & annexed to his booke of the *paſſions of the minde*, (occaſioned as he there profeſſeth by the death of *Queene Elizabeth*) but much more fully in *Baptiſta Codronchus* a famous both Philoſopher and Phyſitian who hath purpoſely cõpoſed a large treatiſe *de annis Clymactericis* in which hee thus begins his preface to that worke: *Antiquiſſimi & peritiſſimi rerum naturalium obſervatores, nec vulgares homines vitæ humanæ*

[a] *verſ.* 13.
[b] *De Civit. Dei. Lib.* 22. *c.* 15.
[d] *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 39.
[c] John 8. 57.
[f] *Decherius de anno ortus & mortis Chriſti.*

S. *Auguſtine* makes it ſooner. *Circa* 30 *quippe annos definierunt eſſe etiam hujus Seculi doctiſſimi homines juventutem, quæ cum fuerit ſpacio proprio terminata inde jam hominẽ in detrimenta pergere graviora & ſenilis ætatis.* *Civit. Dei.* 22. 15.

manæ curriculum conſiderantes ſeptimo quoque anno & præſertim tertio ſupra ſexageſimum homines pleroſque corporis & animi affectionibus conflictari, in diſcrimine verſari, ac ſæpius interire pluribus obſervationibus ac periculis cognoverunt. The moſt ancient and ſkilfull ſearchers into naturall things, and thoſe no meane men taking into conſideration the courſe of mans life by many obſervations and tryals, they found that every ſeaventh yeare, & eſpecially in the 63 moſt men are ſorely affected both in body and minde, are brought into great danger, and many times die outright; I will bring onely one inſtance from *Antiquity* to ſhew their agreement as in the other before mentioned, ſo likewiſe in this point with theſe latter ages, it is borrowed from *Gellius* in his *fifteenth* booke, and ſeaventh chapter of his *Noctes Atticæ*, where he thus ſpeakes of this matter, *Obſervatum in multa hominum memoria, expertumque eſt in ſenioribus pleriſque omnibus, ſexageſimum tertium vitæ annum cum periculo & clade aliqua venire, aut corporis morbique gravioris, aut vitæ interitus, aut animi ægritudinis.* It hath beene of a long time obſerved and experienced, in almoſt all old men, that the 63 yeare of their life, hath proued dangerous and hurtfull vnto them, either in regard of ſome greivous ſickneſſe of body, or death, or great greife of minde: & going on, he alleages to this purpoſe a part of a letter which *Auguſtus Cæſar* wrote to *Caius* his Nephew. *Aue mi Cai, meus ocellus jucundiſſimus: quẽ ſemper medius fidius deſidero quum à me abes; ſed præcipue diebus talibus, qualis eſt hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Caium; quem vbicunque hoc die fuiſti, ſpero lætum & benevolentem celebraſſe, quartum et ſexageſimũ natalem meum: nam vt vides* Κλιμακτῆρα *communem ſeniorum omnium tertium & ſexageſimum annum evaſimus:* I greet thee well my *Caius*, mine owne deare heart, whom in truth I allwayes finde wanting as oft as thou art abſent from me, but cheifely vpon ſuch dayes as this is, mine eyes long to behold my *Caius* which whereſoeuer thou wert, I hope thou haſt kept feſtivall, it being my *ſixty fourth* birth-day, for as thou ſeeſt I haue eſcaped my *ſixty third* being the common *clymactericall* of all old men.

SECT. 2.

The ſecond is drawne from the age, of Matrimony and Generation, which among the Ancients was fully as forward as ours now is, if not more timely.

FOR the better clearing of which poynt, it ſhall not be amiſſe ſomewhat farther to inſiſt vpon the age of Generation and Marriage, which among the Ancients was both in opinion held, and in practiſe proued to be the ſame or little different from that which amongſt vs is in vſe at this day: The third councell of *Carthage* ordained that publicke *readers* in the *Church*, *cum ad annos pubertatis venerint aut cogantur vxores ducere aut continentiam profiteri*, when they came to yeares of puberty, ſhould be forced either to marry or vow chaſtity; and *Quintilian* of his owne wife profeſſeth that hauing borne him two ſonnes, ſhe died, *Nondum expleto ætatis vndeviceſimo anno.* Being not yet full

Cap. 19.

Procm. Lib. 6.

full nineteene yeares of age. *Mulieres ſtatim ab anno decimo quarto, à viris Dominæ vocantur*, ſaith *Epictetus:* women no ſooner paſſe foureteene, but preſently they haue giuen them from men, or from their huſbands the title of *Miſtreſſes*. The [a] *Civill* Lawes allowed a woman marriage at twelue, ſo did the [b] *Iewiſh Talmud* and the [c] *Cannons* of the *Church*, [d] *Heſiod* at fifteene, [e] *Xenophon* and the [f] *Comedian* at ſixteene, *anni ſedecem flos ipſe*, [g] *Ariſtotle* at eighteene, [h] *Plato* at twenty: The reaſon of the difference I take to be this: The *Lawes* would not permit them to marrie ſooner, & *Plato* held it not fitte they ſhould ſtay longer. And as wee commonly are both ripe for marriage, and marrie about the ſame yeares the Ancients did, ſo men for the moſt part leaue begetting, and women bearing of children about the ſame time as they did.

Enchirid c. 55.

a Digeſt. l. 9. de Spenſ.
b Burdorf. Synag. Iud. 3.
c Lancelot. l. 2. tit. 11.
d 2 Oper. & Dierum.
e De Spartana Repub.
f Eunucho. Act. 2 ſc. 3.
g Polit. 7. 16.
h 5 De Repub. & 6 de Legibus

Tiberius made a Law, knowne by the name of *Lex Papia*, by which he forbadde ſuch men as were paſt *ſixty*, or women paſt *fiftie* to marrie, as being inſufficient for generation. To which *Lactantius* out of *Seneca* ſeemes to allude, thus jeſting at the *Ethnickes* touching their great God *Iupiter*. *Quare apud Poetas ſalaciſſimus Iupiter deſijt liberos tollere, vtrum ſexagenarius factus, & ei Lex Papia fibulam impoſuit?* How comes it to paſſe that in your Poets the lecherous *Iupiter* begets no more children, is he paſt *ſixtie*, & reſtrained by the *Papian* Law? Yet this Law by the Emperour *Claudius* in part, but by *Iuſtinian* (almoſt fiue hundred yeares after) was fully repealed as inſufficient, in aſmuch as men after that age were, and ſtill are found to be ſufficient for that act; Seldome indeede it is that men beget after *ſeaventy*, or women beare after *fiftie*; and the ſame was long ſince both obſerved & recorded by the principall both *Secretarie* & great *Regiſter of Nature* in his time, adding farther, that men commonly left begetting at *ſixtie fiue*, & women bearing at *fortie fiue*: When *Abrahams* body was now dead in regard of generation, he was ſhort of 100. Indeede *Plutarch* reports of *Cato Major*, that he begat a ſonne at eightie: & *Pliny* of *Maſiniſſa*, after eightie ſix: but they both reported it as a wonder, neither want there preſidents in this age to parallell either of them. *Leuinus Lemnius* in his fourth booke and 24th chapter, *de occultis naturæ miraculis*, reports, that being at *Stocholme* in *Sweden*, he was there aſſured by a ſhip-maſter worthy of credit, that himſelfe was preſent at the marriage of one, who being an hundred yeares old tooke a wife of about thirtie, with whome hee liued long and had many children by her. And farther he tells vs, that in the countrey of *Brabant* where the aire is temperate, and the people frugall, *inauditum non eſt ſed propemodum vulgare*, it is not a thing ſeldome heard of, but vſually ſeene, that men of foureſcore marrie young women & get children by them.

i 2 *Sic.* 3.
k *Polit.* 7. 16.
l 5 *De Repub.* & 6 *de Legibus Tranquillus in Candio*, c. 23.
m *Lib.* 1. *d. vin. inſtit. cap.* 16.
n *L. Sancinus.* 27. *c. de nupt.*
o *Ariſt. hiſt. Animal. l.* 5. *c.* 14.
p *Rom.* 4. 19.

I well know that the accuſation is common, and perchance in part not vnjuſt, that men now a dayes generally marrie ſooner then their *Anceſtours* did, which is made to be one of the chiefe cauſes of our ſuppoſed ſhorter liues: but that many of them abſtained not ſo long from marriage as we now commonly doe, it may be evidenced by theſe following examples, drawne from the *Oracles* of *ſacred* writ. There

deſcended

deſcended from *Abraham* in the ſpace of foure hundred yeares and little more, & from *Iaacob* and his ſonns, within 200 or thereabout, aboue *ſix hundred thouſand men*, beſide children and thoſe who died in the interim, and were ſlaine by the *Egyptians:* which wonderfull multiplication within the compaſſe of that time, ſhould in reaſon argue that they married timely. In the forty ſixth of *Geneſis*, *Moſes* deſcribing old *Iaacobs* journey downe into *Egypt*, tells vs that the number of perſons ſpringing from his loynes, which accompanied him in that journey, were ſixty ſix ſoules; and not content with the groſſe ſumme, hee ſpecifies the particulars, among which the ſonnes of *Iudah* are named to bee *Er*, & *Onan*, & *Shelah*, and *Pharez*, and *Zerah*; (but *Er* and *Onan*, ſaith the text, died in the land of *Canaan*) and the ſonnes of *Pharez* were *Hezron*, and *Hamul*; ſo that he begat *Pharez* vpon *Thamer* his daughter in Law after the death of his eldeſt ſonne *Er* and *Onan*, who according to the Law had married her ſucceſſiuely, and *Pharez* begat *Hezron* and *Hamul*, and yet at this time was *Iudah* himſelfe but forty foure yeares of age at moſt, as appeares by this, that *Ioſeph* was then but thirty nine, ſixteene he was when he was ſold by his brethren, & twenty three yeares after, was his fathers journey into *Egypt*. Now it is euident that *Iudah* was but foure yeares elder then *Ioſeph*, the one being borne in the eleuenth yeare of their Fathers abode in *Meſopotamia*, and the other after the expiration of the fourteenth: In the compaſſe then of *forty foure yeares* or thereabout, had *Iudah* ſonnes which were married, namely *Er* & *Onan*, after that himſelfe by miſtake begets another ſonne vpon their wife *viz: Pharez* who had likewiſe two ſonnes at this time when *Iaacob* went downe into *Egypt*. S. *Auguſtine* is, I confeſſe, much perplexed in the looſing of this knot; and ſo is *Pererius* treading in his ſteps: They both flying for the ſaluing of the Text to an *Anticipation* in the ſtorie, as if ſome of thoſe who are named by *Moſes* to haue deſcended with *Iaacob* into *Egypt*, had beene both begotten & borne long after his ſetling there: But this gloſſe ſeeming to *Pareus* ſomewhat hard, (as in truth it is) he reſolues the doubt, by making both *Iudah*, & *Er*, & *Onan*, and *Pharez* to marrie all of them at the entrance of their *fourteenth yeare*, which in the ordinary courſe of nature both then was, and ſtill is the yeare of *pubertie*, and then thus concludes hee: *In his omnibus nihil coactum aut contortum, nihil quod non conſueto naturæ ordine fieri potuerit, vt nec miracula fingere ſit opus, nec filios Pharez qui in deſcenſu numerantur, in Ægypto demum natos aſſerere ſit neceſſe:* In all this there is nothing ſtrained or wreſted, nothing but may well be done in the *ordinary courſe of nature*, ſo as we need not either fly to *miracles*, or affirme that the ſonnes of *Pharez*, who are ranked in the number of thoſe who deſcended with *Iaacob*, were afterward borne in *Egypt*. And with *Pareus* herein accords the learned [a] *Arniſæus*, (ſome ſmall difference betweene them in the calculation of yeares ſet apart) wondring that two ſuch great Clarkes, as *Auguſtine* & *Pererius* ſhould trouble themſelues ſo much about ſo ſlender a difficultie, not conſidering, as it ſeemes, the Examples of the like or more timely marriages, recorded in *holy Scripture*. Whereof we haue a notable one in the ſame

Chapter

Exod. 12. 37.

Gen. 46. 26.

Vers. 12.

Gen. 38. 18.

Gen. 37. 41. 45.

Gen. 29. 30.

Quæſt. 128. *in Geneſ.*

Comment. in Gen. qu. 1. 38.

Comment. in Gen. part. 1. 38.

As doe the Iewes in the Sedorolam, making *Er* to marry at 9, and *Perez* to beget a ſonne at 9.

[a] *De jure Connubiorum, c.* 20. *Sect.* 3.

Chapter of *Benjamin*, who at the ſame time is made the father of ten ſonnes, and yet was he then but twenty three or twenty foure yeares of age; being borne in the hundred and ſixth yeare of his father, which was the yeare before the ſelling of *Ioſeph*. *Dina* by the teſtimony of *Polyhiſtor*, when ſhee was rauiſhed and ſued vnto for marriage by *Sichem* was but tenne yeares of age, and by the computation of *Caietan* but foureteene, of *Pererius* but fifteene or ſixteene at vtmoſt. The *bleſſed Virgine* when ſhee brought forth our Saviour, but fifteene. Somewhat more evident is that of *Ioſiah*, who was but thirty nine yeares old when he died, eight he was when he began to reigne, and hee reigned thirty one; yet was *Eliakim* his ſonne *twenty fiue* yeares old when he began to reigne, being by *Pharaoh Neco* ſubſtituted in the place of his brother *Iehoahaz*, after he had reigned three moneths; ſo that *Ioſiah* by juſt computation could not well exceede *fourteeene yeares* of age, when he was firſt married: But that of *Ahaz* is yet more remarkeable, who liued but thirty ſix yeares in the whole, twenty yeares old was hee when he began to reigne, and he reigned ſixteene yeares; yet was his ſonne *Hezekiah*, who immediatly ſucceeded him, *twenty fiue* yeares old when he began to reigne: By which account *Ahaz* was married, & begat *Hezekiah* at eleuen or before. And though *Functius* in his *Chronologie*, moued with the ſtrangenes hereof, would make *Hezekiah* the *Legall*, not the *naturall* ſonne of *Ahaz*, by *adoption*, not by *generation*, and *Iunius* in his annotations referre thoſe words; *twenty yeares old was he when he began to reigne*, to *Iothan* the father of *Ahaz*; yet herein they both ſtand alone, aſwell againſt *reaſon*, as the ordinary phraſe of *Scripture* and ſtreame of *interpreters*. S. *Hierome* in his epiſtle to *Vitalis* to make it good, hath recourſe to *Gods Omnipotencie*, *Neque enim valet natura*, ſaith he, *contra naturæ Dominum*: And againe, *Quòd pro miraculo fit, legem Naturæ facere non poteſt*: That which it pleaſeth God to worke ſupernaturally as a miracle, may not be held for the ordinary law of Nature. Yet himſelfe in the ſame *Epiſtle* alleages the example of *Salomon* to the ſame purpoſe: And another more ſtrange then that; to the relation whereof he prefixes this ſolemne preface; *Audiui, Domino teſte, non mentior*, I haue heard, God knowes I faine it not, that a certaine nurſe, hauing the education of an expoſed childe committed to her charge, who lay with her, being now of the age of *tenne yeares*, and prouoked to incontinencie by the nurſe, ouercharged with wine, ſhee was found with childe by him.

verſ. 21.

Apud Euſebium l. 9. de Præparat. Euangel. c. vlt.

Commentar. in 34. Gen.

Nicephorus ex Euodio. 2. 3.

2. Kings. 22. 1.

Cap. 23. 36.

2. Kings. 16. 2.

Cap. 18. 2.

Epiſt. 132.

The like ſtory hath *Gregory* in his Dialogues, touching a childe of nine yeares old.

I will conclude this reaſon with the example of *Solomon*, who is commonly thought to come to the *Crowne* at twelue yeares of age, and the *Scripture* aſſures vs that he reigned but *forty*, by which account he died at the age of *fifty two*, which is the moſt receiued opinion aſwell of the *Iewiſh Rabbines*, as the *Chriſtian Doctours*: yet was *Rehoboam* his ſonne and ſucceſſour *forty one* yeares old when he began to raigne: ſo that but an *eleuen yeares* at moſt, are left for *Solomon* when he begat him: Such matches as theſe in this age, I thinke can hardly be matched, neither in truth doe I hold fit they ſhould.

1. King. 11. 42.

1. King. 14. 21.

SECT. 3.

SECT. 3.

The third is borrowed from the age which the Ancients assigned for charge and imployment in publique affaires, Ecclesiasticall, Civill and Military, they were therevnto both sooner admitted, and therefrom sooner discharged then men now adayes vsually are, which should in reason argue, that they likewise vsually finished the course of their life sooner.

ANother reason tending to the same purpose may not vnfitly be drawne from the *age* which the *Ancients* assigned for *charge* & *imployment in publique affaires*. They were therevnto *as soone admitted* and *sooner discharged* then men now adayes vsually are, which should in reason argue that they likewise ran their race & finished their course sooner, in asmuch as *quod citius crescit, citius finitur*, that which sooner comes to ripenes and perfection, hastens sooner to rottennes & dissolution. Now *publique charges* may well be distributed into *Ecclesiasticall, Civill* and *Military*, of the *Church*, of the *State*, and of the *warres*: I will begin with the *Ministeriall* offices of the *Church*, and therein with the Principall, which is that of the *Bishop*: *Thomas Becket* was chosen *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* at the age of forty foure yeares, as witnesseth *Mathew Parker* (who succeeded him in that See) in his booke of the liues of the *Archbishops* intituled *Antiquitates Britannicæ*. *Is qui ad Episcopalem dignitatem promovendus est, annos natus esse debet non minus triginta, nam ea ætate Dominum & baptizatum, & concionatum fuisse legimus*, saith *Lancelot* in his *Institutions of the Cannon Law*. He who is to bee advanced to the dignity of a *Bishop*, ought not to be lesse then *thirty* yeares old, inasmuch as we read that our *Lord* was baptized & preached at that age. Whereas now adayes with vs seldome is any preferred to that place till he be past forty or fifty. *Venerable Bede* our famous Countreyman who liued about eight hundred yeares agoe, was by his owne testimony made *Deacon* at nineteene. And *Origen* by the testimony of *Eusebius*, *Catechist* in *Alexandria* at eighteene yeares of age. But that which to this point is most memorable in the exercise of *sacred* functions, is that by the commandements of *God* himselfe, the *Levites* after the age of fiftie yeares were exempted from the execution of their office, which notwithstanding was nothing so painefull as that of the Ministery of the Gospell, if faithfully discharged. Where by *Levites* it may well be that not only those who served in inferiour offices vnder the *Priests*, but the *Priests* themselues, as being of the tribe of *Levi*, are to be vnderstood, to which purpose M. *Nettles* in his answer to the *Iewish* part of M. *Seldens History of Tithes* hath vouched the *Rabbines*, as namely *Aben Ezra* on *Leviticus* 16. *every Priest is a Levite, but every Levite is not a Priest*. And *Ioshuah Ben Levi* mentioning that text, *Numb.* 18. 26 *Speake vnto the Levites*, doth vnder the name of *Levites* vnderstand also *Priests*, farther adding, that *in foure and twenty places the Priests are called Levites*, which being so; I see no reason but that from thence we may safely inferre, that in likelyhood the same space of yeares was assigned to the *Priest*, aswell for

Baldus.

Lib. 1. tit. 7.

Malmesburiensis de gestis Angli, Reg. lib. 1.

Histor. Eccles. l. 6 c. 2.

Numb. 8. 25.

for his entrance vpon his office,as his diſcharge from it,ſpecially conſidering that his place was of an higher nature.

Now for the *warres*. The *Gaules* put their ſonnes in armes,and prepared them to warre at fourteene. *Cneius Pompeius* at eighteene yeares of age;and *Cæſar Octavianus* at nineteene ſuſtained civill warres. The *Iewes* indeed ordinarily levied their ſouldiers from twenty yeares vpward, as plainely appeares in the firſt of *Numbers* and diverſe other places. But the *Romanes* from ſeaventeen,which by *Gellius* out of *Tubero* is reported to haue beene the practiſe and preſcript of *Servius Tullius* one of their Kings. The ſame was afterwards confirmed by the *Gracchi*,*Gracchi lex juniorem annis ſeptendecem militem non legi*. The *Gracchian* Law ordained that none ſhould be levied vnder ſeaventeene. Yet in times of *Neceſſity* they came vnder thoſe yeares,as in the ſecond *Punike* warre, *Tum decretum* ſaith *Livy*, *vt tribuni plebis ad populum ferrent, vt qui minores annis 17. Sacramento dixiſſent, ijs perinde ſtipendia procederent: ac ſi 17 annorum aut majores milites facti eſſent*. It was then decreed that the *Tribunes* ſhould tell the people that ſuch as being vnder *ſeventeene* had taken their military oath, ſhould in like ſort receiue their pay as if they had beene full ſeaventeene or paſt. The *Grecians* indeede *entred* vpon their military ſervice ſomewhat latter but were diſcharged from it ſooner,they tooke vp ſouldiers for the warres at *eighteene*, but diſcharged them at *forty* or thereabout. Wee finde in *Demoſthenes*, that the ſtate being indangered, they were all commanded to tugge at the oare,*vſque ad eos qui 45 annorum eſſent*,even to thoſe that were forty fiue : vpon which *Vlpian* the *Scholiaſt* commenteth, that this was an vſuall practice, *quia Lex apud Athenienſes annum quadrageſimum duntaxat*,*jubet militare, exorſos à decimo octavo*, becauſe the Lawes among the *Athenians* commaund men to ſerue in the warres onely till *forty*, entring vpon the ſervice at eighteene. And it ſhould ſeeme *Macrobius* aimes at this, diſcourſing of the efficacy of the *Septenary* number,*Nonnullarum Rerumpub. is mos eſt, vt poſt ſextam hebdomaden ad militiam nemo cogatur, in plurimis detur remiſſio poſt ſeptimam*, it is the cuſtome of ſome ſtates, that after the ſixth weeke no man ſhould be forced to ſerue in the warres, and in the moſt they are diſcharged after the ſeaventh: where by *weekes* he vnderſtands *weekes of yeares*,and in the *ſixth* weeke ſeemes to point at the practice of the *Athenian* ſtate, in the *ſeaventh* to that of the *Romane*. Neither the *Romane* nor the *Grecian* went commonly beyond *forty fiue*,as *Dyoniſius* affirmeth, or *forty ſixe*,as *Polybius*: And even in dangerous times not beyond *fifty*, *Lex à quinquageſſimo anno militem non cogit, à ſexageſimo Senatorem non citat*, ſayth *Seneca* in his laſt Chapter *de brevitate vitæ*, the law doth not force a Souldier to ſerue after *fifty*,not a Senatour after *ſixty*.

Des eſtats & empyres. Tac. annal. 13. 2.

V. 3.

Lib. 10. 28. Plut in Gracchis.

Lib. 25.

3. Olymb.

Lib. 1. Somn. Scipionis.

Lypſius de Militia Rom. lib. 1 dial. 2. Sir Henry Savill in his view of military matters.

By the teſtimony of *Polyhiſtor*, and the computation both of *Cajetan* and *Pererius*,*Symeon* and *Levi*, when they ſo fiercely and deſperately ſet vpon the *Sichemites*, little or nothing ſurpaſſed the number of *twenty yeares*, inſomuch that *Pererius* breakes out into this admiration: *Subit animum meum vehementer admirari, præferocem iſtorum animum, qui vix dum adoleſcentiam egreſſi tam atrox facinus & animo conceperint, & audaciſſimè exequentes perfecerint*: I cannot but exceedingly marvell at their

Gen. 34.

wonderfull fiercenes, that being ſcarce paſt their youth, they ſhould in their mindes conceiue ſo bloody a fact & put it in execution ſo boldly. King *Edward* the fourth having beene *Conquerour* in eight or nine ſeverall ſet battailes, died at the age of *forty one*, and our famous King *Arthur* (if wee may beleeue *Ninnius*) having victoriouſly fought in *twelue*, gaue vp the ghoſt at the ſame age. *Iulian* having beene for diverſe years a great Commander in the warres, was ſlaine at one and thirty; and it is well knowne that the Great *Alexander* had conquered in a manner the knowne World at *thirty three*. Vpon the conſideration whereof *Iulius Cæſar* beholding his ſtatue in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cales*, fetcht a deepe ſigh, as being aſhamed that at that age himſelfe had atchieued no memorable act, yet was himſelfe but 56 when hee was ſlaine.

Comines.

Socrates in hiſt. tripart. 6. 47.

Cicero. S. philip. Suetonius. In Iulio. cap 7. Cap. 88.

Laſtly, for the adminiſtration of *Civill affaires* in the ſtate, *Romulus* firſt King of the *Romans* having raigned (ſaith *Plutarch* in the very end of his life) 38 years died at fifty, by which accoũt he muſt begin his raigne at 12 ſomwhat too yong (a man would thinke) for a King that was a to lay the foundation of ſuch an *Empire*. *Cicero* by the teſtimony of *Cornelius Nepos* (who was his familiar friend, & wrote his life) pleaded publikely for *Sextus Roſcius* at 23, and by the teſtimony of *Aulus Gellius*, *Euripedes* wrote one of his tragidies, *Natus annos duo de viginti*, at eighteene yeares of age. *Ioſephus* witneſſeth of himſelfe *annos novendecem natus ad Rempub. cæpi me dare*, I began to apply my ſelfe to the affaires of the weale publique, being but yet *nineteene* yeares of age. And *Moſes* of *Ioſeph* the *Patriarch*, that when he had in a manner the whole goverment of *Egipt* commirted to his charge by *Pharoah*, was but *thirty* yeares old; which was likewiſe *Davids* age, when he began to raigne. *Auguſtus* entred vpon the *Conſulſhip* at *twenty*, and received *virilem togam* at *ſixteene* ſayth *Suetonius* in his life. But *Aurelius Antoninus* a yeare yonger as *Spartianus* affirmes, by which ornament or habit, they were judged fit for publique imployment in the common wealth. And *Lævinus Torrentius* in his *Annotations* vpon that place, obſerveth that even the lawes themſelues at that time reputed men fit for action in ſtate affaires at *ſeaventeene*, at which age *Nero* was choſen *Emperour*: *Tertullian* comes much lower, *tempus etiam Ethnici obſervant, vt ex lege naturæ jura ſuis ætatibus reddant: Nam fœminas à duodecem annis, maſculos à duobus amplius ad negotia mittunt.* The Ethnickes ſo obſerue their times, that from the law of *Nature* they diſpoſe of their ages in Civill affaires: for women they imploy after twelue, and men two yeares after that. And as they were reputed ſooner fit for action then wee: ſo likewiſe ſooner vnfit: *cum ſexaginta annos habebant, tum erant a publicis negotiis liberi atque expediti, & otioſi:* when they once come to *ſixty* then they were freed from all publique ſervice, and left to their eaſe and reſt. Inſomuch as it grew to a *Proverbe* amongſt the *Latins*, *Sexagenarios de ponte dijci oportere*, that men of *ſixty* deſerved to be caſt from the bridge, as being vnprofitable for the common-wealth after that age. And from thence were they commonly called *Depontani* which was vpon this occaſion taken vp, as witneſſeth *Feſtus*. *Quo tempore primum per pontem cæperunt comitijs ſuffragium ferre, juniores conclamavêre, vt de ponte dejcerentur ſexagenarij; quia*

Suet cap. 8.

De velandis virginibus.

Varro de vita Pop. Romani, teſte Nonnio.

Ad verbum Sexagenarij.

quia nullo publico munere fungerentur: at what time they held their assemblies & gaue their suffrages vpon the bridge, the yonger sort cryed out with one voyce, that such as were *sixty* should bee throwne from the bridge inasmuch as they had no publique charge. To which outcry of theirs *Ovid* alludes.

Pars putat, vt ferrent juvenes suffragia Soli,
Pontibus infirmos præcipitasse senes. 5. *Fastorum.*

That yonger men might voyces giue alone,
The elder were downe from the bridges throwne.

This motion, the *Barbiccians* at *seaventy*, in effect put in execution, *omnes septuagesimum annum egressos interficiunt, viros mactando, mulieres vero strangulando*: they make away all that are past *seaventy*, sacrificing the men, and strangling the woman. And the civill lawes themselues held a man vnfit for publique businesse after that age. Now then since the age assigned by the *Ancients* not only for *marriage*, but likewise for their *entrance* vpon and discharge from publique imployment as well in the *Church* and *State*, as in the *warres*, was little or nothing different from that which is both allowed and practised at this day, (saue that they haue beene more indulgent and favourable to themselues then now we are) what reason haue we to imagine that the *length* and *duration* of time which they vsually lived, was different from ours? *Ælianus lib. 4. c. 1.* *Element Iurisp. part. 2. sect. 1.*

Specially considering withall that both the Civill Lawes account a prescription by the same number of yeares as anciently they did, and the municipall still value three liues at 21 yeares as formerly they haue done. And so I passe from the age of men to the consideration of their strength and stature. *Part. 3. Sect. 6.*

CAP. 3.

Containing a comparison betwixt the Gyants mentioned in Scripture both among themselues, and with those of latter ages.

SECT 1.

Of the admirable composition of mans Body, and that it cannot bee sufficiently proved that Adam *as he was the first, so hee was likewise the tallest of men, which in reason should be, were there in truth any such perpetuall decrease in mans stature as is pretended.*

AS the great *power* of *Almighty God* doth shine foorth and shew it selfe in the numberlesse variety of the parts of mans body: so doth his wonderfull *goodnesse* in their excellent vse, and his singular *wisedome* in their orderly disposition, sweete harmony, and just symmetrie, as well in regard of themselues, as in reference each to other, but chiefely in the resultance of the beautifull and admirable frame of the whole body. The consideration whereof made the *Royall Prophet* to cry out: *I will praise thee, for I am fearefully & wonderfully made, in thy booke* Psal. 139. 13.

were all my members written, and curiouſly wrought, marvailous are thy works, and that my ſoule knoweth right well. This proportion is in all reſpects ſo eaven and correſpondent, that the meaſures of Temples, of dwelling houſes, and Engines of ſhips were by *Architects* taken from thence, and thoſe of the *Arke* it ſelfe too, as it is probably thought. For as the *Arke* was three hundred Cubits in *length*, fifty in *breadth*, and thirty in *height*; ſo the body of man rightly ſhaped, anſwers therevnto. The *length* from the crowne of the head to the ſole of the foote, and *breadth* from ſide to ſide, and *thickneſſe* from back to breaſt carrying the proportion of three hundred and fifty, and thirty each to other: ſo that looke what proportion fifty hath to three hundred, which is ſixe to one, the ſame hath the breadth of mans body to his height or length. And what proportion thirty hath to three hundred, which is tenne to one, the ſame hath the thicknes to his length and breadth. Nay ſome haue obſerved 300 *minuta* (which I take to be barley cornes, the fourth part of an inch or thereabout) to make vp the length of a mans body of juſt ſtature, and conſequently, fifty in the breadth, & thirty in the thicknes, anſwerable to the ſeverall number of the cubits in the ſeverall meaſures of the *Arke*.

Vitruvius l. 3. c. 1.

Auguſt. l. 15. de Civ. Dei c. 26. & ad Feſtum man. 12. 14. & Amb. de Noe & Arca. cap. 6.

Laurentius Abat. l. 1. c. 20, Lomatius l. 1. c. 7.

Now to our preſent purpoſe, as *God* and *Nature* (or rather *God* by *Nature*, his inſtrument and handmaid) hath faſhioned the body of Man in thoſe proportions, ſo hath he limited the dimenſions thereof, (as likewiſe thoſe of all other both vegetable, ſenſitiue and vnſenſible Creatures) within certaine bounds,

Quos vltra citraque nequit conſiſtere.

So that though the dimenſions of mens bodies bee very different in regard of ſeverall *Climats* & *Races*, yet was there never any race of men found to the bigneſſe of *mountaines* or *whales*, or the littleneſſe of *flies* or *Ants*, becauſe in that quantity, the members cannot vſefully and commodiouſly, either diſpoſe of themſelues, or exerciſe thoſe functions to which they were by their *Maker* aſſigned. It is to this purpoſe a good and proper axiome, *datur maximum & minimum in vtroque genere*, there is in every kinde ſome ſuch greatneſſe as cannot bee exceeded, and ſome ſuch littleneſſe as cannot bee contracted. True indeed it is, that both hiſtory of former ages, and experience of latter times teach vs that a great inequality there is, and hath beene. but that ſince the firſt *Creation* of man there ſhould be any ſuch *perpetuall*, *vniverſall*, and *conſtant decreaſe* and diminution, as is pretended, that ſhall I never beleeue.

For then in reaſon ſhould the *firſt Man* haue beene a *Gyant* of *Gyants*, the higheſt and moſt monſtrous *Gyant* that ever the world beheld, and vpon this ground it ſeemes, (though falſely ſuppoſed) *Iohannes Lucidus* labours to proue him ſo indeede, from that paſſage in the fourteenth of *Ioſhua*, according to the *Vulgar tranſlation: Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariah-Arbe, Adam maximus ibi inter Anakim ſitus eſt*, which may thus be rendred: *Adam* the greateſt of Gyants lies there buried: And this fancie of *Lucidus* is countenanced by that fable of the *Iewiſh Rabbies*, reported by *Moſes bar Cephas*, who ſuppoſing *Paradiſe* to bee diſjoyned from this world, by the interpoſition of the *Ocean*, tells vs that *Adam* being

Lib. 1. de emendatione Temporum cap. 4. v. vlt.

Lib. de Paradiſo.

being caſt out of it, waded thorow the *Ocean* to come into this, by which account his ſtature ſhould rather bee meaſured by miles then by *cubits*: But as *Lucidus* by this opinion croſſeth the ſtreame of Antiquity (*S. Ierome* only,& ſome few others his followers excepted)holding that the firſt *Adam* was buried, not in *Hebron*,but in that place where the ſecond *Adam* triumphed over death, ſo doth hee likewiſe by following the *Vulgar Tranſlation* corrupt the *Hebrew* originall,which is thus to bee rendred: *Nomen autem Hebronis fuerat Kiriath-arbah, is fuerat homo inter Anakeos maximus*: So that the word *Adam* or *homo*, is to bee referred not to the firſt man, but to *Arbah*, the firſt founder as it is thought of that *Citty*;and therevpon our laſt *Tranſlation* reades it thus: *The name of Hebron before was Kiriath-arbah*,which *Arbah* was a great man among the *Anakims*. Beſides, the word *Adam* even in the *Vulgar Tranſlation* it ſelfe,is not alwayes vnderſtood as *proper* to the firſt man, but *comman*,as *homo* in *Latine*,or *man* in *Engliſh*: And yet to grant the word in that place to be vnderſtood of the *firſt man*, and that he was there buried; well might hee bee called the *Greateſt*,yet not ſo much in regard of any *exceſſiue vaſtneſſe* in the dimenſions of his body, as becauſe hee was the head ſpring and *fountaine of mankind*, or in reſpect of that *originall juſtice*, with which before his fall hee ſtood inveſted. There is no neceſſitie then,to beleeue that the *firſt man* was the talleſt of men, nay rather as hee came ſhort of many that followed after,in *age*, and number of yeares, ſo it may ſafely be thought, that hee exceeded them not in *ſtature* or dimenſions of body ; there being often found in the Creatures a reciprocall correſpondence, betwixt their *durations* and *dimenſions*,as among the *Grecians*,the ſame word ſignifies both; whence ſome tranſlate it *age*, and ſome *ſtature* : So that thoſe *Patriarches* of the firſt age,who by ſpeciall diſpenſation liued longeſt,may well be conceiued by vertue of the ſame diſpenſation,to haue had a ſtature and length of body in ſome ſort,ſutable to the laſting and length of their liues.

in Mat. 27. & in Epheſ. 5.

O igenes, Athanaſius, Baſilius, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtomus ex Græcis.

Ex Latinis Tertullianus,Cyprianus ſive qui ſcripſit de operibus, Ambroſius, Auguſtinus, atque alibi etiam ipſe Hieronimus nempe epiſt. 17. ad Paul: & Euſtoch.

ἡλικία. Epheſ. 4. 13. Luc. 2. 52.

SECT. 2

What thoſe Gyants *were which are mentioned in the 6 of* Geneſis,*and that ſucceeding ages till* Davids *time afforded the like.*

YEt the firſt mention that *holy Scripture* makes of *Gyants* is in the ſixth of *Geneſis*,not long before the *flood*,but long after the *Creation*,*There were Gyants in the earth in thoſe dayes*,ſayth the text;and alſo after that,*When the ſonnes of God came in vnto the daughters of men,and they bare children vnto them, the ſame became mighty men which were of old,men of renowne.* The *Originall* word is *Nephelim*, derived from *Naphal*, which ſignifies to fall, whence *Iunius* referres their name to their [o] *defection* and *apoſtacie* from religion and the worſhip of the true *God*. *Calvin* to the falling of others before them by reaſon of their [a] *exceſſiue pride,cruelty* and *oppreſſion*. *Philo* in his booke, which he hath purpoſely compoſed *de Gigantibus*, to their owne falling from *piety* and *godlineſſe* to *carnall* thoughts and earthly deſires. From which hee fetcheth

v. 4.

o Eccleſ. 16.7.
a Eccleſ. 23.4.

their name in *Greeke:* S. *Cyrill* about the beginning of his ninth booke againſt *Iulian*, diſcourſing of this very paſſage of *Moſes*, thus comments vpon it. *Mos eſt diuinæ Scripturæ Gigantes vocare agreſtes & feroces & robuſtos: Nam de Perſis & Medis Iudæam devaſtaturis, dixit Deus per Iſayam, Gigantes venient vt impleant furorem meum.* It is the Phraiſe of holy writ to call ſuch *Gyants* as are in behaviour rough and rude, wilde, and barbarous: So ſpeakes *God* by the Prophet *Iſayah*, of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, ordained for the laying waſt of *Iudæa*, *Gyants ſhall come and execute my fury vpon you.* So that if wee reſt in any of theſe interpretations, there is no neceſſity wee ſhould conceiue theſe *Gyants* to haue exceeded other men in ſtature. Nay, S. *Chryſoſtome* ſeemes to deny it, *Gigantes à Scriptura dici opinor non inuſitatum hominum genus, aut inſolitam formam, ſed Heroas & viros fortes & bellicoſos:* I thinke they are in Scripture called Gyants not any vncouth kinde of men for *ſhape* or *feature*, but ſuch as were *Heroycall* and *warlike.* Which expoſition of his, hath in truth ſome ground in the latter part of the ſame verſe, where *Moſes* ſeemes to vnfold himſelfe, thus deſcribing thoſe whom immediatly before he had called *Gyants*, *the ſame became mighty men, which were of old, men of renowne.*

Cap. 13.

Caſſ. Coll. 8. c. 21. Amb. de Noe & Arca c. 4. Theod. in Gen. qu. 48.

On the other-ſide *Caſſianus*, *Ambroſe*, and *Theodoret*, are as expreſſe, that by *Gyants*, *Moſes* there vnderſtood men of an huge and vaſt proportion of body: But for mine owne part, I ſee not but all theſe interpretations, (*Chryſoſtomes* onely excepted) may well enough ſtand together and be accorded. Theſe *Gyants* being ſuch as the *Interlineary Gloſſe* briefely but pithily deſcribes, *immanes corpore, ſuperbos animo, viribus prævalidos, & inconditos moribus*: *Gyants* then they were not onely in regard of their *pride*, their *tyrannie*, their *incivilitie*, and *infidelity*, but likewiſe and that doubtleſſe moſt properly in reſpect of the *monſtrous enormity of their bodies*: moſt of the former being in likelihood occaſioned by this latter.

Now as this is the *firſt* place that wee reade of *Gyants* not long before the *flood* (which ſhould argue they were taller and ſtronger then any that went before them) ſo it is not the *laſt*, but in all times wee may trace them thorow the *hiſtory* of ſucceeding ages. From whence *Reaſon* collects, that even in regard of theſe irregular prodigious birthes, for ought wee finde in *Scripture*, *Nature* hath ſuffered no apparent or ſenſible *decay*. Of this ſtamp it ſeemes was *Nymrod*, who hath therefore this *Character* ſet vpon him, that he was *Robuſtus venator coram Domino*, a mighty hunter before the *Lord*: There were ſome likewiſe found of this exceſſiue ſtature in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Ioſhua*, and of *David*, whom wee haue regiſtred vnder the names of *Rephaims*, *Zuzims*, *Zanzummins*, *Emims*, and *Anakims*. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Amorites* men of *Gyant-like* ſtature, whoſe height hee compareth to *Cedars* and their ſtrength to *Oakes*. Particularly it is noted in the third of *Deuteronomy* of *Ogge* King of *Baſon* foure hundred yeares after *Abraham*, that his bedde of yron kept and ſhewed as a monument in *Rabbah* was *nine cubits long*, and *foure broade*: And ſurely if his ſtature were anſwerable to the dimenſions of his bed, hee was one

Gen. 10 9.

Gen. 14. 5.
Num. 13. 33.
Deut. 2. 20. 21.
Ioſ. 11. 21.
Amos. 2. 9.

v. 11.

of

of the greateſt *Gyants* that wee any where reade of, not onely in *ſacred* but in many warrantable *prophane ſtories*. For whereas nine cubits make vp thirteene foote and an halfe, if wee ſhould allow a foote and an halfe for the length of his bed-ſteed at both the ends beyond his body; yet there ſtill remaines twelue foote, which is double to a *juſt ſtature*. And though I am not ignorant that both the *Chaldee Paraphraſe*, and *complutenſian Bible* following it, render it, *In cubito ejuſdem Regis*, as if the meaſure were to be taken by the *Cubit* of King *Ogge* himſelfe; yet *Arias Montanus*, and *Tremellius* following the originall, render it, *in cubito viri*, or *virili*; and *Iunius* giues this note vpon it, *id eſt juſtæ & communis menſuræ, qualem menſuram cubitalem quiſque Artifex obſervare ſolet*: that is, of the juſt and common meaſure, ſuch as *Artificers vſually* obſerue in their cubits, and ſuch as himſelfe in the third of *Ioſhua* tranſlates, *notam menſuram*, the ordinary knowne meaſure. And to ſay truth, the meaſuring of *Ogge* by his owne cubit had beene both to make his ſtature altogether *vncertaine*, and the commenſurations of his body moſt *diſproportionable*, there being no man, whoſe body is juſtly framed, who is full foure of his owne cubits in length; neither had ſuch a ſhape bin only *diſproportionable*, but *exceeding weake*, aſwell for offence, as defence, whereas he is deſcribed as a mighty man, and of wonderfull ſtrength. *Laſtly*, if wee ſhall imagine him to haue beene a tranſcendent *Gyant*, and yet meaſure him by his owne cubit, double to the *ordinary*, his length will then ariſe to twenty foure foote at leaſt, a ſtature moſt incredible. After this in *Davids* time wee reade that *Goliah* the *Philiſtin* of *Gath*, was a *Gyant* of *ſix cubits* and a *ſpanne long*: Neither do I remember that in *ſacred Scriptures* we haue the meaſure of any preciſely obſerved, ſaue of him onely: the armour which hee wore weighed *fiue thouſand ſhekels of braſſe*, the ſhaft of his ſpeare was like a *weavers beame*, and his ſpeare head weighed *ſix hundred ſhekels of yron*. Alſo in the ſecond of *Samuell*, there is mention of a brother to this *Goliah*, a man of like ſtature and ſtrength: And of two other, the one of which was ſlaine by *Iehonathan Davids* Nephew, hee who had twelue fingers and as many toes, foure and twenty in number: and that before theſe, *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength and of a ſtature anſwerable therevnto; no man neede to doubt, conſidering hee tore a *Lyon* as it had beene a *kidde*, ſlew thirty of the *Philiſtins* at once, and after that a thouſand more of them with the *jaw-boone of an Aſſe*: And laſtly he tooke the gates of *Aſſah*, and the two poſtes, and lifted them away with the barres and put them vpon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the toppe of the mountaine before *Hebron*.

1. Sam. 17. 4.

Cap. 21. 19.

v. 20. 21.

Iud. 14. & 16.

SECT 3.

That latter times haue alſo afforded the like both at home and abroade, ſpecially in the Indies, where they liue more according to nature.

THe like may bee ſayd of all ſucceeding ages downe to the preſent times; It is the confeſſion of *Caſſanion* in his booke of Gyants, *Non vno tantùm ſeculo aut altero viſi ſunt, ſed fermè ab initio mundi*

mundi ad Davidis vsque tempora propagatum id genus hominum magnitudine prorsus admiranda. They haue not beene seene in one onely, or two ages, but almost from the beginning of the world even to *Davids* time hath that kinde of men of a monstrous bigneſſe beene deduced. S. *Augustine* goes farther, *Quasi vero corpora hominum modum nostrum longè excedentia non etiam nostris temporibus nata sint*: as if some bodies of men much exceeding our ordinary stature were not likewise borne in these our times. And yet more fully in the ninth Chapter of the same booke, *Nunquam firmè defuerunt qui modum aliorum plurimum excederent*; they haue almost at no time beene wanting who haue much exceeded the ordinary stature.

De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 23.

I will insist onely vpon the most *signall* instances drawne from the testimonies of the most *approved* Authours. In the *Gospell* or writings of the Apostles wee reade not of any, they intending matters of greater weight and consequence: But *Pliny* tels vs, that during the raigne of *Claudius* the Emperour, a mighty man, one *Gabbara* by name, was brought out of *Arabia* to *Rome*, *nine foote* high was hee, and as many *inches*. There were likewise in the time of *Augustus Cæsar* two other, named *Pusio* and *Secondilla* higher then *Gabbara* by *halfe a foote*, whose bodies were preserved & kept for a wonder within the *Salustian* gardens. *Maximinus* the Emperour, as *Iulius Capitolinus* affirmes, exceeded eight *foote*, And *Andronicus Comninus tenne*, as *Nicetas*. In the dayes of *Theodosius*, there was one in *Syria*, (as *Nicephorus* reports) *fiue cubits* high and an *hand-breadth*. *Eginhardus* and *Krantzius* affirme that *Charlemaigne* was *seaven foote* high: But in that they adde of his *owne feete*, they both leaue his height altogether *vncertaine*, (as was before sayd in the description of the stature of *Ogge*) and his body very *disproportionable*, there being no man whose body is rightly featured, who exceedes *six* of his owne feete.

Lib. 7. c. 16.

Giabbaron in the *Arabique* tongue signifies a Gyant.

Lib. 12. c. 37.

Vitruvius, l. 3. c. 1.

&c

But to draw neerer to our owne times: *Iulius Scaliger* hath left it vpon record, that at his being at *Millane*, he there saw in a publique hospitall a yong man of so *monstrous* an height, that hee could not stand vpright, hee was therefore layd vpon two beds, the one joyned longwise vnto the other, both which hee filled with his length. *Goropius Becanus* Physitian to the Lady *Mary*, *Queene* of *Hungary*, regent of the *Netherlands*, and sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, assures vs, that himselfe saw a woman *tenne foote high*, and that within fiue miles of his dwelling, there was then to be seene a man almost of the *same length*: wherevpon his assertion is, *Audacter affirmamus*, wee boldly affirme, that men in former ages were commonly nothing taller then now they are: Their *Gyants* were of six or seaven cubits high, and so are ours: nay hee goes farther, *Confidenter de Philosophiæ præceptis statuimus, nihil in humana statura ab ineunte mundi ætate immutatum esse:* Wee confidently averre out of the grounds of *Philosophie*, that since the Creation of the world nothing is altered in the stature of man-kinde.

Exercit. 263.

De Gigantomachia.

But to returne to the *Gyants* of latter ages, *Iohn Cassanion*, who seemes to haue vndertaken his treatise of *Gyants* purposely to censure and confute *Goropius*, yet mentions one himselfe commonly called the *Gyant* of

Burdeaux,

Burdeaux, whom King *Francis* paſſing that way beheld with admiration, commaunding hee ſhould be of his guard: but being a peſant of a groſſe ſpirit, not able to apply himſelfe to a Courtiers life, hee ſoone quited his halbard, and getting away by ſtealth, returned to the place whence hee came. An honourable perſon, who had ſeene him archer of the guard, did aſſure me, ſaith *Caſſanion*, that hee was of ſuch an height as any man of an ordinary ſtature might goe vpright betwixt his legges when hee did ſtride. There is at this preſent to be ſeene heere in *England* one *Parſons*, by trade a black-ſmith, now *Porter* at the *Kings* Court, who by juſt meaſure is found to bee no leſſe then *ſeaven foote* and *two inches*. And I heere that a *Welch-man* is lately entertained by the Prince in the like place, who outſtrips the Smith in height by *fiue inches*, and yet is he ſtill growing, ſo as in time hee may well come vnto *eight foote*. *Cap. 6.* *Anno* 1624.

But it may well bee that in theſe parts of the world where *luxury* hath crept in together with *Civility*, there may bee ſome diminution of *ſtrength* and *ſtature* in regard of our *Anceſtours*; yet if wee caſt our eyes abroad vpon thoſe nations which ſtill liue according to *nature*, though in a faſhion more rude and barbarous, wee ſhall finde by the relation of thoſe that haue liued among them, that they much exceede vs in *ſtature*, ſtill retaining as it ſeemes the vigorous conſtitution of their Predeceſſours, which ſhould argue, that if any decay bee, it is not *vniverſall*, and conſequently not *naturall* but rather *adventitious* and *accidentall*. For proofe hereof, to let paſſe the ſtories of *Olaus Magnus* touching the Inhabitants of the *Northerne Climate*, I will content my ſelfe with the *Indies*. *Melchior Nunnez* in his letters where he diſcourſeth of the affaires of *China* reports that in the chiefe cittie called *Paguin*, the *Porters* are *fifteene foote* high, and in other letters written in the yeare 1555, hee doth averre that the King entertaines and feedes *fiue hundred* ſuch men for *Archers* of his *Guard*. In the Weſt *Indies* in the region of *Chica* neere the mouth of his *ſtreights*, *Ortelius* deſcribes a people whom hee tearmes *Pentagones*, from their huge *ſtature*, being *ordinarily* of *fiue cubits* long, which make *ſeaven foote* and *an halfe*: whence their countrey is knowne by the name of *the land of Gyants*. Mr *Pretty* a Gentleman of *Suffolke*, in his diſcourſe of Mr *Candiſh* his voyage about the world, being himſelfe imployed in the ſame action, tells vs that meaſuring the print of an *Indian* foote in the ſand, not farre from the coaſt of *Braſil*, he found it to be *eighteene inches* long, by which computation, the *Indian himſelfe* in proportion could bee no leſſe then *nine foote*. *Caſſanion* likewiſe acknowledgeth that in the Iland of *Summatra* and neere the *Antarticke pole*, ſome are found of *tenne* or *twelue foote* high. Laſtly, *Antony Pigafet* a great traueller in his time, as teſtifieth *Goulert*, affirmes that he had ſeene towards the ſame *Pole* ſo tall a *Gyant*, as other tall men did not reach with their *heads* aboue his *navell*; and others beyond the ſtreights of *Magellane*, which had their neckes a cubit long, and the reſt of their bodies anſwerable therevnto. *Symon Maiolus dierum Canicul: colloq. 2.* *Hackluit* in his Engliſh voyages. *Memorabiles Hiſtoires de noſtre temp.*

CAP. 4.

CAP. 4.

More preſſing Reaſon to prove that for theſe two or three thouſand yeares, the ſtature of the Ancients was little or nothing different from that of the preſent times.

SECT. 1.

The firſt Reaſon taken from the meaſures of the Ancients, which were proportioned to the parts of mans body, and in the view of them, wee are firſt to know that they were ſtandards, that is, for publique contracts, certaine and conſtant; and conſequently if the graines of our barley corne, the firſt principle of meaſure, bee the ſame with theirs as hath already beene proved, it cannot bee but our ordinary meaſures ſhould bee the ſame with theirs, and ſo likewiſe our ſtatures.

I will not dwell vpon theſe lighter *skirmiſhes*, but proceede on to a more *ſerious fight*, and downeright ſtroakes drawne from the *demonſtrations* of more weighty reaſons, whereof the firſt ſhall bee taken from the compariſon of the *meaſures* of the *Ancients* and ours, vſed in this preſent age, borrowed from the body of man. It was a memorable ſaying of *Protagoras*, reported and repeated by *Plato*, that man was *rerum omnium menſura*, the meaſure of all things; hee is the *meaſure of meaſures*, the *yard*, the *ell*, the *pace*, the *furlong*, the *mile*, they are all meaſured by the body of man and the parts thereof, which likewiſe ſerue for the meaſuring each of other. So that if they hold that *Symmetrie* and *commodulation*, (as *Vitruvius* calls it) which they ought, from the proportion of the head, the hand, the cubit, the foote, the finger, nay the tooth or the *leaſt bone*, may the dimenſions of the *whole body* be infallibly collected. As *Pythagoras* gathered the height of *Hercules* from the proportion of his foote, and *Pulcher* a skilfull *Geometrician* the height of a *Gyant* (diſcovered in *Sicily* by an earth quake) at the command of *Tiberius* from the proportion of his *tooth*, ſent from thence to the *Emperour* for a taſt and tryall of the whole. To lay a ground then to that which I am to ſay, that the building which I am to raiſe vpon it may ſtand the ſurer, *firſt* I take it to bee an vndeniable truth, that the cubit, the foote, the inch, the digit were all of them *ſtandards*, that is, certaine and conſtant meaſures, it being not lawfull for every man to make or take his meaſures in publique contracts by his owne cubit or foot, or of any whom himſelfe would make choyce of, but by that which was common and indifferent to all, legally and publiquely allowed: And this much not only ſtands with right reaſon, but appeares to bee true, by that *Amphora Capitolina* amongſt the *Romaines*, a ſtanding ſtable meaſure, kept in the Capitoll, (with which all other meaſures were to accord) mentioned by *Iulius Capitolinus* in the life of *Maximinus*, as alſo by the *Romane Congius*, whereof one was lately in the keeping of Cardinall *Farneſe*, and is exquiſitely effigiated by *Villalpandus* in the latter end of

In Cratylo & Theætelo.

Lib. 3. c. 1.

Gellius out of *Plutarch. l. 1. c. 1* *Trallianus* out of *Apollonius de mirabilibus & longævis.*

of his third *tome* vpon the Prophet *Ezekiel*. Among the *Iewes* likewiſe the Law required that they ſhould not vſe to haue a *double weight* or *meaſure*, which could not well be avoided, except they had a *common meaſure* by which all particulars were to be regulated.

Secondly, this *ſtandard* of cubits or feete was taken from the proportion of a man, *mediæ* or *mediocris ſtaturæ*, of a middle ſtature, and conſidering that both the *Romane* and *Græcian* foote conſiſteth of twelue inches, and with all that a foote is the *ſixth part* of a mans body, it muſt needes follow that a man of a *middle ſtature* conſiſteth of ſix foote by the *ſtandard* or *aſſiſe*. But becauſe it was obſerved that in diverſe *Climates*, or it may be in the ſame *Climate*, in diverſe ages men varied in their ſtature, and conſequently that the *middle ſtature* was not alway and in all places the ſame; they meaſured the *digit*, which is the leaſt and laſt *principle of meaſures* in mans body, by *barley cornes*, allowing foure barley cornes layd athwart for the *digit*, as *Lucas Gauricus* a great and famous *Mathematician* in his booke of *Geometrie* & the parts thereof, hath truly and wiſely obſerved, *Nam etſi*, ſayth hee, *ab humanis membris dimenſionum partes denominari Veteres voluere: placuit tamen propter humanorum corporum inæqualitatem, à certo quodam principio exordiri, ex quo menſuræ reliquæ velut ex certis partibus conſtituerentur. Statuerunt ergo Geometræ granum hordei tranſverſum, id eſt, ſecundum latitudinem poſitum, menſurarum minimam.* Though the Ancients haue pleaſed to denominate the ſeverall parts of meaſures from the ſeverall parts of mans body; yet by reaſon of the inequality of mens bodies, they thought it reaſonable to take their riſe from ſome certaine and vnvariable beginning, from whence other meaſures might likewiſe be made vp of even and certaine parts. And to this purpoſe did the Geometricians make the barley corn layd athwart, or according to its breadth, the leaſt and firſt of all other meaſures. And that foure of theſe make vp a *digit*, appeares by theſe old verſes which I finde in the ſame Author,

Quatuor ex granis digitus componitur vnus
Eſt quater in palmo digitus, quater in pede palmus.

One foote foure palmes, one palme containes
Foure digits, and one digit foure graines.

Now that the *bar-ley corne*, the (Grownſell as it were, and ſimpleſt principle of Meaſures) or at leaſtwiſe the faireſt thereof which is vſed to that end, is the ſame with vs as with the *Ancients*, it cannot well be denyed, if the goodneſſe and fruitfullneſſe of the *Earth* be not decayed, as I haue ſufficiently proved in a former Chapter, as well by reaſon, as the teſtimony of *Columella* and other graue Writers. And beſides if we ſtill vſe the *Graines* of barley for the weight of gold and ſilver as the *Ancients* did; I ſee no reaſon why wee ſhould except againſt them in this caſe. Well then, foure graines now concurring to the making vp of a *digit*, as it did in former ages, it muſt of neceſſity follow that our *digit* is the ſame with theirs, and conſequently our *inch*, and *hand-breadth*, and *foote*, and *cubit*; from whence we collect that a body of ſixe foot height according to thoſe meaſures, being now accounted but a *middle ſtature*, as anciently it was, our account is ſtill the ſame, and out ſtature at leaſt-

Lib. 2. c. 9.

wiſe

wiſe for the generall the ſame, as among the *Ancients*. And except it were ſo, their rules of proportion in *Architecture*, in *lymming*, in *carving*, and the *ſtatuary Art* left vs by them could availe vs little. For howbeit from them wee might vnderſtand what proportion each part ſhould beare to other, yet can we not know what proportion the whole ſhould beare, vnleſſe their meaſures were the ſame with ours. But their workes in thoſe kindes yet remaining, ſhew that the meaſure which they allowed for an horſe or a man of juſt and eaven ſtature, are the ſame for proportion both with their owne rules and our ſtanding meaſures vſed at this day: And at this day do the beſt *Architects* obſerue *Vitruvius* his meaſures, finding them to agree with, or very little to diſagree from ours.

SECT. 2

That in particular the ordinary Hebrew, Grecian, and Roman meaſures were the ſame with ours, or very little different.

THoſe Nations which haue left vs any notable *Records* of their ſeverall ſorts of *meaſures*, are to my remembrance but three the *Hebrewes*, the *Grecians*, and the *Romanes*. For the firſt it is cleere that as they had ſome weights *ſacred* or of the *Sanctuary*, which were the bigger, and others of *ordinary* and common vſe, which were the leſſer: ſo were their meaſures; there was a *ſpeciall* Cubit which contained an handbreadth more thē the *vulgar*, (borrowed it ſeemes from the *Perſians* during the Captivity of *Babylon*) and an *ordinary*, which I take to be the ſame with, or very little differing from ours. And this in *holy* writ is tearmed the *Cubit of a man*, and the *meaſure of a man*, that is, of a man growne vp to ripe age and perfect ſtature. And both *Iunius* (as before I obſerved) in his Annotations on that of *Deuteronomy*, and *Ribera* in his Commentaries on the *Revelation*, ſeeme both of them to refer it to the *ordinary* meaſures which *Artificers* commonly vſe in taking their diſtances, and making their dimenſions. The *firſt meaſures* to my remembrance that we read of in the *ſacred* Oracle of *Scripture* are thoſe of the *Arke*, which S. *Auguſtine* lead by *Origen* held to be *Geometricall*, containing ſix common Cubits: but it is certaine, that caſting the bigneſſe of it by the *Vulgar Cubit* now in vſe, it was a veſſell of ſo ample & huge capacity, that it was fully ſufficient for the preſerving of all ſorts of creatures together with their food by *God* appointed to be reſerued in it. The *length* of it was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the *breadth*, namely fifty cubits, and the product by the *height* of thirty cubits, ſheweth the whole concavity to haue beene *foure hundred and fifty thouſand cubits*, large enough for ſtoage for *Noah* and his company, the beaſts, and birds, and their proviſion, and ſomewhat to ſpare, as *Buteo* hath learnedly demonſtrated.

Of *Solomons* Temple it is noted that it was ſixty cubits long, twenty *broade*, and thirty *high*, which *Ribera* likewiſe makes to be *vulgar* and vſuall cubits. And though the building may ſeeme to haue beene very ſcant

Ezech. 40. 5. & 43. 13.

Deut. 3. 11. Revel. 21. 17.

Gen. 6. 15. *Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 15. c. 27.*

1. Kings. 6. 2. *De fabrica templi. c. 5.*

ſcant after that proportion, yet if wee conſider that none might come within this ſpace but the *Prieſts* that then ſerued, and that both the *Altar* of *Holocauſts*, and the *Court of the Prieſts* who ſerued not, was without, it will ſeeme needleſſe to require a longer or larger roome for thoſe ſervices to which it was aſſigned; Yet ſince theſe cubits in the ſecond booke of *Chronicles*, are ſaid to be *ex primariâ menſurâ*, after the primary or chiefe meaſure, it ſhould ſeeme they were no *ordinary* cubits, but rather *ſacred*, which contained the common and *vulgar* cubit double, as may appeare by this, in that the pillars of braſſe *Iachin* and *Boaz* ſet vp before the porch of the *Temple* in the firſt of *Kings*, are ſaid to bee *eighteene Cubits high:* but in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *thirty fiue*, which together with the baſis being *one Cubit* high, make *thirty ſix*, double to eighteen, as a *ſhekell* of the *Sanctuary* was double to the *vulgar*: yet can it not be gathered that the *vulgar* exceeded ours, nay the pillars with their *Chapiters* & *baſis* being by this computation aboue *ſixtie foot* in heigth, it may well be conjectured, that their foot and Cubit either came *ſhort* of ours, or was at moſt but *equall* vnto it. And for *Solomons* owne houſe which was *one hundred* Cubits long, *fifty* broad, and *thirty* high, generally receiued it is, that they were of the *Common meaſure*. We read that ſome of the ſtones laid in the foundation of the houſe built for his wife *Pharaohs* daughter, were of *ten Cubits*, which allowing a foot and a halfe to the cubit, make vp *fifteene foot*, a very large proportion, euen by the length of the *vulgar* foot now in vſe: But thoſe in *Herods* Temple, *twenty fiue Cubits* long (as witneſſeth *Ioſephus* who ſaw it himſelfe) if the *cubit* by which he reckoned exceed our ordinary, were of a length altogether incredible. And for mine owne part, I know not how we ſhould compute either the height of *Goliah*, or the length of *Oggs* bed, and the like, but by the vulgar and ordinary cubit, now commonly in vſe amongſt vs, as moſt of the learned doe; and if in ſo doing they erre not, then are our meaſures, and conſequently our preſent ſtature vndoubtedly equall with, or at leaſtwiſe not much inferiour to theirs that liued in *Moſes* time, who as it may well be thought, borrowed this Art of meaſuring from the *Egyptians*, in whoſe learning he was ſo perfectly ſkilled.

cap. 3. v. 3.
cap. 7. v. 15.
cap. 3. 15.
1 King 7. 2.
v. 10.
Antiquit. l. 15. c. 3.

Now for the meaſure of the *Grecians*, howbeit *Caſaubon* in his commentaries vpon *Suetonius*, ſeeme to make the *Grecian* foot, as likewiſe that of other *Nations*, of leſſe extent then the *Roman*; yet *Georgius Agricola*, who ſtudied this point more thorowly, and hath of ſet purpoſe compoſed a large volume of the *Grecian* and *Roman weights* and *meaſures*, affirmes the *Grecian* to exceed the *Romane* by halfe an inch, & for proofe thereof doth he mention a pillar to be ſeene in the Chappell of the twelue *Apoſtels* in the *Vatican*, which ſeemed to him to haue beene brought out of *Greece*, with this inſcription graven in the higher part thereof, ΟΔΟΥΣ Θ, that is nine foot; and from the meaſure and proportion of this would he proue it to exceed the *Romane* by the quantity aforenamed, yet by his owne confeſſion *Marlianus* who hath written the *Topography* of *Rome*, & exactly deſcribed whatſoeuer therein was worth the obſerving, hath marked no ſuch difference: And for the *Cubit*, though

In Tyberio, p. 63.
Lib. de Menſuris, quibus intervalla metimur.

Lib. 1. though *Herodotus* in one place ſpeake of *Regius Cubitus*, that contained twenty ſeauen digits, which is three more then the ordinary; yet that their ordinary, either digit or cubit exceeded ours, I no-where finde it expreſſely obſerued. And for their *ſtature* it is preciſely noted by the *Lib. 1.* ſame Author, that *Phya* the wife of *Piſiſtratus* was held ſo tall, that ſhee was exhibited and applauded as another *Minerva*, and yet wanted ſhee three fingers of foure cubits. Neither adds he, *Cubitorum Regiorum*, of Regall cubits, as in the other paſſage, which makes me conceiue that he might rather meane the *vulgar*. And for the *Perſians*, from whom the *Lib. 7.* *Grecians* borrowed their *Regall Cubit*, he tels vs that one *Artaches* a principall Commander in *Xerxes* his army, was *ſtatura inter Perſas proceriſſima*, the talleſt among all the *Perſians*, and yet wanted he foure digits of the meaſure of fiue Regall Cubits, ſo that his height according to the vulgar Cubit was about *eight foote*: And I thinke at this day there are few Kingdomes, though much inferiour to that of *Perſia*, which cannot ſhew one at leaſt, not much inferiour to that proportion.

In the third and laſt place come the ancient *Romane* meaſures to bee compared with ours: neither haue I met with any who either affirme or ſo much as conjecture that they exceeded ours: but many that they rather come ſhort of them. S^r *Henry Savill* a ſevere and exact man in the ſearch of *Antiquity*, ſpeaking of the *quadrantall*, a meaſure of a *Cubicall Romane foote*, ſets this note in the margent, *The Romane foote leſſe then ours by halfe an inch*. In like manner *Agricola* cenſures *Budæus* for making vp the *Romane* quadrantall, by the meaſure of the *French* foote, whereas, ſaith he, it exceedes the *Romane duobus digitis*, by two fingers: and farther adds that the *ſtanding meaſure* of the ancient *Romane* foote is yet at this day to be ſeene cut in ſtone or marble in diverſe places of *Rome*; and namely in the gardens of *Angelo Colocci*: Some of theſe, it ſeemes, *Goropius Becanus* mette with & meaſured, & by his owne teſtimony, found them ſhort of foure of his palmes or *hand-breadths*; & yet, ſaith he, *ſtatura mea mediocritate brevior*, my ſelfe come ſhort of a middle ſtature. The mile we know was meaſured by the pace, and the pace by the foote, now that the *Romane* mile came ſhort of ours, appeares by the great ſtones ſet vp at every miles end in the *Appian* way; and the *Italian* mile in vſe at this day, taken, as it ſeemes, from the ancient *Romane*, is ſhorter then ours, neere about the ſame proportion, as is the *Romane* foote ſaid to be ſhorter then our foote. To bring it home then to our preſent purpoſe; It is by *Suetonius* reported of *Auguſtus*, that he was *Cap. 79.* indeede ſomewhat ſhort, neuertheles of a *comely ſtature*: which from the teſtimony of *Iulius Marathus*, he notes to haue beene *fiue foote* and *nine inches*, the juſt meaſure of our late famous Queene *Elizabeth*, who as ſhee matched that renowned Emperour in happines and duration of reigne, ſo did ſhee likewiſe in the ſtature of her body, nay if we admit the mentioned difference betwene the *Romane* foote and ours, ſhee exceeded him in heigth by more then *two inches*: And I ſee no reaſon why *Suetonius* ſhould tearme *Auguſtus* ſhort, comming ſo neere the middle ſtature, except only becauſe he came ſomewhat ſhort of that. *Cap. 19.* The ſame *Authour* writes that *Nero* leuied a new legion of *Italians* of

In his view of Military matters.

De reſtit. Pond. & Menſur.

Gigantomachia.

ſix

ſix foot-men, which he called the *Phalanx* of the *great Alexander*, by which it ſhould ſeeme that very few exceeded that ſtature. And of *Tiberius*, he obſerues that he was *ſtatura quæ juſtam excederet*, ſomewhat, as it ſeemes, aboue ſix foot. *Valentinian* and *Valens* gaue order that for the common ſouldier *fiue foote* and *ſeauen inches* ſhould ſuffice; And *Vegetius* witneſſeth of *Marius* the Conſull, that ſuch as were *ſix foote* high, or *fiue* & *ten inches* ſhould be ranked *inter Alares Equites vel in primis legionum cohortibus*, among the principall troupes that ſerued either on horſe-backe or on foote. From whence *Caſaubon* collecteth that ſuch as were *ſeauen foote* high were counted *Gyants*, & to that purpoſe vouch-eth he the authority of *Sidonius Apollinaris* who floriſhed about the yeare foure hundred and forty.

Cap. 68 Cod. The doſ. titule de Tyran. Lib. 1. c. 5.

In Suet Tyb. c. 68.

In Carmine ad Catulinum

--- Spernit ſenipedem ſtylum Thalia
Ex quo ſeptipedes vidit Patronos:
Six footed rimes *Thalia* doth defie
Ere ſince ſhe ſeaven foot *Patrons* did eſpie,

whom a little after hee tearmeth *Gyants:*

Tot tantique petunt ſimul Gigantes,
Quot vix Alcinoi culina ferret.
Gyants ſo many & ſo hugely maine,
As ſcarce *Alcinous* Kitchen can ſuſtaine.

By all which paſſages it clearely appeares, that our ordinary ſtature at this day, if it exceede not that of the *Ancient Romanes*, yet doth it equall it at leaſt.

Now before I conclude this *Reaſon* & *Section*, it ſhall not be amiſſe by the way to remember that *Nicephorus* makes the ſtature of *Chriſt* by tradition to haue beene, (if *Langus* render him right) *ad palmos prorſus ſeptem*, full ſeaven *hand-breadth*. Which length allowing foure hand-breadths to the foote, according to the vſuall account, wants one hand breadth of two foote; The ſtature of a dwarfe of the leaſt ſiſe: but if by *palmos* he meanes *ſpannes*, whereof about three make vp two foote, ſo likewiſe could he bee but *foure foote* & a *ſpanne* long, too ſhort a ſtature for a comely body, ſuch as wee may well and piouſly conceiue he had, and all ancient *Chriſtian* writers confeſſe; and *Lentulus* the *Proconſull* in that *Epiſtle* to the *Romane Senate*, which goes vnder his name, confirmes as much: And it ſhould ſeeme by that of the *Apoſtle*, *till wee come to a perfect man, vnto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fullnes of Chriſt*: that his ſtature was compleate and perfect, not exceſſiue in height, for then *Zaccheus* needed not to haue gone vp to a tree to haue ſeene him, nor yet very defectiue, that hauing beene apt to expoſe him to ſcorne & diriſion. And in likelihood we ſhould haue found it ſomewhere, by ſome one or other among ſo many and malitious *Adverſaries*, objected vnto him. It is true that none of the *Evangeliſts*, (moſt particular and preciſe in ſetting downe other Circumſtances) haue expreſſed any thing at all touching his *complexion*, or *feature*, or *ſtature:* Happily to this end, that no *picture* or *ſtatue* might be made of him, as well knowing how inclinable by nature wee are to turne the very reſemblances & memorialls of thoſe, whom wee moſt honour and reuerence into *I-*

Lib. 1. c. 40.

Ephes. 4. 13.

dolls. Another thing which I would note is this, that when I call *six foote a middle ſtature*, my meaning is not, that there are as many found to be aboue it, as below it (which is the vulgar vnderſtanding of that word) but becauſe it is, and ever hath beene held by the Learned, the moſt competent and comely ſtature; ſo as he who is vnder that, is ſomewhat too ſhort, and he who is aboue it, ſomewhat too tall in regard of the moſt even, juſt, and exact proportion. It was ſo held among the *Romans*, as appeares by *Vitruvius*, and by the *Commentatours* on *Suetonius* in the life of *Tiberius:* And yet their ranking of *ſix foote men* among their *principall troupes*, and *Nero* his making vp a legion of them levied from all the parts of *Italy*, which in a kinde of pride and glory he named the *Phalanx* of *Alexander* the *great*, ſhew that then very few exceeded that *ſtature:* And yet, (which may not be forgotten) was their foote ſhort of ours *three inches* in the meaſure of *ſix feete*. And ſurely, now among vs to raiſe a *Legion* of *fiue foote* and *nine inches* in any of his *Majeſties kingdomes*, or perchance in ſome one of our *ſheires*, would proue, I dare ſay, no very hard taske, or ſuch as we ſhould hold a matter worth the glorying in.

Cap. 68.

SECT. 3.

The ſecond reaſon taken from the ordinary allowance of diet to ſouldiers and ſervants, which appeares to be of like quantity with vs, as was that among the Ancient Grecians and Romans, together with a doubt touching Gods allowance to the Iſraelites, *anſwered.*

BVt I paſſe from this *firſt Reaſon* drawne from the compariſon of ancient and moderne *Meaſures*, to a ſecond no leſſe weighty and preſſing in my judgement, borrowed from the *allowance of diet*, taking this for my ground, that *cæteris paribus*, men for the moſt part feed according to the proportion of their bodies; and withall, that their *publike allowance* was made according to their *cuſtomary feeding*. To *Hercules*, being a man ſuppoſed of a mighty ſtature, is allowed by *Homer* an *oxe* at a meale when he was hungry. Of *Maximinus* the Emperour aboue named, *Capitolinus* reports, that he often ate in a day *forty pound weight of fleſh*, and ſometimes *ſixty*, as he addeth out of *Cordus*. *Athenæus* alleadges *Theodorus Hieropolis* in his bookes of the *games* of *Greece*, that the ordinary fare of *Milo* the *Crotonian*, was *twenty pound of fleſh*, and *three Congij*, or *ſix gallons* of wine. In the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and eleven, the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt, being at *Auſburge* at an aſſembly of the States of *Germany*; there was preſented him a man of an vnreaſonable height and greatnes, who at a few mouth-fulls and without any ſtay, would devour a *whole ſheepe*, or a *calfe*, not caring whether it were roſt or raw, ſaying that it did but ſharpen his appetite. *Children* for the moſt part are not allowed the like quantity as men of riper yeares, though they be growing; nor among men, *dwarfes* the like as *Gyants*: And it ſtands with great reaſon, that the *portion* of diet appointed for the nouriſhing of the body, ſhould in ſome ſort be anſwerable to

Surius in his Commentaries of the memorable things of our times.

to the *proportion* of the body nouriſhed. If then it ſhall appeare that the daily bread allowed by the *Ancients* to their *ſervants* & *ſouldiers*, was no more then is by vs allowed at this day to ours, it will, as I take it, from thence be more then probablely inferred, that the common ſtature & ſtrength of our bodies, is not ſo much inferiour to theirs, as is commonly ſuppoſed,

The ordinary allowance in corne among the *Græcians*, was the meaſure of a *Chœnix* a day, as witneſſeth *Suidas*; & from hence, as it ſeemes, was borrowed that *Motto* of *Pythagoras*, remembred by *Plutarch*, *ſuper Chœnicem ne ſedeas*: ſit not vpon a *Chenix*, that is, hauing gotten foode for a day, doe not grow ſecure, as if that would neuer be ſpent. And *Athenæus* tells vs, that *Clearchus* a great Coyner of new words, was wont vpon this occaſion to call a *Chœnix Hemerotrophidem* ſuſtenance for a day. At leaſt-wiſe in the Campe it was ſo, if wee credit *Herodotus* in his *Polymnia*, where he victualleth the common ſouldier in *Xerxes* army at a *Chœnix* a day: The quantity of which allowance wee ſhall finde anon very neere to agree both with the *Romane*, & that which is in vſe at this day. The meaſure then to a *Romane* foot-man for a moneth, ſaith *Polybius*, was two thirds of a *Medimnus* of wheate, which made vp foure *Modij*, the whole *Medimnus* by a generall conſent of all the beſt *Authours* containing *ſix Modij* in all. With which rate of *Polybius* preciſely agreeth *Donate* vpon *Terence*, where he limiteth *dimenſum ſerui*, (in the *Goſpell* called, *a ſervants portion of meate*) to bee *foure Modij* the moneth; the ſame portion which both *Cato* & *Columella* allow for *countrey Hindes*. Now that it may appeare what this allowance was according to our meaſures, wee are to know that the *Romane Modius*, howbeit it be vſually in our language rendred a *Buſhell*, & be ſo commōly conſtrued in *Schooles*; yet it is about a *pinte leſſe then a pecke*, as is rightly obſerved, not only by Sr *Henry Savill* in his *view* of *military matters*, but by our *laſt Tranſlatours* of the *Bible*, who though they haue ſet *buſhell* in the *Text*, yet in the *Margin* haue they affixed this note, *The word in the originall ſignifieth a meaſure containing about a pinte leſſe then a pecke.*

Sympoſ. 7 prob. 4.

Lib. 3.

In Phormione.

Luc. 12. 42. So Ianſenius & Beza expound it.

Mat. 5. 15. Mar. 4. 21.

Firſt then to compare the *Grecian* and the *Romane* allowance. The *Medimnus* containing forty eight *Chœnices*, as witneſſeth *Budæus* out of *Pollux*; and ſix *Modij*, as *Tully*, & *Suidas*, & *Nepos*, and others; the *Romane* being allowed *foure Modij* by the *Moneth*, and the *Grecian* a *Chœnix* by the *day*, their allowances were equall, or not much different, ſaue that the Romane ſeemes to be ſomewhat larger: *foure Modij* containing after that reckoning *thirty two Chœnices*, which amongſt them was a *moneths allowance*. With which if we compare our owne *meaſures*, it will *weekely* amount to a *pinte leſſe then apecke*, & allowing *two gallons* to the *pecke*, it will ariſe to about a *quart* by the *day*, which is but a competent allowance for a ſouldier or labour-man (liuing moſt vpon *bread*) at this day; as *Budæus* by conference with his *Baker*, hath fully cleared the point. And here it may not be forgotten that our *laſt Tranſlatours* (to cleare the whole buſineſſe more fully) in their *marginall* notes on the ſixth of the *Revelation*, at the ſixth verſe, giue vs to vnderſtand, that the word *Chœnix* there vſed *ſignifieth a meaſure containing one wine quart, and*

Lib. 5. de Aſſe.

Lib. 5. de Aſſe.

the twelfth part of a quart: Now I am not ignorãt that the *Gomer* of *Manna*, being the daily allowance of the *Iewes* during their abode in the wildernes, by *Gods* owne appointment, is by *Rabanus* valued at thee *Chœnices*, and by *Iunius two* and *an halfe*, bating *one fifth*. But I ſhould rather aſcribe ſo large an allowance to *Gods ſpeciall bounty*, then to their *neceſsity*; and ſo much hath *Iunius* himſelfe in his Annotations vpon that place confeſſed: *inde colligitur, quàm largiter Deus Iſraelitas aluerit tam longo tempore*: We may from thence collect, how bountifully God dealt with the *Iſraelites*, making them ſo large an allowance for ſo long a time. And this marveilous great plenty, in likelihood was it that gaue them occaſion to diſtaſte it, to grow weary of it, and caſt out thoſe murmuring ſpeaches againſt *God* and *Moſes* his ſervant & their leader, *Animam noſtram tædet hujus panis viliſsimi*, our ſoule loatheth this light bread; & to fall a longing after the cucumbers and leekes, the onions and garlicke of *Egypt:* Though the *Manna*, aſwell in regard of the delicacie thereof, as the raining of it downe from heaven, be, by the *Pſalmiſt* tearmed, *Angels foode*; and in the booke of *Wiſedome* be commended for having in it a *certaine contentfull delight agreable to every mans taſte*. It is likewiſe true that the *Romane* allowance to a *horſe-man* by the teſtimony of *Polybius*, ſeemed to be larger then that of the *foote-man*, there being alotted him monethly *ſeaven Medimni* of oates or barley for his horſe, and two of wheat for himſelfe: But it may very well be, as *Lypſius* conjectureth, that he had a ſpare horſe and an attendant or two allowed him, and then his two *Medimni* for himſelfe, and his two ſervants agrees juſtly with the *two thirds* of a *Medimnus* to a *foote-man*.

Num. 21. 5.

Cap. 11. 5.

Pſal. 78. 25.

Cap. 16. 20.

Lib. 6.

De militia Romana. l. 3. c. 16.

SECT. 4.

Diverſe other reaſons drawne from experience added, as from the armour, the bed-ſteeds, the ſeats, the doores, the pulpits, the Altars of the Ancients, and other doubts cleered.

TO proceede, that which ſeemes to make the matter more *evident*, becauſe it ſtrikes more vpon the *ſenſe*, is the view of the *rooſes*, the *doores*, the *tables*, the *ſeates*, the *robes*, the *bed-ſteeds*, the *weapons*, the *armour*, the *pulpits*, the *Altars*, the *tombes* of the *Ancients*, yet remayning to be ſeene; all which argue, that they were of the ſame *ſtature*, or very little differing from vs. *Ariſtotle* in his *Mechanickes* giues vs to vnderſtand, that the *bed-ſteeds* in his time, did not commonly exceede *ſix foote*: Nay *Magius* himſelfe, who hath written a large diſcourſe in defence of the contrary and common opinion; yet at laſt confeſſeth, that taking an exact meaſure of the *Tombes* at *Piſa*, and other cities in *Italy*, though ſome of them were made a thouſand yeares ſince, ſome more; yet found he them in dimenſions *parum aut nihil*, little or nothing differing from thoſe of our times, and withall ingenuouſly acknowledgeth, that being at *Piſaurum* in the Duke of *Vrbines* armory, hee there ſaw certaine braſſe *helmets*, digged vp in the fields neere *Metaurum*, where *Aſdrubball* was overthrowne by the *Romane* forces, and were verily

Quæſt. 26.

Miſcellan. c. 4.

rily thought to haue layne there ſince that time: *Quæ tamen ab ijs quas modo milites noſtri geſtare ſolent ad magnitudinem quod attinet, non diſcrepabant*: which notwithſtanding, ſaith hee, in regard of bigneſſe differed not from thoſe which our ſouldiers now adayes vſually weare. My ſelfe lately viewing a tombe in the Abbey Church at *Malmſburie*, ſayd to be king *Athelſtanes*, found it to be neere of the ſame dimenſions as ours vſually are at this day: and looking into the common charnell of the monaſterie of *Glaſtenburie* amongſt a world of bones and ſkulls, I obſerued none of any notable magnitude beyond thoſe of the preſent times. The *Mummes* which haue bin preſerued in *Egypt*, ſome of them aboue three thouſand yeares make no ſhew of any length or greatnes aboue the bodies of our age. Mr *Sandys* reports that in ſearching the inſide of the greateſt *Ægyptian* pyramis, they found the entryes and paſſages thereof ſo low and narrow, as they were often forced to ſtoope and ſometimes to creepe on all foure, and with him herein both *Bellonius* and *Villamont* (as hauing beene eye-witneſſes thereof) fully agree? & farther, he tells vs, that entring into a faire large roome, all of *Thæban* marble and of admirable architecture, at the vpper end thereof, they found ſtanding a tombe, breaſt high, ſeauen feete in length, not foure in breadth, in which, no doubt (ſayth hee) lay the bodie of the founder, ſuppoſed to bee *Cheops*, and yet the dimenſions of our tombes now adayes are not vnanſwerable therevnto.

Two of theſe are to be ſeene in the Anatomy Scoole at *Leyden*.

I know that the ſword of *Edward* the third, the armour of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, the tilting ſtaffe of *Charles Brandon*, the walking ſtaues & riding ſtaues of *Henry* the *eight* ſhewed in the *Tower* and other places, farre exceedthe ordinary of our times: but perchance ſome of them like *Sineſius Grandio* in *Seneca* delighted in great things, or I ſhould thinke that ſometimes they were rather for *ſhew* then for *vſe*; as the great *Alexander* (by the teſtimonie of *Curtius*) is ſaid to haue left behinde him in the *Indies* armour of an huge bigneſſe, rather for terror and admiration then any thing elſe. And for the reſt, it only argues the ſtrength & ſtature of thoſe that vſed them, not for others who liued in the ſame age with them: Nay if we compare the common armour of the age wherein *Iohn* of *Gaunt* liued, or the moſt ancient in the *Tower* or otherwhere, with that which is now in vſe, we ſhall finde no ſuch ſenſible difference as ſhould argue a *decay* in ſtature. Indeede their *arrowes* generally exceeded ours both in bigneſſe and length; but this I ſhould rather impute to their continuall practiſe in ſhooting from their infancie, then to their ſtrength and ſtature. The truth whereof appeares by this, that ſo long as that practiſe was continued, (which was till the invention and ordinary vſe of *Gunnes*) ſo long the like dimenſions of their ſhafts were likewiſe continued without any diminution, as may be ſeene by comparing the arrowes commonly vſed in *Henry* the ſeaventh & *Henry* the eights time, with thoſe in vſe many yeares before, few of which are full a yard by meaſure; yet my Lord of S. *Albans* witneſſeth, that the rebellious *Corniſh* in the reigne of King *Henry* the ſeaventh, not much aboue one hundred yeares agoe, ſhotte an arrow of a full *Cloth-yard long*.

Exod. 27. 1. The doubt which may be made touching the *Altar* of the *Tabernacle* ſeemes to be of greater conſequence, which by Gods appointment was to be *three cubits high*, that is, *foure foote* and *an halfe*, whereas thoſe of latter times are not aboue *three foote* or *three* & *an halfe* at moſt; which ſeemes to inferre the difference in ſucceeding ages of the ſtature of thoſe that were to ſerue at the *Altar:* But I would demaund whether the Cubit, *Moſes* there ſpeakes of, were according to the ordinary ſtature of men then liuing, if ſo, then a man rightly proportioned being at moſt but *foure of his owne Cubits*, there was left but *one cubit* for the Prieſt aboue the Altar, which was much too little for him to miniſter with
2. Chron. 4. 1. eaſe: And what then ſhall wee ſay to *Salomons Altar*, which was *ten cubits* high, ſurely it muſt in reaſon ſo be vnderſtood, that the height bee accounted from the loweſt floore of the *temple* or *tabernacle* where the people ſtood; but the *Prieſt* went vp by certaine ſlope degrees, certaine eaſy aſcents to the *Altar*, ſo that the height of thoſe aſcents from the floore togetherwith the Altar it ſelfe made vp the full meaſure there
Exod. 20. 26. ſpoken of. It will be replied that it was expreſſely forbidden to goe vp by *ſteps* to the *Altar:* True indeede, but the reaſon is there added, *that thy nakednes be not diſcovered thereon*, ſo as ſuch degrees of aſcent as occaſioned not any danger or doubt of diſcouering his nakedneſſe, who miniſtred at the *Altar*, ſeeme there not to be forbidden; which is the interpretation both of *Iunius* & *Abulenſis:* allowing then an *Altar* of three foote & a halfe high, & ariſing to it frō the lower floore of a foot high; the height of the altar from the lower floore will be foure foot and an halfe, or *three cubits*, which is the meaſure required in the *Leviticall* Law, & differs little in height from the *Altars* in forraine parts, or thoſe which are yet ſtanding with vs, if we likewiſe take their height from the lower floore, which by reaſon of the continued and eaſie degrees of aſcent to them may not vnfitly be counted their *baſis* or foote. And moſt certaine it is, that the *Altars* which amongſt *Chriſtians* were built for fiue or ſix hundred yeares ſince, & yet remaine, whereof there are in *France*, & *Spaine*, & *Italy* not a few to be ſeene; ſerue as commodiouſly for the ſtature of the men of this preſent age, as they did of thoſe, in whoſe times they were built: whereas, were there ſuch a decay as is ſuppoſed, we now liuing ſhould hardly reach their tops, much leſſe bee able to ſerue at them with any tolerable conveniencie.

SECT. 5.

The ſame farther proued, firſt for that the ſonne often proues taller then the father. Secondly, for that age and ſtature holding for the moſt part correſpondence, it being already proued that the age of mankinde is not decreaſed, from thence it followes that neither is their ſtature. Thirdly, for that if mankinde decreaſed in ſtature by the courſe of nature, ſo muſt of neceſſity all other creatures, they being all alike ſubject to the ſame law of nature. Fourthly, for that if men had ſtill declined ſince the Creation, by this time they would haue beene no bigger then rats or mice if they had at all beene.

BEſides were there ſuch a generall and continuall decay of men in ſtature as is ſuppoſed, either the Childe would alwayes come ſhort of

of the Parents in ſtature, or very ſeldome would it fall out otherwiſe, whereas now wee finde it by daily experience that the ſonne very often not only equalls but exceedes the father, and the daughter the mother. *Nicephorus Caliſtus* in the twelfth booke of his *Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory*, tellsvs of one whom himſelfe ſaw, of ſuch an exceſſiue height, that he was held for a *monſter*; *Quem tamen brevis admodum ſtaturæ mulier in lucem protulit*, ſaith he, whom notwithſtanding a woman of a very ſhort ſtature brought forth. In like manner *S. Auguſtine* reports of a woman, who in his time, a little before the ſacking of *Rome* by the *Gothes*, came thither with her Father and Mother, ſhe was, ſaith he, of a *Gyant-like* ſtature far beyond all that ſaw her, though infinite troupes came to behold that ſpectacle, *et hoc erat maximæ admirationis*, this was matter of greateſt amazement, that both her *Parents* were but of *ordinary ſtature*. I haue ſeene, ſaith *Marcellus Donatus*, a learned Phyſitian, a young maiden of a *Gyant-like* ſtature whom they carried from towne to towne to ſhew her as a prodigious thing, for the ſight of whom euery man gaue ſome thing, wherewith her mother that conducted her, and herſelfe were maintained. She was in an hired Chamber by herſelfe, and there ſuffered herſelfe to be ſeene with admiration; going as others did; I enquired carefully of euery point, and did learne both from herſelfe and her mother, who was a woman of meane ſtature, that the maidens father was not tall, that in all their ſtocke there was not any one that exceeded the height of other perſons. It is likewiſe reported in the Hiſtory of the *Netherlands*, that in the yeare 1323, was to be ſeene in *Holland* a woman *Gyanteſſe*, to whom the talleſt men ſeemed children, yet her parents of meane ſtature. So then, if *Gyants* be ſometime borne or begotten of ſuch parents, no marvell that the ſonne as often proues taller then the father, as he comes ſhort of him. But it commonly fals out in this kinde, though not in that extremity, as with the *Samogitheans*, a people lying betwixt *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, of whom *Scaliger* writes, that *per vices tum proceros, tum penè nanos generant*, by turnes they bring forth Gyants and Dwarfes, like ſome trees, ſaith he, which beare very plentifully one yeare, and are the next altogether barren: Nature ſo diſpoſing that what was deficient in the *Dwarfe*, is abundantly repayed in the *Gyant*.

Cap. 37.

De Civit. Dei. lib. 15. *c.* 25.

Lib. 3. *c.* 14.

Exercit. 263.

Againe, there is for the moſt part a mutuall connexion betweene *age* and *ſtature*, (whence it may be in the *Greeke*, the ſame word ſignifieth both) ſo as that race of men which is talleſt and ſtrongeſt, commonly hold out longeſt; vpon which ground, as it ſeemes, they who invented the fable of the *Pigmies*, withall affirmed, that their women vſually brought forth at five yeares, and died at eight: But certaine it is, that in thoſe barbarous countreyes which are not weakened by luxury, as they much exceed vs in duration, ſo doe they likewiſe in dimenſions, both which haue beene fully ſhewed by ſundry examples already alleadged; and generally we ſee, that in the ſeverall kinds of *beaſts*, of *birds*, of *fiſhes*, of *trees*, of *plants*, the bigger they are in quantity, the longer they laſt, & the leſſer they are, the ſhorter ſpace they continue: Since then it hath beene, as I take it, ſufficiently proued in the precedent chapters, that the age of men is not ſo ſenſibly impaired in regard of former times, as is commonly

commonly conceived, it will from thence conſequently follow, that neither is the ſtature of man, at leaſt-wiſe by any defect in the *courſe of Nature*, ſo manifeſtly abated, as is imagined.

I ſay, by any defect in the *Courſe of Nature*, for then doubtleſſe, all other *naturall bodies* ſhould ſuffer the like defect, even the *Elements* and the *Heavens* themſelues, all which, (if I flatter not my ſelfe too much) I haue in my former diſcourſe clearely freed from any ſuch *vniverſall* and *perpetuall declination*. And in truth, reaſon it ſelfe will eaſily teach vs, that if men were generally in former ages taller and larger then now they are, ſo muſt the *horſe* too vpon which they rode; and if *horſes*, other kindes of *beaſts* too; and if *beaſts*, *birds* too; and if *birds*, *fiſhes* too; and if all theſe, *trees* too; there being no warrantable reaſon, as I conceiue, to be yeelded, why among other kindes of Creatures, (which wanting reaſon, are guided meerely by inſtinct of Nature) ſome ſhould ſtand at a ſtay, contayning their ancient perfection, and others in tract of time decay by degrees. Indeede *Man* among them all by meanes of the abuſe of his Reaſon and free choyce, (which was given him to helpe him, and not to hurt him, had he the grace to make vſe of it) is moſt ſubject to variation, and ſo to declination: yet as all men doe not alwayes abuſe their Reaſon, at leaſtwiſe in a greater degree then their Predeceſſours, (as ſhall, God aſſiſting mee, be hereafter made good) ſo doe they not alwayes decline in *ſtrength* and *ſtature*, for then ſhould they by this time ſcarcely haue exceeded the quantity of Rats or Mice; or at moſt haue but equalled that Dwarfe, of whom *Nicephorus* reports, (how truly I cannot ſay) that he had the ſhape, the voice and reaſon of a man, yet was in body no bigger then a Partridge; or that other mentioned by *Sabinus* in his Commentaries vpon the *Metamorphoſis*: *Vidit Italia nuper virum juſta ætate, non majorem cubito circumferri in cavea pſittaci, cujus viri meminit in ſuis ſcriptis Hieronymus Cardanus*. There was lately to be ſeene in *Italy* a man of a ripe age not aboue a cubit high, carried about in a Parrets cage, of whom *Hierome Cardan* in his writings makes mention: But me thinkes it being the forme which giues bounds to the matter (of it ſelfe vnlimited and boundleſſe) and the forme of man being ſtill for eſſence and naturall functions the ſame which was from the beginning, the bounds of his quantity cannot vary in any great or notorious difference, but through ſome exorbitancie and aberration in nature, which as they haue beene in all ages, ſo haue monſters too, not only in figure and ſhape, but alſo both in exceſſe and defect.

Lib. 12, *c.* 37.

Lib. 6, *Tab* 19.

CHAP. 5.

CHAP. 5.

Wherein the principall objections drawne as well from Reaſon as from authority and experience are fully anſwered.

SECT. 1.

Of ſundry fabulous narrations of the bones of Gyanlike bodies digged vp, or found in Caues.

THe *Truth* being thus ſettled, it remaines that wee now diſpell thoſe miſts and cloudes with which the brightnes of it is ſometimes ouercaſt: whereof the chiefe is, the *huge bodies* and *bones* that at ſundry times haue beene digged vp, and yet are kept in many places as monuments of *Antiquity* to be ſeene. Such are they which are ſhewen at *Puteoli* or *Putzole* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, vpon which *Pomponius Lætus* hath beſtowed verſes, which he thus concludes,

Hinc bona poſteritas immania corpora ſervat,
Et tales mundo teſtificatur avos.

Their huge corpes good poſterity keepes here,
To witneſſe to the World that once ſuch were.

The like haue I ſeene at *Wormes* in *Germany* and other Citties ſtanding vpon the *Rheine* hung vp in Chaines, or laid vp in Megazines and other publique places; but ſaith *Philippus Camerarius*, I haue heard many diſpute and make doubt whether they were the *bones* of *men*; or of *fiſhes*. Infinite are the ſtories which to this purpoſe are recorded, it would require a *juſt volume* to collect them into one body, and in truth it ſhall not neede, inaſmuch as Ifinde it already done by the ſame *Camerarius*; by *Caſſanion* in his booke of *Gyants*; and *Fazelus* in his firſt booke and firſt *Decade* of the affaires of *Sicily*; as alſo by our *Hollenſhed* in the fourth chap. of his firſt volume; but with this *Caution*; *For my part*, ſaith he, *I will touch rare things, and ſuch as to my ſelfe doe ſeeme almoſt incredible*; wherefore I will only point at a few of the moſt memorable, leſt on the one ſide I ſhould ſeeme purpoſely to baulke that rubbe which is commonly thought moſt of all to thwart my way, or on the other ſide ſhould cloy the *Reader* with too many *vnſavory tales*.

Meditat. hiſtor. c. 82. ſive l. 3. c. 2.

Caſſ. in c. 11.

Fazelus c. 6.

It is reported by *Plutarch* out of *Gabinius*, (which I confeſſe, I ſomewhat marvell at in ſo *graue* an *Authour*) that *Sertorius* being in *Lybia* neere the ſtreights of *Morocco*, found the body of *Antæus* there buried, *ſixty cubits*, to which *Fazelus* adds *ten* more, and makes it vp *ſeaventy*: But *Strabo* in the ſeaventeenth of his *Geography*, mentioning the ſame things, layes this cenſure vpon *Gabinius* the *Authour* of it: *Sed nec Gabinius Romanorum rerum Scriptor in deſcribenda Mauritania fabulis prodigioſis abſtinet:* neither doth *Gabinius* in his deſcription of *Mauritania* abſtaine from the relation of *monſtrous fables:* In the fourteenth yeare of *Henry* the ſecond Emperour was the body of *Pallas*, (as 'twas thought,) companion to *Æneas*, taken vp at *Rome*, and found in height to equall the

In vita Sertorii.

Fulgoſius. l. 1. c. 6.

De doctrina promiscua. c. 36. the *walles* of that *citie*: But as *Galeotus Martius* hath well obserued, his body was said to haue beene burned,

Virgil. Aen. 11.

Arsuraſque comas obnubit amictu.

The locks that shortly should consume in fire,
He couered with his Robe.

Which I suppose to be likewise true of many of those bodies, which notwithstanding are reported to haue beene found intire for their proportions long after their deaths, though turned into ashes many yeares before: It being the custome of those countries to *burne*, as it is ours to *burie* our dead. Our *Malmesburiensis* likewise in his second booke & thirteenth chapter *de gestis Regum Anglorum* mentioneth the same, *story* shall I call it, or *fable*, telling vs that in the yeare of *grace* 1042, & in the reigne of S. *Edward*, the body of *Pallans* the sonne of *Euander*, of whom *Virgill* speakes, *Romæ repertum est illibatum ingenti stupore omnium quod tot sæcula incorruptionem sui superavit*, was found at Rome intire and sound, to the great astonishment of all men, that by the space of so many ages it had triumphed ouer corruption; and farther to confirme the truth thereof, he assures vs that the gaping wideness of the wound which *Turnus* made in the midst of his breast, was found by measure to be *foure foote & an halfe*, a large wound, and the weapon which made it, we cannot but conceiue as large; and by the apperance of it at full, not only the bones and skinne and sinewes, but the *flesh* to remaine *incorrupt*; a matter altogether incredible. Besides he sets vs downe his Epitaph found at the same time,

Filius Evandri Pallans quem lancea Turni
Militis occîdit more suo jacet hic.

Which himselfe knowes not well how to giue credit too, *quod non tunc crediderim factum*, (saith he) which I cannot beleeue was then made, but by *Ennius*, or some other of latter ages: But I proceede.

Lib. 3. c. 10. *Herodotus* in his first booke tels vs, that the body of *Orestes* being taken vp, was found to be *seauen cubits*; but *Gellius* is bold to bestow vpon him for his labour the title of *Homo Fabulator*, a forger of fables, rather inclining to the opinion of *Varro*, who held the *vtmost period* of mans growth to be *seauen foote*. What would he then haue said to the body of *Oryon*, which *Pliny* makes *forty six cubits*, or of *Macrosyris* which *Trallianus* makes an *hundred cubits*, or of that body discouered in a vast caue neere *Drepanum* in *Sicilie*, three of whose teeth, if wee may beleeue *Boccace*, weighed an *hundred ounces*, and the lead of his staffe, a *thousand and fiue hundred pounds*. And the body it selfe by proportion of some of the bones was estimated to no lesse then *two hundred cubits*, which make *three hundred feete*, somwhat I thinke beyond Pauls steeple. The more I wonder at S. *Augustine*, who confidently assures vs, that himselfe with others being on the sea shore at *Vtica*, he there saw a mans jaw-tooth so bigge, that being cut into small peeces, it would haue made an *hundred* such as the men liuing in his age commonly had, by which computation the body it selfe must likewise in reason haue exceeded the bodies of his age an *hundred* times; Yet *Ralph* the Monke of *Cogshall*, who wrote 350 yeares agoe (as witnesseth

Lib. 7. c. 16. De Mirabilibus & longævis. De Genealog. Deorum, l. 4. Cap. 68.

De Civit. Dei Lib. 15 c. 9.

Camden

Camden) it may be in imitation of S. *Auguſtine*, averres; that himſelfe ſaw the like, which in a Monke is I confeſſe more tollerable then that which *Lodovicus Vives*, deſervedly reputed a graue and learned Authour, vpon that paſſage of S. *Auguſtines* affirmes, that going to the *Church* on Saint *Chriſtophers* day (the place hee names not, but it ſeemes to be *Lovaine*, becauſe from thence he dates his Epiſtle dedicatory to King *Henry* the eight: He was there ſhewed a *tooth*, belonging as it was thought to that S^t, bigger then a mans fiſt, the patterne whereof belike was taken from that huge *Coloſſus* made to repreſent him at the entrance of *Noſtre-dame* in *Paris*, more like a mountaine then a man; whereas notwithſtanding *Baronius* profeſſeth in plaine tearmes, *ſe non habere quid dicat de Gigantea ſtatura qua pingi conſuevit*, that hee knowes not what to ſay to that *Gyantlike* ſtature, in which they commonly ſet him forth: But *Villavincentius* goes farther, *dubium nemini eſſe picturam hanc à ſanctis Patribus in hunc vſum propriè excogitatam, vt Evangelij præconem adumbret*, that no man neede doubt but that picture was deviſed of holy men to ſhadow forth the preacher of the *Goſpell*, who whiles he lifts vp Chriſt by his preaching and carries him about to be ſeene and knowne, is indangered in the waues of this world, and yet vpheld by the ſtaffe of hope. The like tooth is to be ſeene in the *Netherlands*, pretended to belong to the *Gyants* of *Antwerpe*, but *Goropius Becanus* rather thinkes it to be the tooth of an *Elephant*, whoſe conjecture is there the more probable, for that, (as witneſſeth *Verſtegan*) at ſuch time as the famous water paſſage was digged from *Bruſſells* vnto the river of *Rupell* at *Willibrooke*, there were found the bones of an *Elephant*, the head whereof, (which is yet reſerued) himſelfe had ſeene. Of latter times it hath beene written, and by ſome ſtrongly averred, that the body of *William* the *Conquerour* was found vncorrupt more then foure hundred yeares after it was buried, and in length *eight foote*, the former of which could not well be, ſince his tombe being too narrow for the vnbowelled body, (ſo ſay our ſtories) it brake in the laying of it downe; and for the latter there is as little ſhew, ſince they who haue written his life all agree, that hee was a man of a *meane* or *middle ſtature*, though for his limmes *actiue* and *ſtrong*: And for a full confutation of the ſaid *fable*, (ſayth *Stow*) when his reſtleſſe bones, which ſo hardly had obtained intombing, did afterwards as vnluckily againe loſe it in the yeare of *Chriſt* 1562, *viz*: when *Chaſtillion* conducting the remnant of thoſe that eſcaped at the battell of *Dreux*, tooke the *cittie* of *Cane*, certaine ſavage ſouldiers aſwell *Engliſh* as others, did beat downe & vtterly deface the noble *Monument* of that *victorious King*, pulling out all his bones, which ſome of them ſpitefully threw away, (when they could not finde the treaſure they falſely ſurmiſed had beene laid vp there) and others, ſpecially the *Engliſh*, ſnatched every one to haue ſome piece of them, not making any wonder of them, as they would haue done if they had exceeded the length and bigneſſe of mens bodies of latter yeares, whereas indeede there was no ſuch thing noted in them, as I haue beene certainely informed, (ſaid the ſame *Authour*) by *Engliſh men* of good credit, who were then preſent eye-witneſſes at the ſpoyle of that *Monu-*

Camden in Eſſex.

Not. in Martyrol. Iul. 25.

De ratione concionandi lib. 3. c. 7. ex Hyperio

Gygantomachia cap 4.

Hollenſhed, vol. 1. lib. 1. c 4.

Toward the latter end of his life.

ment and bones,and brought ſome part of them into this *Realme.Thevet* likewiſe in the ſecond Tome of his *Coſmographie*, deſcribing the Citty of *Cane*, mentioneth the rifling of his Monument,but of any ſuch monſtrous bones or body there found,hee ſpeakes not a word. And beſides it is moſt vnreaſonable to conceiue, that within the compaſſe of fiue hundred yeares or little more, there ſhould be ſuch a wonderfull abatement;neither in truth if our meaſures be the ſame as then they were,is it at all poſſible.

Lib.15.cap.10.

Others with ſome more ſhew of truth, haue made the bones of king *Arthur* found at *Glaſtenburie* vpon a ſearch, at the command of King *Henry* the ſecond,to haue beene of an exceſſiue bigneſſe: yet Mr *Camden* who reports the ſtory at large out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* (an eye-witneſſe thereof) remembers no ſuch matter.

In Somerſetſhire.

SECT. 2.

Diverſe reaſons alleaged why ſuch bones might be found in former ages and not now,and yet the ordinary ſtature of mankinde remaine the ſame.

NOtwithſtanding all this, I am not ſo incredulous and diffident, or ſo peremptory & daring in this caſe,as is *Becanus*, *Non credam illud Orionis apud Plynium, licet Lucius Flaccus & Metellus qui viſum iviſſe dicuntur per capita ſua jurarent:* I will not credit that ſtory of *Orion* reported by *Pliny*, though *Flaccus* and *Metellus* who are ſayd to haue gone to ſee it,ſhould ſweare by their heads it was true. Let vs not wrong *Antiquity* ſo farre,but deale with them as wee deſire our *poſterity* ſhould with vs: Let vs not conceiue they were all either ſo *vaine* as to affirme they ſaw that which they ſaw not, or ſo *weake* as not able to diſtinguiſh betweene the figure of the bones of men and thoſe of beaſts and fiſhes:ſpecially when they found the *Sceleton* whole & intire.Much I grant might be and no doubt was *fained*, much *miſtaken*, much *added* to truth thorow errour, or an iching deſire of *Hyperbolicall* amplifications; yet I cannot but beleeue that many of their relations touching this point were true: howbeit a diminution of the ſtature of mankinde in *generall* cannot from thence be ſufficiently inforced.

Pliny, 36.18. vide Agricolam de natura foſſilium.

To let goe then the conceite of *Theophraſtus* & *Paracelſus*,that by the influence of the heavens ſuch bones might be bred in certaine tracts & veines of the earth, I ſhould rather chooſe to aſcribe theſe ſuperlatiue prodigious ſhapes to *artificiall* or *ſupernaturall*, then to *naturall* and *ordinary* cauſes. For the former, it may be that either *great Princes* out of ambition and deſire of honour in ſucceeding ages; or *cunning workemen* out of curioſity haue framed and compoſed ſuch peeces which *poſterity* diſcovering might behold with *aſtoniſhment*;& the *infernall ſpirits* thereby to delude men, and the ſooner to draw them from the knowledge and worſhip of the true *God* to *Idolatry* and *ſuperſtition*, haue concurred with them herein, & yeelded them their aſſiſtance; who being able to raiſe wonderfull tempeſts in the aire and ſtormes in the ſea,I ſee not but they might be as able to compoſe *ſuch frames vnder the earth*;

The

The wit and art of man may goe farre, but being assisted by the *Devills* helpe it produceth effects, almost incredible. That *insana substructio*, that huge monstrous peece of worke, knowne by the name of *Stone-henge* neere *Amesbery*, though it be by the Ancients tearmed *Chorea Gigantum*, the *Gyants* daunce; yet shall I never thinke that it was performed by the strength of men, but rather by some sleights or *Engines* now vnknowne, or by some *artificiall composition*, they being no naturall stones hewen out of the rocke, but artificially made of pure sand by some glewy and vnctuous matter knit and incorporated together, as *Camden* seemes to conjecture; or whether *Merlin* (as the common saying is) brought them thither, reared and disposed them in that order by *Magicke* and the helpe of *Devills*, I will not take vpon mee to determine: howsoever it were, it is doubtlesse a worke for admiration nothing inferiour to the greatest *Sceleton* or frame of bones that was ever yet discovered. And for *teeth*, I make no question but they may by meere art be made so liuely to resemble the naturall teeth of men, that the wisest will hardly be able to distinguish the *counterfeite* from the *naturall*.

But that which I rather choose to insist vpon, is, that the bodies of such men were begotten by *Devils*, who that they haue had carnall familiarity with women, is the consent of all *Antiquity*: *Creberrima fama est*, sayth *S. Augustine*, *multique se expertos vel ab ijs qui experti essent*, *de quorum fide dubitandum non est*, *audisse confirmant*, *Sylvanos & Faunos*, *quos vulgo Incubos vocant*, *improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus*, *ac earum appetisse & peregisse concubitum*, *& quosdam* Dæmones, *quos* Dusios Galli *nuncupant hanc assiduè immunditiam & tentare & efficere plures talesque asseverant*, *vt hoc negare impudentiæ videatur*. It is commonly reported and many affirme, that either themselues haue found it by experience, or heard it from those of whose credit there was no doubt to be made, who had themselues experienced it, that *Satyres* and *Fayries*, whom they call *Incubi*, haue beene often lewd with women, lusting after them, and satisfying their lusts with them: and that certaine Devills, whom the *Gaules* call *Dusij*, daily both attempt and performe the same filthinesse such & so many affirme, as to deny this were a point of impudence: nay there are yet many nations, sayth *Viues* in his commentaries on that place, which count it an honour to deriue their pedegree from *Devils*, who had the company of womē in the shape of men. Thus not a few of the Ancients imagined those *Gyants* mentioned in the sixth of *Genesis*, to haue beene begotten, as the *Heathen* likewise for the most part deriue their *Heroes* & mighty men from the like originall. And that the birthes of such monstrous mixture must needes be monstrous, *Tostatus* truely obserueth: *Talibus conceptibus robustissimi homines & procerissimi nasci solent*, of such conceptions are wont to be borne the strongest and tallest of men. And *Vallesius* hauing giuen the reason hereof at large, (which for feare of offending chast eares, I list not heere to repeate) at last concludes, *Robusti ergo & grandes vt nascerentur*, *poterant ita Dæmones procurare*: Thus then the Devills might procure that mighty huge Gyants should be borne, whose both opinion and reasons herein are both ap-

De Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 23.

In 6. Gen. quæst. 6.

De sacra Philosophia. c. 3.

Lib.2.c.15. proued and farther proved by *Delrio* in his *Magicall diſquiſitions*. The evidence hereof will yet farther appeare, if wee conſider that where *God* was leaſt knowne and the *Devill* moſt powerfully raigned, there impure Acts were moſt frequently practiſed, which is the reaſon, as I conceiue, that among the *Hebrewes*, the choſen people of God, wee reade of no ſuch matter: nay thoſe *Gyants* wee finde mentioned in holy writ, were for the moſt part of other *Nations*: But ſince the incarnation
1.Iohn.3.8. of the *Sonne of God* our bleſſed *Saviour*, who came to *diſſolue the workes of the Devill*, the deluſions of theſe ſpirits haue vaniſhed as a miſt before the *Sun*: though their kingdome be not at an end, yet is their malice much reſtrained and their power abated. Which *Plutarch* himſelfe ingenuouſly confeſſeth in that excellent diſcourſe of his, *Cur Oracula edi deſierint*, why the *Oralces* ceaſed; and to this purpoſe relates a *memorable ſtory*, which hee reports from the mouth of one *Epitherſes*, ſometimes his Schoole-maſter, that hee imbarking for *Italy*, and being one evening becalmed before the *Paxe*, (two little *Ilands* that lie betweene *Corcyra* & *Leucadia*) they ſuddenly heard a voice from the ſhore, moſt of the paſſengers being yet awake, calling to one *Thamus* a *Pilot*, by birth an *Egyptian*, who till the third call would not anſwere: then quoth the voyce, when thou art come to the *Palodes* proclaime it alowd, that the great *Pan* is dead: all in the ſhip that heard this were amazed, when drawing neere to the foreſaid place, *Thamus* ſtanding on the pup of the ſhippe, did vtter what was formerly commaunded, forthwith there was heard a great lamentation, accompanied with groanes and ſchreeches: This comming to the knowledge of *Tiberius Cæſar*, hee ſent for *Thamus*, who avouched the truth thereof: And hereby was declared as wee may well conceiue, the ſubjection of *Sathan* by the death of *Chriſt*: ſo that now hee had no longer power to abuſe the illuminated world with his impoſtures. By this then appeares both the reaſon of ſuch vaſt enormous bodies, as were in former times, and withall the *Cauſe* why they haue ceaſed ſince in ſucceeding ages. To which we may adde, that if wee ſhould aſcribe theſe effects to *God* himſelfe and his *extraordinary power*, for the manifeſtation of his greatneſſe; yet as other *miracles*, ſo likewiſe theſe, are now growne out of date and vſe: hee manifeſting himſelfe to vs in a cleerer manner, rather by the *gratious power* of his word, then the *miraculous greatneſse* of his power; and ſo our Concluſion ſtill remaines firme, that *the ſtature of mankind is not generally impaired in regard of any ſuch vniverſall decay in the courſe of Nature as is pretended.*

SECT. 3

An anſwere to the argument drawne from the teſtimonies on behalfe of the adverſe opinion.

THe ſecond maine rubbe, which to many giues occaſion of ſtumbling, and comes now to be remoued, is the *authority* of diverſe graue writers, and thoſe not onely of latter ſtampe, but ſuch as haue

haue beene, and ſtill are accounted *Venerable* aſwell for *learning* as *antiquity*. Among which the moſt *Eminent* that I finde named by the adverſe part, are *Gellius*, *Pliny*, *Iuvenall*, *Virgill*, and *Homer*, and that I may neither wrong the Authours nor Vouchers; I will produce them ſpeaking in their owne words. *Gellius* having alleaged the opinion of *Varro*, that the *vtmoſt point* of mans growth in the courſe of nature is *ſeaven foote*, and having ſtiled *Herodotus* a *Fabler* for ſaying the body of *Oreſtes* was *ſeaven cubits*, preſently addes, *Niſi ſi vt Homerus opinatus eſt, vaſtiora prolixioraque fuerint corpora omnium Antiquorum, & nunc quaſi jam mundo ſeneſcente, rerum atque hominum decrementa ſint.* Vnleſſe as *Homer* thought, men were anciently bigger and taller, and now as if the world waxed old, there be a decreaſe both of things and men. But this *Niſi ſi* of *Gellius* is too weake thereby to draw him to their ſide, ſpecially conſidering what he had ſayd immediately before out of *Varro*. Which teſtimony of his prevailes ſomuch with *Peter Martyr*, that hee cannot yeeld any decreaſe ſince the floud, *ſi rogarer* (ſayth hee) *an exiſtimem corpora humana, quæ poſtea fuerunt ab ijs imminuta eſſe quæ ante diluvium producebantur, fortaſſe annuerem: ſed quod à diluvio vſque ad hanc noſtram ætatem perpetuò decreſcant, id non facilè concederem, verbis præſertim annotatis quæ Aulus Gellius, 3. lib. ſcripſit, vbi ait modum adoleſcendi humani corporis eſſe ſeptem pedum: quæ menſura hodie quoque videtur eſſe ſtaturæ procerioris. In Apochryphis tamen Eſdræ legimus, lib. 4. ad finem 5. cap. ne quid diſſimulem, & nunc minora eſse corpora noſtra, & indies imminuenda, quòd natura ſemper magis effœta reddatur. Idemque vt paulo ante dixi Cyprianus videtur ſtatuere. Sed quare non tam facilè aſſentiar, cauſam attuli, quia de menſurâ quam Gellius definivit, hodie nihil propemodum videam immutatum.* If I were demaunded whether I thinke that mens bodies ſince the floud are decreaſed in regard of thoſe before the floud, happily I ſhould grant it: but that ſince the floud downward to this our preſent age they ſhould ſtill decreaſe, that would I not eaſily yeeld, ſpecially obſerving thoſe words which *Aulus Gellius* hath in his third booke, where hee ſaith, that the meaſure of growth in mans body, is to *ſeaven foote*, which at this day, ſeemes to be the height of thoſe of the talleſt ſtature; yet to conceale nothing, wee reade indeede in the fourth booke, and toward the end of the fifth chapter in the *Apocryphall Eſdras*, that our bodies are leſſe then they were; and that ſtill they ſhall be leſſened more & more, inaſmuch as nature is every day weakned more then other; and the ſame opinion (as I ſayd before) ſeemes to be approued by *Cyprian*; but why I cannot eaſily yeeld aſſent therevnto, I haue giuen my reaſon, becauſe I finde little or nothing abated of that meaſure which *Gellius* defined. *Plinyes* words I muſt confeſſe are more round and reſolute, *In plenum autem cuncto mortalium generi minorem ſtaturam indies fieri, propemodum obſervatur; raroſq; patribus proceriores, conſumente vbertatem ſeminum exuſtione, in cujus vices nunc vergat ævum*, which is thus rendred by *Philemon Holland*, Doctor in *Phiſicke*, whoſe Latine Copy differed it ſeemes ſomewhat from mine; or hee added ſomewhat of his owne This is obſerved for an vndoubted truth, that generally all men come ſhort of the full ſtature in times paſt, & decreaſe every day more then other, & ſeldome

Lib. 3. cap. 10.

Locorum com. c. 12. claſ. 1.

Lib. 7 cap. 16.

ſhall wee ſee the ſonne taller then his father, for the ardent heate of the Elementary fire (wherevnto the world inclineth already now toward the latter end, as ſometimes it ſtood much vpon the watery Element) devoureth and conſumeth that plentifull humour and moiſture of naturall ſeede that ingendreth all things, and this appeareth by theſe examples following.

And then having brought the example of *Orion*, and *Oreſtes*, he adds, *Iam verò ante annos prope mille, vates ille* Homerus *non ceſſavit minora corpora mortalium, quam priſca conqueri.* And verily that great and famous Poet *Homer*, who lived almoſt a thouſand yeares agoe, complained and gaue not over, that mens bodies were leſſe of ſtature even then, then in old time.

But if I be not miſtaken, this aſſertion of *Plinyes* directly croſſeth himſelfe in the very entrance of his *Naturall Hiſtory*, where he thus beginnes; *Mundum, & hoc quod nomine alio cœlum appellare libuit, cujus circumflexu teguntur cuncta, numen eſſe credi par eſt, æternum, immenſum, neque genitum, neque interiturum vnquam.* The world, and this which by another name men haue thought good to call *Heaven*, beleeue wee ought in all reaſon to be a *God* without beginning & likewiſe *Endleſſe*. If the world be *Endleſſe*, how doth it ſuffer a perpetuall decreaſe, and if it ſuffer any ſuch decreaſe how is it *Endleſſe*. Againe, holding a decreaſe in *ſtature*, I ſee not how he can well avoide a diminution likewiſe in *age* which notwithſtanding in other places hee ſeemes to deny, or at leaſtwiſe having in ſundry ſeverall Chapters faire occaſions offered, doth not maintaine, but rather chuſeth to paſſe it over in ſilence, as being thereof ſomewhat doubtfull. Beſides how the ardent heate of the *Elementary* fire ſhould cauſe any ſuch decay, I cannot for my part conceiue, ſince that heat for any thing we finde is not increaſed ſince the firſt Creation, and this ſuppoſed decay is commonly attributed rather to a *deficiency* then an *exceſſe* of heat. But *Pliny* who held that the Sun & Starres were nouriſhed by an Elementary moiſture, muſt of neceſſity vpon that ſuppoſed, though falſe ground, likewiſe hold a ſenſible decay in the World, inaſmuch as that moyſture cannot poſſibly ſuffice thoſe bodies for food. And thus we ſee how in this aſſertion he both plainly croſſeth himſelf, and builds it vpon a ſandy foundation. He was doubtleſſe an admirable Man in that which hee vndertooke, the *Hyſtoricall* part of Nature: but whether he deſerved the like commendation in that which we call the *Philoſophicall* part thereof, I leaue it to others to judge, and paſſe to the examination of the teſtimonies of the *Poets*. But before I deſcend to the particulars, it ſhall not be amiſſe a little to conſider of the *Vanity* of their *fictions* and *fables* about the *Gyants* which doubtleſſe in part gaue occaſion to this *common Error* touching *Mans* and the *Worlds decay*, though I verily beleeue that the *Poets* themſelues had a *myſticall* meaning therein. They faigned them to be borne of the earth, to haue a thouſand hands, and ſnakes for haires, and to wage warre with the Gods.

Ovid. Faſt. 5.

Terra feros partus, immania mōſtra Gigantes,
Edidit, auſuros in Iovis ire domum.
Mille manus illis dedit & pro crinibus angues,

Atque

Atque ait, in magnos arma movete Deos.

Gyants, wilde monſters earth great mother bare,
Who durſt aſſaile the ſacred ſeat of *Ioue*,
With thouſand hands, and ſnakes inſtead of haire,
Arm'd, armes ſhe charg'd them gainſt the gods to moue.

Which warre of the *Gyants*, *Cornelius Severus* thus elgantly deſcribes.

Tentavêre nefas olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Iovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere Cælo.

The *Gyants* did advance their wicked hand
Againſt the ſtarres to thruſt them headlong downe,
And robbing *Ioue* of his Imperiall crowne,
On conquer'd heavens to lay their proud command.

But *Macrobius* his interpretation of this fable is worth the obſerving: *Gigantes autem quid aliud fuiſſe credendum eſt, quàm hominum quandam impiam gentem Deos negantem, & ideò exiſtimatam deos è cæleſti ſede pellere voluiſſe?* What other thing ſhould we imagine thoſe *Gyants* to haue beene, but an impious race of men denying the Gods; and were therefore ſaid to haue attempted the chaſing of them out of Heaven? Yet theſe fables no doubt infected the vulgar, as thoſe of *Guy* of *Warwick*, *Bevis* of *Hampton*, *Corinæus* and *Gog-Magog*, *Robin Hood* and *little Iohn*, *Amadis* of *Gaule*, *Pontagruel*, *Gargantua*, and the like haue ſince done: And therefore *Plato* baniſhed *Poets* from his Common-wealth; and *Moſes*, (as *Plato* in his booke of *Gyants* witneſſeth) both painting and the ſtatuary Art, coſen Germans to *Poetry*, *Quòd veritatem mendaciis vitient, credulis animis per oculos illudentes*, ſayth hee, becauſe they corrupt the truth with lies, and deceiue credulous mindes by thoſe repreſentations which are preſented to their eyes. Yet will wee not deny them the favour to heare what they can ſay for themſelues. Let *Iuvenall* then firſt ſpeake.

Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 20.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæſita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domeſtica, ſeditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem quali ſe Turnus & Ajax,
Et quo Tydides percuſſit pondere coxam
Æneæ, ſed quam valeant emittere dextræ,
Illis diſſimiles, & noſtro tempore natæ.
Nam genus hoc vivo jam decreſcebat Homero
Terra malos homines nunc educat atque puſillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aſpexit, ridet & odit.

Satyr. 15.

Stooping for ſtones then (in brawles alway
The readieſt weapon) they commence their fray.
Not that of *Turne* of *Ajax*, or whereby
The ſonne of *Tydeus* brake *Æneas* thigh,
But ſuch as hands vnlike to theirs, and now
Bred in our dayes well able are to throw.
For even while *Homer* liu'd this race decreaſed
And mother earth hath ever ſince beene pleaſed
Cowardly dwarfes to breede: thoſe deities

That

That them behold, deride them and deſpiſe.

Now foraſmuch as it is evident that *Iuvenall* herein followed *Virgill* and *Homer*, as will clearely appeare when wee come to the examining of their teſtimonies, I will likewiſe referre the anſwere herevnto, to that place. For *Virgill* then, he ſpeaking of *Turnus* and his great ſtrength, thus Poetizes.

Aeneid. 12.

Saxum antiquum ingens campo qui forte jacebat,
Limes agro poſitus, litem vt diſcerneret arvis
(Vix illum lecti bis ſex cervice ſubirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)
Ille manu raptum valida torquebat in hoſtem.

A huge old ſtone, which then by chance lay in the field
To bound out ſeverall grounds, and quarrells to prevent,
Scarce twelue choyce men ſuch as now mother earth doth
Could beare it on their necks, yet he incontinent (yeeld
Caught it with puiſſant arme, and to his foe it ſent.

With which accords that in the firſt of his *Georgickes* touching the plowing vp of the *Emathean* and *Emonean* fields, where many bloody battels had beene fought.

Scilicet & tempus veniet cum finibus illis
Agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
Exeſa inveniet ſcabra rubigine pila.
Aut gravibus raſtris galeas pulſabit inanes
Grandiaque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris.

The time will one day come when in thoſe fields
The paintull husband plowing vp his ground,
Shall finde all fret with ruſt both pikes and ſhields,
And empty helmes vnder his harrow ſound;
Wondring at thoſe great bones thoſe graues do yeeld.

But what credit ſhall wee giue to *Virgill* in theſe things who tels vs of *Enceladus*.

Feſsum quoties mutat latus intremere omnem
Trinacriam.---

As oft as wearied he from ſide to ſide doth turne
Trinacria trembles.

And of *Titius*,

---Per tota novem cui jugera corpus
Porrigitur.

Whoſe bodie ſtretches to nine akers length.

And of *Poliphemus*,

----Graditurque per æquor
Iam medium, nec dum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.

And now through out the maine ſea doth hee wade,
And yet the waues his ſides durſt not invade.

And beſides, he was doubtleſſe herein, as in many other paſſages thorow the *AEneads*, *Homers* ape, who thus brings in *Hector*,

Iliad. 12.

Hector autem rapiens lapidem portabat, qui portas
Stetit ante, deorſum craſſus, ſed ſuperne

Acutus

Acutus erat, hunc neque duo viri è populo optimi
Facilè ad plaustrum è terra perducerent,
Quales nunc sunt homines.

Hector caught vp a stone before the gate that lay,
The vpper pointed was, blunt was the nether part:
Two of the better sort such as liue now a day
Could scarce with all their force mount it into a cart.

To like purpose and very neare the same words is that which hee hath in another place of *Diomedes*, throwing a stone at *AEneas*. *Iliad.* 5.

Saxum accepit manu
Tydides magni ponderis, quod non duo viri ferrent
Quales nunc homines sunt.

Into his hand *Tydides* tooke
A stone of wondrous weight,
Two men such as the world now yeelds
To bear't haue not the might.

From whence it is manifest that all the alleaged *Authours* herein followed *Homer*, he being named by *Gellius*, *Pliny*, & *Iuvenall*, and so plainly imitated by *Virgill*, that we neede not doubt from whom he borrowed, it rendring *Homers*,

Quales nunc sunt homines--- into
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus;

But heerein he exceedes *Homer* that he turnes *two* into *twelue*, more tollerably I confesse, because more *Poetically*, that a man may know it at the first blush to be but a *fiction*.

And as for *Homer* himselfe, the founder and spring-head of this opinion, as hee was the Authour of many excellent inventions, so as it was truly written of him,

Hic ille est cujus de gurgite sacro
Combibit arcanos vatum omnis turba furores.

This is the man whose sacred streame hath served all the Crew
Of Poets, thence they dranke their fill, thence they their furies drew.

And therefore was hee painted vomitting, and the *Poets* round about licking vp his vomit; yet as a ranke and battle soyle that abounds both in corne and weedes, so was hee likewise the fruitfull parent of many errours and fables which were afterwards taken vp and imbraced with like greedinesse as were his best and choisest inventions. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them wee are not perswaded willingly that any thing should be amisse: The reason whereof is, for that *as dead flies putrifie the oyntment of the Apothecary: so a little folly him that is in estimation for wisedome.* Eccles. 1. 10. And this in every profession hath too much authorised the judgement of a few. I will not stand to make a Catalogue of *Homers mistakes* and *fictions*, which his admirers in succeeding ages haue entertained as certaine truthes. That fable of the *Pigmies* (becausse it hath some affinity with our present matter) and their manner of fighting with *Cranes* shall suffice for all: which many not onely *Poets* but great *Philosophers*, and among them *Aristotle* himselfe relying vpon his authority, haue taken vp

vpon

vpon truſt: whereas all the parts of the world being now in a manner diſcovered, there is no ſuch countrey or people to be found in it. And for this particular opinion, it is not onely objected by *Goropius*, but by *Magius* freely acknowledged, that *Homer*, by *Plutarches* computation, (who compoſed a treatiſe purpoſely of his life) living but *one hundred* yeares or a little more after the *Trojan* warres, made ſuch a difference in mens ſtrength and ſtature, as was altogether incredible within the compaſſe of ſo ſhort a ſpace: nay himſelfe makes *Hectors* ſpeare to be but *tenne Cubits* long, the ordinary length they are at, even at this day: & brings *Telemachus Vlyſſes* his ſonne thus ſpeaking to his nurce *Euriclea*.

Iliad. 12.

Haud equidem quenquam longinquus ſit licet hoſpes
Abſque labore feram contingere Chœnica noſtram:
Odyſſ. 19.

No gueſt though come from farre I the aſſure
To touch my *Chœnix* will I once endure.

From which *Budæus* inferres that even then a *Chœnix* was the daily allowance for a man, as it was likewiſe many hundred yeares after *Homers* time among the *Græcians*. For concluſion, though tenne perſons be brought to giue teſtimony in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they haue of the thing wherevnto they come as witneſſes, appeare to haue growne from ſome one among them, and to haue ſpread it ſelfe from hand to hand, they are all in force but as one teſtimony; and if it appeare that the fountaine, from which either immediately or mediately they all draw, be corrupted, if the teſtimony of the firſt man vpon whom they depend, proue invalide, then is this one vpon the matter no teſtimony: which is in truth the caſe of the counter-witneſſes produced in this buſineſſe.

5. de Aſſe.

SECT. 4.

Of the wonderfull ſtrength of diverſe in latter ages, not inferiour to thoſe of former times.

BUt to grant that *Hector*, and *Ajax*, and *Diomedes*, and *Hercules*, and the like, exceeded in ſtrength, yet can it not be denied, but ſome ſuch haue beene likewiſe recorded, in ſucceeding ages, as *C. Marius* by *Trebellius Pollio*, *Maximinus* by *Capitolinus*, *Aurelian* by *Vopiſcus*, *Scanderbeg* by *Barlet*, *Galiot Berdeſin* a Gentleman of *Catana*, by *Fazell*, *Tamerlane*, *Ziska*, and *Hunniades*, by others; *George le Feure* a learned Germane writes, that in his time in the yeare 1529 liued at *Miſnia* in *Thuring* one called *Nicholas Klunher Provoſt* of the *Great Church*, that was ſo ſtrong, as without Cable or Pulley or any other helpe hee fetcht vp out of a Cellar a *pipe of wine*, carried it out of dores, and laid it vpon a cart. I haue ſeene a man; ſayth *Mayolus* an Italian Biſhoppe, in the towne of *Aſte*, who in the preſence of the *Marqueſſe* of *Peſcara* handed a pillar of marble three foote long, and one foote in diameter, the which he caſt high in the aire, then receiued it againe in his armes, then laſht it vp againe, ſometime after one faſhion, ſometime after another, as eaſily, as if hee had beene playing with a ball or ſome ſuch little thing.

In diebus Caniçul. Colloq. 4.

thing. There was, ſayth the ſame *Authour*, at *Mantua*, one named *Rodamas*, a man of a little ſtature, but ſo ſtrong that hee brake a Cable as bigge as a mans arme, as eaſily as it had beene a ſmall twine thread: mounted vpon a horſe and leading another by the bridle, hee would runne a full Cariere and ſtop in the midſt of his courſe, or when it liked him beſt. *Froiſſard* a man much eſteemed for the truth and fidelity of his hiſtory, reports that about two hundred yeares ſince, one *Ernaudo Burg* a *Spaniard*, and companion to the Earle of *Foix*, when as attending the Earle, he accompanied him to an higher roome, to which they aſcended by twenty foure ſteps, the weather cold, and the fire not anſwerable, and withall eſpying out at the window certaine aſſes in the lower Court loaden with wood, hee goes downe thither, lifts vp the greateſt of them with his burthen on his ſhoulder, and carrying it to the roome from whence hee came, caſt both as hee found them into the fire together. *Lebelski* a *Polander* in his deſcription of the things done at *Conſtantinople* in the yeare 1582, at the circumciſion of *Mahumet* the ſonne of *Amurath* Emperour of the *Turkes*, writes that amongſt many actiue men which there ſhewed their ſtrength, one was moſt memorable, who for proofe thereof lifted vp a peece of wood that twelue men had much adoe to raiſe from the earth, and afterwards lying downe flat vpon his backe, hee bore vpon his breaſt, a weighty ſtone, which tenne men had with much adoe rooled thither, making but a jeſt of it. Many are yet aliue, ſayth *Camerarius*, that know how ſtrong and mighty *George* of *Fronsberg*, Baron of *Mindlehaim* of late memory was. There is a booke printed and publiſhed in the *Germane* tongue containing his memorable acts, and howbeit *Paulus Iouius* handleth him but roughly, as being an enemy to the *Pope*; yet extolleth he highly his wonderfull great force, being able by the acknowledgement of *Iouius* with the middle finger of his right hand to remoue a very ſtrong man out of his place, ſate hee never ſo faſt: He ſtopp'd a horſe ſuddainely, that ranne with a maine Carriere, by onely touching the bridle, and with his ſhoulder would hee eaſily ſhoue a Canon whither hee liſted. *Cardan* writes that himſelfe ſaw one dauncing with two in his armes, two vpon his ſhoulders, and one hanging about his necke. *Potocova* a *Polonian* and Captaine of the *Coſakes*, during the raigne of *Stephen Batore*, was ſo ſtrong, as witneſſeth *Leonclavius*, that hee would teare in peeces new horſe ſhoes, as it had beene paper. The hiſtory of the Netherlands reports, that the woman Gyanteſſe before mentioned was ſo ſtrong, that ſhee would lift vp in either hand a barrell full of Hamborough beere, and would eaſily carry more then eight men could.

Meditat. Hiſt. c. 82.

De ſubtilitate lib. 11.

In ſupplem: Annal. Turcicor.

Before theſe, but long ſince thoſe ancient *Heroes*, was the *Gyant Ænother* borne in *Turgaw*, a village in *Suevia* who bore armes vnder *Charlemaigne*, he felled men as one would mow hay, and ſometimes broached a great number of them vpom his pike, and ſo carried them all vpon his ſhoulder, as one would carry little birds ſpitted vpon a ſticke. *Hinc apparet* (ſayth *Camerarius*) *quòd noſtra ætas & natio tales viros produxerit quos fortitudine & robore cum veteribus conferre licet.* From hence it appeares that our age and nation hath brought forth ſuch men, as every way

Aventinus, hiſt. Boiorum, l. 4.

way are matchable with the Ancients in activity and ſtrength. Of latter dayes and here at home, Mr *Richard Carew* a worthy Gentleman in his *ſurvey* of *Cornewall* aſſures vs that one *Iohn Bray* (well known to himſelfe, as being his tenant) carried vpon his backe at one time by the ſpace well neare of a But-length ſix buſhels of wheaten meale, reckoning 15 gallons to the buſhell, and the miller a rubber of 24 yeares age vpon the whole: wherevnto hee addeth that *Iohn Roman* of the ſame ſheire, a ſhort clowniſh grub would beare the whole carkaſſe of an oxe, though hee never tugged with it, when hee was a calfe, as *Milo* did. To theſe might be added diverſe other domeſticall examples of latter times, ſaue that ſuch kinde of relations ſeeme as vnſavoury and incredible to the moſt part of Readers, as they are certaine, admirable and delightfull to the beholders.

It is moſt true that the great workes our *noble Predeceſſours* haue left vs, our *Cathedrall Churches*, our ruines of *Caſtles* and *Monaſteries*, our *bridges*, our *high-wayes*, and *Cauce-wayes*, and in forraine parts their *Arches*, *Obeliskes*, *Pyramids*, *Vawtes*, *Aqueducts*, *Theaters*, and *Amphitheaters* ſeeme to proclaime, as the greatneſſe of their mindes, ſo likewiſe of their bodies: But I ſhould rather aſcribe this to their induſtry, their devotion, their charity, vniting their forces and purſes in publique workes, and for the publique good, then to the bodily ſtrength of particular men.

SECT 5.

Two doubts cleared, the firſt touching the ſtrong phyſicke which the Ancients vſed, the ſecond touching the great quantity of blood which they are ſayd vſually to haue drawne at the opening of a veine, together with a cenſure of Fredericus Lumnius *touching the decreaſe of the number of our teeth.*

A Great doubt ariſes touching the little, but *ſtrong phyſicke* which the *Ancients* vſed, and the great *quantity of blood* which they vſually drew at the opening of a vein: For the firſt of theſe, I ſhould thinke that it rather argued the ſtrength of our bodies, who notwithſtanding our diſuſe of exerciſe and more frequent vſe of Phyſicke, and that many times from the hand of vnskilfull Emperickes, wee ordinarily hold out as long as they did: And forthe ſtrength of their Phyſicke, let vs heare *Goropius* a famous Phyſitian, and doubtleſſe a very learned man, as his workes teſtifie, and his greateſt adverſaries cannot but confeſſe *Dicunt olim medicamenta multo vehementiora data fuiſſe quàm nunc hominum natura ferre poſſit*. They ſay that the Phyſicke which the Ancients adminiſtred was much ſtronger then the nature of man is now capable of; to which hee replies, *eos qui ſic arbitrantur inſigniter falli contendo, ferunt enim corpora æquè nunc helleborum atque olim eodem vel majori pondere, vt ipſe in alijs & meipſo ſum expertus: Verum inſcitia eorum qui nihil medici habent præter titulum & veſtem longam, & impudentem arrogantiam*

gantiam in cauſa eſt vt ſic opinentur. I am confident that thoſe who thus thinke are notablely deceived, in as much as our bodies can now as well endure the like or greater quantity of *Elleborum*, as I haue made triall in my ſelfe & others: But the ignorance of ſuch as haue indeed nothing in them of the Phyſitian but the bare title, a long gowne, and impudent arrogancie, is the cauſe that men ſo thinke. And with him herein plainely accords *Leonardus Giachinus* of the ſame profeſſion, who having compoſed a Treatiſe purpoſely to ſhew what damage ariſes to learning by preferring *Authority* before *reaſon*, makes this the title of his firſt Chapter, *Corpora noſtra eadem ferre poſſe auxilia quibus Veteres vſi ſunt, idque cum ratione tum experientia comprobari:* That our bodies now adayes may well enough ſuffer the ſame helpes of Phyſicke which the Ancients vſed, and that this may be made evident as well by reaſon as experience. And I ſuppoſe skilfull Phyſitians will not deny, but that the Phyſicke of former times agrees with ours as in the receites, ſo for the *doſis* and quantity; and for them who hold a generall decay in the courſe of *Nature*, they are likewiſe forced to doe this. For if *plants*, and *drugges*, and *minerals*, decay in their vertue proportionableby to the body of man, (as is the common opinion) then muſt it conſequently follow, that the ſame quantity having a leſſe vertue may without danger and with good ſucceſſe be adminiſtred to our bodies though inferiour in ſtrength: *Roger Bacon* in his booke *de erroribus medicorum*, tells vs, that the diſpoſition of the heavens is changed every *Centenary* or thereabout; and conſequently that all things growing from the earth change their complexions, as alſo doth the body of man; & therevpon inferres, that *eædem proportiones medicinarum non ſunt ſemper continuandæ, ſed exigitur obſervantia certa ſecundum temporis diſſenſum*: The ſame proportions of medicines are not ſtill to be continued, but there is required a certaine quãtity according to the variation of time. Where, by the change of the diſpoſition of the heavens, I cannot conceiue that he intends it alwayes for the worſt, for ſo ſhould he croſſe himſelfe in the ſame booke, neither for any thing I know haue we any certainty of any ſuch change as he ſpeakes of, but this am I ſure of, that if together with the heavens, the plants change their tempers, and with the plants the body of man, then needs there no alteration in the proportion of medicines, in as much as what *art* ſhould therein ſupply, *nature* her ſelfe prevents & performes: But for mine owne part holding a naturall decay in neither, vpon that ground, as I conceiue, may more ſafely be warranted the continuance of the ancient proportions.

Now touching the *drawing of bloud*, I know it is ſaid that *Galen* vſually drew *ſix pounds* at the opening of a veine, whereas we for the moſt part ſtoppe at *ſix ounces*, which is in truth a great difference if true, ſpecially in ſo ſhort a time, he living three hundred yeares or thereabout ſince *Chriſt:* in as much as allowing for every pounde twelue ounces, in reaſõ ſhould men in *Galens* time be ordinarily twelue times as ſtrong as now they are; & their length anſwere in proportion to their ſtrength: and then allowing the like proportionable decreaſe before *Galen* ſince the creatiõ, we muſt conceiue thẽ in the beginning of the world to haue

beene mountaines rather then men, and meaſure them by miles, not by feete. For deciſion then of this point, we muſt haue recourſe to *Galen* himſelfe, who in that booke which he purpoſely compoſed *of cures by letting of bloud*, thus writes: *Memini quibuſdam ad ſex vſque libras ſanguinem detractum fuiſſe, ita vt febris extingueretur.* I remember that from ſome I haue drawne ſix pounds of bloud, which hath ridde them of their fever: yet from others he tooke but a *pounde and a halfe*, or *one pounde*, and ſometimes leſſe, as he ſaw occaſion: neither in old time, nor in theſe preſent times was the quantity ever definite or certaine, but both then and now variable more or leſſe according to *ſtrength*, the *diſeaſe*, *age*, or other *indications*; and in *peſtilent fevers*, his adviſe is, *vbi valida virtus ſubeſt, & ætas permittit, vſque ad animæ defectum ſanguinem mittere expedit:* where the ſtrength and age of the patient will beare it, it will doe well to take bloud even to a fainting or ſounding; and ſuch was the caſe (as by his owne words it appeares) in which he drew ſo great a quantity: Neither is this without example in our age: *Ambroſe Par* a *French* Surgeon, (and a man expert in his profeſſion, as his bookes ſhew) reports, that he drew from a patient of his in *foure dayes, twenty ſeavē pallets*, every *pallet* of *Paris* containing *three ounces* & more, ſo that he drew from him about *ſeaven pounds*, allowing *twelue ounces* to the *pound*, which was the account that *Galen* followed, as appeares in his owne Treatiſe *of weights and meaſures*; and ſo continues it in vſe among *Phyſitians* and *Apothecaries* vnto this day. Dr *Deodate*, a *French* Phyſitian living in *London*, as I haue beene told by a noble friend of mine, who received it from his owne mouth, and doubted not (if it were deſired) to get it vnder his hand, that at three ſeverall times, he drew from a patient of his within the compaſſe of 24 houres, 21 ounces at a time, 63 in the whole, and yet the ſicke partie from whom it was drawne therevpon recovered. The whole quantity of bloud in a mans body of a ſound conſtitution and middle ſtature, was anciently eſtimated, and ſo is ſtill at about *three gallons:* and I haue beene informed by a Doctour of *Phyſicke* of good credit and eminent place in this *Vniverſity*, that a patient of his hath bled a *gallon* at noſe in one day, and hath done well after it; which (as I conceiue) could not be ſo little as *ſeaven* or *eight pounds*, allowing ſomewhat leſſe then a *pounde* to a *pinte*, in as much as I haue found a pinte of water to weigh *ſixteene ounces*. Now what *Nature* hath done with tollerance of life, *Art* may come neere vnto vpon juſt cauſe without danger. And if any deſire to be farther informed in this point, he need goe no farther then the *Medicinall obſervations* of *Iohannes Shenkius, de capite Humano*, where to his 333 *obſervation* hee prefixes this title, *Prodigioſæ narium hæmorragiæ, quæ interdum* 18, *interdum* 20, *nonnunquam etiam* 40 *ſanguinis libræ profluxere.* Prodigious bleedings at the noſe, in which ſometimes 18, ſometimes 20, ſometimes 40 pounds of bloud haue iſſued. The Authours from whom he borroweth his obſervations, are *Matheus de Gradi* in his commentaries vpon the 35 chapter of *Raſis ad Almanſ. Braſavolus comment. ad Aphor.* 32. *lib.* 5. *Donatus lib. de variolis & morbillis cap.* 23. *Luſitanus Curat.* 100. *Cent.* 2. And againe *Curat.* 60. *Cent.* 7. his inſtances are of a *Nunne* who voided by di-

Cap. 14.

De methodo medendi l. 9. *c.* 4.

Lib 9. *c.* 14.

D. C.

verſe

verſe paſſages 18 pounds of bloud, of *Diana* a noble Lady or *Eſt*, who bled onely at the noſtrils 18 pounds, beſides what was ſpilt on the ground, vpon her apparell, in napkins and other linnens about her; of one *Andrew*, Cooke to *Fredericke Gonzaga* Cardinall, who bled in *one day* and *two nights* 20 pounds. And laſtly of a yong man named *Berdavid*, from whom there iſſued at the noſe within the ſpace of *ſix dayes* 40 pounds, and yet they all liued after it, and did well, *penes Authores fides eſto*. For Concluſion, *Paſquier* in an epiſtle of his to *Turnebus* Counſellour in the Court parliament of *Paris* hath obſerved, that letting of bloud is more frequent now then in former times: and withall that whereas the ancients held the opening of a veine before 14 to bee rather hurtfull then helpefull, it is now vſually practiſed by the Phyſitians of this age, and that nation, and that with good ſucceſſe.

Since the writing hereof, I met with one *Iohannes Fredericus Lumnius, a Netherlander, de extremo Dei judicio et Indorum vocatione*, who *lib* 2. *cap* 19. indeavoring to proue the vicinity of the laſt judgment by the worlds decay, makes this maine argument thereof: *Conſtat* (ſaith he) *illos qui ſupra annos viginti prodierunt in lucem non pauciores habuiſſe dentes quam* 32, *cum jam in eis qui infra decennium nati ſunt non niſi* 20 *aut* 24 *inveniantur*. A bold aſſertion of a graue Divine, that mankinde ſhould ſo ſpeedily decreaſe as in the cõpaſſe of tenne yeares to looſe 12 or 8 teeth of 32; and his booke being printed in the yeare 1567, had the like meaſure of decay gonne on in proportion, ſince that time no man long before this day ſhould haue had a tooth left in his head to chew his meate. But I wonder he durſt publiſh that to the world which daily experience and the writings of moderne *Anatomiſts* ſo evidenuly convince of falſhoode; and in truth I thinke there cannot lightly a better argument be brought for the confirmation of the contrary opinion againſt himſelfe in that point, inaſmuch as according to *Hippocrates*, *longæui plurimos dentes habent*; and *Ariſtotle*, *quibus pauciores et rariores hi breviores ſunt vitæ*: ſo that the full number being a ſigne of longevity, and that of naturall ſtrength, if it appeare (as vndoubtedly it doth) that men now adaies haue ordinarily the ſame number of teeth which anciently they had; then muſt it conſequently follow, that likewiſe ordinarily they are as ſtrong and long-lived as anciently they were: yet herein are we beholding to the ſame *Author* that what he takes from the age & ſtrength of men, he addes to their witts: *ſed quod humanorum corporum decedit conditionibus, hoc ingenijs accedit, quod de membrorum robore perit, hoc accumulatur intellectus acumine et ſagacitate*. That which is loſt in the ſtrength of there bodies, is ſupplied in the quickneſſe and ſharpeneſſe of there intellectuall powers.

SECT. 6.

A third doubt cleared touching the length of the Duodenum *or firſt gut, as alſo of the ſeverall opinions of* Iacobus Capellus, *and* Iohannes Temporarius, *touching the decreaſe of humane ſtrength and ſtature.*

D. B. ANother *doubt* tending to the ſame end, I receiued from an other Doctour of *Phyſicke* of ſpeciall note, & of mine ancient acquaintance, well knowne in *London* for his ſufficiencie in his profeſſiō, and from him likewiſe I muſt acknowledge the beſt part of the *anſwere* which I ſhall frame thereunto. The objectiō, becauſe, of any I haue met with, it is moſt fully opened & ſeriouſly vrged by *Archangelus Piccolhomini* in his *Anatomicall Lectures*, I will expreſſe in his words, where ſpeaking of the *firſt gut*, he thus goes on, *Dicitur etiam Græcis dodecadactylos, nobis duodenum, quod duodecem digitos longum illis temporibus videretur: nam his noſtris temporibus vix 9 digitorum apices æquat, fortaſſe quod hâc noſtrâ ætate homines minores, illis ſæculis grandiores eſſent, idcirco longiora membra proportione reſpondentia. Dicitur quoq; pyloros, id eſt janitor portonarius, tranſlato nomine inferioris orificij ventriculi ad ſuperiorem duodeni partem quæ ex eo proximè enaſcitur.* It is called of the *Grecians dodecadactylos*, & of vs *duodenum*, becauſe it ſeemes in thoſe times to haue beene 12 inches long, whereas in this age it hardly equals the toppes of nine fingers, perchance becauſe now adayes men being leſſe, and then bigger, they had likewiſe bigger parts of the body anſwerable therevnto. It is alſo called *pyloros* or the *porter*, which name is borrowed from the nether orifice of the ſtomake, and applyed to the higher part of the *duodenum* which groweth out of it; Thus he. Were what he meanes by the *apices* or toppes of nine fingers, I doe not well apprehend, but *Riolanus* I am ſure in his 2 booke and 12 Chapter of his *Anthropographia* tells vs plainly that *ab Herophylo duodenum dicitur quoniam olim duodecem tranſverſos digitos longum erat, vbi hodie vix quatuor digitos æquat.* It was by *Herophilus* called *duodenum* becauſe anciently it was 12 *inches* long, whereas now it is ſcarce *full foure*. How long ſince this *Herophylus* liued I cannotcertainely determine, nor well conjecture, his name I finde not in *Geſners Bibliotheca*, indeede *Tertullian* in his booke *de anima* mentioneth him, and ſo doth *Pliny*, by which it appeares that he liued before them; but how long it appeares not; ſuppoſe it to bee 5, 6, or 8 hundred yeares (which is as much as in reaſon can well bee demanded) and vpon that ſuppoſition allow him to haue liued two thouſand yeares agoe, which being granted, and withall that all the other parts of mans body are decayed proportionably to the *duodenum*, (which *Piccolomini* himſelfe confeſſeth, and thereof I thinke no wiſe or learned man will once offer to make any doubt) this I ſay being granted, it muſt of neceſſitie follow that in the ſpace of 2000 yeares, *two thirds* of humane ſtature are loſt, for that is the proportion of 4 to 12; ſo as if men now bee fiue foote high, they were then 15, and 2000 yeares before that againe (if we ſhall allow the like proportion of decreaſe to the like ſpace of time) 45 foot high, and ſo vpward, which how vnreaſonable

Lib. 2. cap. 11.

ſonable it is to affirme or conceiue, I leaue to the Authors and Patrons of that fancie to imagine. Againe I would willingly know whether in *Herophilus* time the *inch* were the ſame with ours or no, if ſo, then belike there is no ſuch notorious diminution in ſtature as from him is collected, and if it be varied according to the diminution of ſtature, then ſhould our *duodenum* be aſwell 12 of our inches now, as was their *duodenum* 12 of their inches then, for to ſay that theirs was 12 of their inches & ours but 4 of our inches, is both an irregular cõpariſon, & a matter altogether *incredible*. And I wonder that *Gallen* or *Hippocrates*, or ſome other of thoſe ancient Phyſitians had not found the variation thereof in their time in regard of former ages, aſwell as wee in ours in regard of theirs; or that finding it, they haue left no record or mention of ſo notable an obſervation in any of their writings, which me thinks is a ſtrong preſumption that indeede either in their practiſe or reading they obſerved no ſuch matter. But to make a plaine and full anſwer to this objection, we neede go no farther then that of *Riolanus* immediatly annexed to the paſſage before alleadged. *Nec menſuram antiquam deprehendes niſi graciliorem & anguſtiorum ventriculi partem à fundo inferne exporrectam vſque ad anfractuum principium addideris, quam ſæpè 12 digitos æquare vidi.* Neither ſhall you finde the ancient meaſure, vnleſſe you adde to the *duodenum* the lower and narrower part of the ſtomacke, and extend it to that place where the guts begin their pleats and windings, and this haue I often ſeene to equall 12 inches: out of which words I make mine anſwere thus, that if we take *duodenum* ſtrictly, only for ſo much as is from the loweſt orifice of the ſtomake to the winding guts, then I ſay it is ſcantly *foure inches* long, but if we take in that thinner part and end of the ventricle which the *Greekes* call *pyloros*, and the Latines from thence *janitor* or *portonarius* the porter, then by *Riolans* obſervation it hath, and no doubt may be found fully as long as the ancient meaſure. Now that the *pyloros* hath beene by ancient Writers taken into the *duodenum*, and accounted as one with it, not only *Riolan* in the place before alleadged, and *Laurentius lib.6.cap.* 13. but *Piccolhomini* himſelfe confeſſeth in the latter part of the paſſage already quoted, and *Leonardus Fuchſius* in the third book and 1 chapter of his *Paradoxes* brings to that purpoſe, *Celſus lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. *Avicen fen.* 6. *can* 3. *tract.* 1, *cap.* 1. *Valeſcus* 4. 22. *Iohannes Matthæus de Gradi* in his Commentaries vpon the ninth booke of *Razis cap.* 11: and laſtly *Alexander Benedictus* in his ſecond booke of *Anatomie* chap. 8. and though he there make *Galen* to ſpeake in a different language, yet are *Riolan* and others of another opinion therein.

Whiles this part was euen vpon going to the Preſſe, there came to mine hands two bookes written by two learned *Frenchmen*, *Iacobus Capellus* and *Iohannes Temporarius*, the one intituled *de menſuris*, the other *Chronologicæ demonſtrationes*; in both which the point in hand is touched to the quicke: The former, *Capellus* I meane, in his very preface ſharpely cenſures the Poets, *Homer*, & *Virgill*, & *Iuvenall* for their *hyperbolicall amplifications*, in ſpeaking of the enormous ſtature of the Ancients, and ſo doth he *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *S. Auguſtine*, and *Ludouicus Vives* for following

them therein;and then alleadging that paſſage of *Iulius Scaligers*,where he affirmes that the *Samogithians*, a people ſeated betwixt *Pruſſia* & *Livonia*, by turnes beget *dwarfes* & *gyants*; he grantes that this *viciſſitude*, though not in that degree,yet in ſome ſort may be obſerued in *all nations*: yet this man after all this flouriſh tells vs, that it cannot be but ſome kinde of truth there ſhould be in thoſe complaints of the *Poets*, & that the world waxes old;though not in *poſt-haſt* as they would haue it: yet *ſenſim & ſine ſenſu*, as he tearmes it, ſoft & faire, & by degrees inſenſible. The only reaſon he buildes vpon being this, that the *meaſures* of all Nations being proportioned (as hee imagineth)to their *ſtatures*, and withall that as the Nations riſe in *antiquitie* one aboue another, ſo doe their *meaſures*: from whence he inferres, that as the meaſures of the Ancients were longer, ſo were likewiſe their ſtatures. Wherein he manifeſtly croſſeth both himſelfe, and as many as I haue read of that ſubject,either occaſionally or of ſet purpoſe: for himſelfe he freely acknowledgeth in another place of the ſame diſcourſe, that both the preſent *Pariſian* foote in *France* & the *Picen* in *Italy* are bigger then the Ancient *Romane*; for the latter of which, he both vouches and well approues the teſtimony of *Cardan de ſubtil: lib.* 11: *Adducor authoritate ſcribentium olim de re militari qui tyronum mediocrem magnitudinem quinque pedum eſſe ſtatuerunt, vt quarta parte pes antiquus menſurâ pedis noſtri minor ſit.* I am induced by the authority of thoſe who writing of military matters,ſet downe fiue foote for the ordinary ſtature of a common ſouldier, to beleeue that the ancient foote was by meaſure a quarter leſſer then ours. Againe himſelfe confeſſeth(neither without manifeſt follie can it bee denied) that ſome nations in regard of their Clymate much exceed others in *ſtature*, as for the moſt part do the *Weſterne*, the *Eaſterne*;& the *Northerne*,the *Southerne*; ſo as if his compariſon had beene made betwixt the *ancient* and *moderne meaſures* of the ſame nation,it might well haue carried at leaſtwiſe ſome ſemblance of truth, but to make it betwixt different nations though in different ages,as he doth, carries with it in my judgment no colour at all: Laſtly,he holds not the like decreaſe in *age*,& *wits*,& *manners*, that he doth in *ſtature*, nor in the *heavens*,the *earth*,the *beaſts*,the *plants*,that he doth in *men*;which though it ſtand with his purpoſe; yet how it can ſtand with the *courſe* of *nature*,for mine own part I cannot imagine,as neither can I conceiue how there ſhould bee any ſuch *alternatiue viciſſitude* of ſtature in all nations as he holds, and yet withall an vniverſall and perpetuall decreaſe: all which himſelfe it ſeemes foreſeeing modeſtly,concludes the point: *Nos igitur hæc ea potius mente in medium adduximus, vt hæc verè nobilis quæſtio ab eruditis viris luculentiùs & accuratiùs pertractetur, quàm quod veluti de inventa veritate gloriemur & nobis ipſi ſuffeni ſimus:* We then haue produced theſe thinges to this purpoſe, that this queſtion truly noble,may by learned men be more clearly and exactly handled, not that I would glory in the finding out of a truth, or as if I were only pleaſed with mine owne conceite. Now for *Iohannes Temporarius* he doth not mince the matter as *Capellus*, but in his *Chronologicall demonſtrations Anno mundi* 410, and fourth Chapter, ſtrikes downe-right blowes

blowes, telling vs roundly and plainely that *nothing is altered in the ſtature of man ſince the Creation*, and that *eadem eſt hominum & primi ſeculi & inſecutorum magnitudo*, that the ſtature of the men of the firſt age and thoſe which afterward enſued is the ſame: and that as there were *Gyants* then, ſo haue there ſince beene in *all ages* downeward, and ſome every way as tall, if not taller then they: and afterward diſcourſing of the *Arke* and the capability thereof out of *Buteo* (though indeed he name him not) he makes *Moſes* his *cubit* to be the ſame with ours, and the *beaſts* then to be the ſame bigneſſe as now they are, and to ſpend no more *quantity* of *foode* then now they doe; herein likewiſe treading in *Buteo* his ſteps, though in ſome other things touching the fabricke of the *Arke* he diſſent from him.

SECT. 7.

Another rubbe removed, taken from the impurity of the ſeede, contracted by the ſucceſſion of propagation, as alſo touching ſome late memorable examples of parents famouſly fertile, in the linage iſſuing from their bodies, beyond any examples in that kinde in former ages.

THE laſt, but in the opinion of many not the leaſt rubbe to be removed, is drawne from the *impuritie* of the ſeede, contracted by the ſucceſſion of *propagation*, from whence there muſt needes in reaſon ſucceede, as a diminution in the continuance and duration, ſo likewiſe an impairing both in the ſtrength and ſtature of *mankinde*. This argument I finde thus expreſſed in a treatiſe publiſhed in Mr *Cuffs* name, 'and intitled, *The difference of the ages of mans life*; As is *nutrition*, ſaith 'he, to the particular, ſo is generation to the *ſpecies*, in the caſe of their 'continuance and preſervation: Wherefore as by the nouriſhment we 'take for our naturall moiſture, there being ſupplied not ſo pure humi-'ditie as was loſt, the particulars decaying by little and little, are at laſt 'cleane conſumed: ſo by *procreation*, (the maintenance of our *ſpecies*) 'the purity of our complexion being by degrees & time diminiſhed, at 'length there followes even of neceſſity an abſolute corruption: but for 'anſwere herevnto, though it be granted that *generation* be as requiſite 'to the continuance of the *ſpecies*, as is *nutrition* for the preſervation of 'the particular, and withall that our foode doth not ſo kindely and fully ſupply our *radicall moiſture*, which is daily waſted by our vitall heate feeding vpon it, whence finally enſueth the *Individualls* extinguiſhing: Yet that every *individuall* ſhould neceſſarily yeeld weaker and worſer ſeede for the propagation of the *ſpecies* then it ſelfe was generated of, that I conſtantly beleeue can never be proved: Nay the contrary therevnto is manifeſted by daily experience, in as much as we often ſee feeble and ſickely parents to beget ſtrong & healthy, ſhort to beget tall, & ſuch as haue dyed young, long-liued children: And vndoubtedly if this were ſo indeede as is pretended, *mankinde* had long ſince bin vtterly extinguiſhed, and with it had this controverſie bin at an end, and not only *mankinde*, but the ſeverall kindes of *fowles*, and *fiſhes*, and *beaſts*, & *plants*, ſince they are all maintained by their ſeed as man is, whoſe decay not-

withſtanding is queſtioned but by few.

Before I conclude this diſcourſe touching the compariſon of the ſtrength of the *Ancients* with ours, it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember a *moderne* example or two of *Parents* famouſly fertile in the *linage* iſſued from their bodies, ſuch as I doe not remember any where to be *paralelled* by *antiquity*. In the memory of our Fathers, ſaith *Vives* in his comunentary vpon the eight chapter of the fifteenth booke of the *City of God*, there was ſeene a village in *Spaine* of about an hundred houſes, whereof all the inhabitans were iſſued from one certaine old man who then liued, when as that village was ſo peopled, ſo as the name of propinquity how the youngeſt of the children ſhould call him could not be giuen: *Lingua enim noſtra ſupra Abavum non aſcendit*: For our language, ſaith hee, meaning the *Spaniſh*, affords not a name aboue the *great Grandfathers father*. Likewiſe in S. *Innocents Church-yard*, in the city of *Paris*, is to be ſeene the *Epitaph* of *Yolland Baily*, widow to Mr *Dennis Capell*, a Proctour at the *Chaſtellet*, which doth ſhew that ſhe had liued *eighty foure* yeares, and might haue ſeene 288 of her children and childrens children; ſhee died the 17 of *Aprill* 1514. Now imagine
Lib. 6. c. 46. ſaith *Paſquier*, how much ſhe had beene troubled to call them by a pro-
Lit. 11. per denomination that were diſtant from her in the fourth and fifth degree. *Theodore Zwinger* a Phyſitian of *Baſill*, in the third volume of the *Theatre* of *mans life*, recites a noble Lady, of the family of the *Dalburgs*, who ſaw of her race euen to the ſixth degree, whereof the *Germans* haue made this diſtich.

Mater ait natæ, dic natæ filia, natam
Vt moneat natæ plangere filiolam.

That is to ſay, The mother ſaid to her daughter, daughter bid thy daughter tell her daughter that her daughters daughter cries. To which forraine examples, one, and that moſt remakeable, may bee added of our owne Countrey. In *Markeſhall* Church in *Eſſex* on Mr *Honywoods* tombe is this inſcription. Heere lieth the bodie of *Marie Waters*, the daughter and Coheire of *Robert Waters* of *Lenham* in *Kent* Eſquire, wife of *Robert Honywood* of *Charing* in *Kent* Eſquier, her only huſband, who had at her deceaſe lawfully deſcended from her 367 children, 16 of her owne body, 114 grand-children, 228 in the third generation, and nine in the fourth; ſhe liued a moſt pious life, and in a Chriſtian manner died, heere at Markeſhall, in the 93 yeare of her age, and in the 44 of her widdowhood. 11th of May. 1620.

The more I wonder at *Pliny* that he ſhould report it as a wonder and
Lib. 7. c. 13. worthy the *Cronicle*, that *Chriſpinus Hilarus prælata pompa*, with o-
pen oſtentation ſacrificed in the *Capitoll*, 74 of his children & childrens children, attending on him. Now ſome others there are as namely *Hu-*
Cap. 15. *artes* the author of the *Tryall of wits*, who would beare vs in hand that more twinns and male children were borne in the firſt age of the world then now there are; wheras the contrarie by evidence of ſcripture doth rather appeare: neither can I call to minde any example in all antiquitie paralell to that of a woman buried in the Church at *Dunſtable*,

who

who (as her *epitapth* teſtifies) bore at three ſeuerall times, three children at a birth, and fiue at a birth two other times. And ſo I paſſe from the conſideration & compariſon of the ſtature & ſtrength of mens bodies, to that of their mindes, conſiſting in the more noble faculties of the reaſonable ſoule, and the beautifull effects thereof.

CHAP. 6.

Contayning a diſcourſe in generall, that there is no ſuch vniverſall and perpetuall decay in the powers of the minde, or in the Arts and Sciences as is pretended.

SECT. 1.

The excellency of the Ancients in the powers of the minde, compared with thoſe of the preſent, as alſo their helpes and hinderances in matter of learning, ballanced.

SInce it is a received *concluſion* of the choiſeſt, both *Divines* & *Philoſophers*, that the *reaſonable ſoule* of man is not conveied vnto him from his *Parents*, but *infuſed* immediatly by the hand of the *Creator*; & withall, that the *ſoules* of all men at their firſt *Creation* & infuſion, are equall & perfect alike, endued with the ſame eſſence & abilities; it muſt needes bee, that the inequality & diſparaty of actions, which they produce, ariſe from the diverſe temper of the matter which they informe, and by which, as by an inſtrument they worke. Now the matter being tempered by the diſpoſition of the bodies of our parents, the influence of the heavens, the quality of the elements, diet, exerciſe, & the like; it remaines, that as there is a variety & viciſſitude of theſe in regard of goodnes, ſo is there likewiſe in the temper of the matter whereof we conſiſt, and the actions which by it our ſoules produce: Yea where both the agents and inſtruments are alike, yet by the diverſity of education or induſtry, their workes are many times infinitely diverſified.

The principall faculties of the ſoule, are *imagination*, *judgement*, and *memory*. One of the moſt famous for memory among the Ancients, to my remembrance, was *Seneca* the Father, who reports of himſelfe, that he could repeate *two thouſand names*, or *two hundred verſes*, brought to his Maſter by his Schoole-fellowes backeward and forward: But that which *Muretus* reports of a young man of *Corſica*, a ſtudent in the Civill Law, whom himſelfe ſaw at *Padua*, farre exceedes it; he could, ſaith he, recite thirty ſix thouſand names in the ſame order as they were delivered, without any ſtay or ſtaggering, as readily, as if hee had read them out of a booke: His concluſion is, *Huic ego ne ex antiquitate quidem quem opponam habeo, niſi forte Cyrum quem Plinius, Quintilianus, et alij Latini Scriptores tradiderunt tenuiſſe omnium militum nomina.* I finde none among the *Ancients*, whom I may ſet againſt him, vnleſſe *Cyrus* perchance, whom *Pliny*, *Quintilian*, and other Latine writers, report to haue remembred the names of all his ſouldiers, which yet *Muretus* himſelfe

Procemio. lib. 2. Controverſ.

Variarum Lectionum. lib. 3.

himſelfe doubts was miſtaken of them: *Zenophon*, of whom onely or principally they could learne it, affirming onely that hee remembred the names, τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων, of his Captaines or cheife commanders. And *Æneas Sylvius* in his hiſtory of the *Councell* of *Baſill* (at which himſelfe was preſent) tells vs of one *Ludovicus Pontanus* of *Spoleto*, a Lawyer likewiſe by profeſſion, (who dyed of the Peſtilence at that Councell, at thirty yeares of age) that he could recite not the titles onely, but the *intire bodies* of the Lawes, being for vaſtnes and faſtnes of memory, *nemini Antiquorum inferior*, *as he ſpeakes*, nothing inferiour to any of the *Ancients*. It is to this purpoſe very memorable, which *Famianus Strada*, in the firſt booke of his *Academicall Proluſions*, relates of *Francis Suarez*, who hath, ſaith he, ſo ſtrong a memory, that he hath S. *Auguſtine* (the moſt copious & various of the Fathers) readie by heart, alleadging euery where (as occaſion preſents it ſelfe) fully & faithfully, his ſentences, & which is very ſtrange, his very wordes; nay if he be demanded any thing touching any paſſage in any of his volumes (which of themſelues are almoſt enough to fill a Librarie,) *Statim quo loco, quaque pagina diſſeruerit, ea ſuper re expeditè docentem ac digito commonſtrantem ſæpe vidimus*; I my ſelfe haue often ſeene him inſtantly ſhewing and pointing with his finger, to the place & page in which he diſputed of that matter; This is I confeſſe the teſtimonie of one *Ieſuite*, touching another. But of Dr *Rainolds*, it is moſt certaine that he excelled this way, to the aſtoniſhment of all that were inwardly acquainted with him, not only for S. *Auguſtines* workes, but almoſt all *Claſſike* Authours: ſo as in this reſpect it might truely be ſaid of him, which hath beene applyed to ſome others, that he was a *liuing librarie*, or *third vniuerſitie*: I haue heard it very crediblely reported, that vpon occaſion of ſome writings, which paſſed to and fro, betwixt him & *Doctour Gentilis*, then our Profeſſour in the *Civill Lawes*, he publiquely profeſſed, that he thought Dr *Rainolds* had read, and did remember more of thoſe Lawes then himſelfe, though it were his profeſſion.

And for the excellency of the other faculties of the minde, together with that of the memory. It is wonderfull the teſtimony that *Vives* (himſelfe a man of eminent parts) in his Commentaries on the ſecond booke, and 17 Chapter *de civitate Dei*, giues *Budæus*; *Quo viro*, (ſaith he) *Gallia acutiore ingenio, acriore judicio, exactiore diligentia, majore eruditione nullum vnquam produxit, hac vero ætate nec Italia quidē*; then which man, *France* neuer brought forth a ſharper wit, or more peircing judgment, of more exact diligence, and greater learning, nor in this age *Italy* it ſelfe. And then going on, tells vs, that there was nothing written in *Greeke* or *Latine*, which he had not turned ouer, read, examined; *Greeke* & *Latine*, were both alike to him, yet was he in both moſt excellent, ſpeaking either of them as readily, & perchance with more eaſe then the *French*, his mother tongue; he would reade out of a *Greeke* booke in *Latine* and out of a *Latine* booke in *Greeke*. Theſe things which wee ſee ſo exquiſitely written by him, flowed from him *ex tempore*; hee writes more eaſily both in *Greeke* & *Latine*, then the moſt ſkilfull in thoſe languages vnderſtand. Nothing in thoſe tongues is ſo abſtruſe & difficult,

which

which he hath not ranſacked, entred vpon, looked into, & brought as it were another *Cerberus* from darkneſſe to light. Infinite are the ſignifications of words, the figures, & properties of ſpeech, which vnknown to former ages, by the only help of *Budæus*, ſtudious men are now acquainted with. And theſe ſo great & admirable things, he without the directions of any teacher, learned meerely by his owne induſtry; *Fælix & fœcundum ingenium, quod in ſe vno invenit, & doctorem, & diſcipulum, & docendi viam rationemq; ,& cujus decimam partem, alij ſub magnis magiſtris vix diſcunt, ipſe id totum à ſe magiſtro edoctus eſt:* An happy and fruitefull wit, which in it ſelfe alone found both a maſter a ſcholler, & a methode of teaching, and the tenth part of that which others can hardly attaine vnto vnder famous teachers, all that learned he of himſelfe, being his owne reader, and yet (ſaith he) hitherto haue I ſpoken nothing of his knowledge in the lawes, which being in a manner ruined, ſeeme by him to haue beene reſtored; nothing of his Phyloſophy, whereof hee hath giuen vs ſuch a triall in his bookes *de Aſſe*, that no man could compoſe them, but ſuch a one as was aſſiduouſly verſed in the bookes of all the Phyloſophers; & then hauing highly commended him for his piety, his ſweet behaviour, and many other rare and ſingular vertues added to his great wit; hee farthar addes, that notwithſtanding all this, hee was continually converſant in domeſticke and ſtate affaires at home, & ambaſſages abroad; ſo as it might truely be ſaid of him, as *Plinius Cæcilius* ſpeakes of his vncle *Secundus*, when I conſider his ſtate affaires, & the happy diſpatch of ſo many buſineſſes, I wonder at the multiplicitie of his reading and writing; and againe, when I conſider this, I wonder at that, and ſo leaue him with that happy Diſtich of *Buchanan*:

Gallia quòd Græca eſt, quòd Græcia barbara non eſt,
Vtraque Budæo debet vtrumque ſuo:

That France is turn'd to Greece, that Greece is not turn'd rude,
Both owe them both to thee, their deare great learned *Bude.*

And if wee looke ouer the *Pyrenees*, *Metamorus* in his Treatiſe of the *Vniverſities* & learned men of *Spaine*, ſpares not to write of *Toſtatus*, Biſhop of *Abulum*, *ſi alio quam ſuo ſeculo vixere contigiſſet, neque Hipponi Auguſtinum, neq; Stridoni Hieronymum, nec quempiam ex illis proceribus Eccleſiæ antiquis nunc invideremus.* Had he liued in any other age ſaue his owne, wee ſhould not haue needed now to enuy either *Hippo* for *Auguſtine*, or *Striden* for *Hierom*; nor any other of thoſe ancient noble worthies of the *Church.* To which *Poſſevin* in his *Apparatus* addes, that at the age of two and twenty yeares, he attained the knowledge of almoſt all Arts and Sciences. For beſide *Phyloſophy* and *Divinity*, the *Canon* & the *Civill* Lawes, *hiſtory* and the *Mathematiques*, he was well ſkilled in the *Greeke* and *Hebrew* tongues: ſo as it was written of him,

Hic ſtupor eſt mundi, qui ſcibile diſcutit omne, *Bellar. de Eccleſ. ſcript.*
The worlds wonder for that hee,
Knowes whatſoeuer knowne may bee.

He was ſo true a ſtudent, and ſo conſtant in ſitting to it, that with *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, *ænea habuiſſe inteſtina putaretur*, he was thought to haue a body of braſſe, and ſo much he wrote & publiſhed, that a part of

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the epitaph ingraven on his tombe was;

Primæ natalis luci folia omnia adaptans,
Nondum ſic fuerit pagina trina ſatis;

The meaning is, that if of his publiſhed writings, wee ſhould alow three leaues to euery day of his life, from his very birth, there would be yet ſome to ſpare; and yet withall he wrote ſo exactly, that *Ximines* his ſcholler, attempting to contract his Commentaries vpon *Matthew*, could not well bring it to leſſe then a thouſand leaues in *folio*, and that in a very ſmall print, and others haue attempted the like in his other workes with like ſucceſſe. But that which *Paſquier* hath obſerued out of *Monſtrelet*, is yet more memorable, touching a *young man* who being not aboue 20 yeares old, came to *Paris* in the yeare 1445, and ſhewed himſelfe ſo admirably excellent in all *Arts*, *Sciences*, and *Languages*, that if a man of an ordinary good wit and ſound conſtitution ſhould liue one hundred yeares, and during that time ſtudy inceſſantly without eating, drinking, ſleeping, or any recreation, he could hardly attaine to that perfection: in ſo much that ſome were of opinion, that hee was *Antichriſt* begotten of the *Devill*, or ſomewhat at leaſtwiſe aboue humane condition: Which gaue occaſion to theſe verſes of *Caſtellanus*, who liued at the ſame time, and himſelfe ſaw this miracle of wit.

Lib. 5. c. 38.

I'ay veu par excellence
Vn jeune de vingtans
Auoir toute ſcience & les degrez montans
Soy ſe vantant ſcauoir dire
Ce qu' onques fut eſcrit
Par ſeule fois le lire
Comme vn jeune Antichriſt.

A young man haue I ſeene
At twenty yeares ſo ſkill'd,
That euery Art he had, and all
In all degrees excell'd.
What euer yet was writ
He vaunted to pronounce
Like a young Antichriſt, if he
Did reade the ſame but once.

Not to inſiſt vpon ſupernaturals, were there among vs that induſtry, & that vnion of forces, & contrubution of helpes as was in the *Ancients*, I ſee no ſufficient reaſon but the wits of this preſent age might produce as great effects as theirs did, nay greater, inaſmuch as we haue the light of their writings to guide and aſſiſt vs: wee haue bookes by reaſon of the *Art of Printing* more familiar, and at cheaper rate: moſt men being now vnwilling to giue *three hundred pound* for three bookes, as *Plato* did for thoſe of *Phylolaus* the *Pythagorean*. And by this meanes are wee freed from a number of groſſe errors, which by the ignorance or negligence of vnſkilfull Writers crept into the text: yet on the other ſide it is as true that wee are forced to ſpend much time in the learning of *Languages*, eſpecially the *Latin*, *Greeke*, and *Hebrew*, which the *Ancients* ſpent in the ſtudy of thinges, their learning being commonly written in their

Gellius l. 3. c. 17

their owne *Language*. Beſide the infinite and bitter controverſies among *Chriſtians* in matter of *Religion* ſince the infancie thereof even to theſe preſent times, hath doubtleſſe not a little hindered the advancement & progreſſe of other Sciences, together with a vaine opinion, that all *Arts* were already fully perfected, ſo as nothing could be added therevnto and that the Founders of them were *Gyants*, more then men for their wits in regard of vs, and wee very *dwarfes*, ſunke below our *ſpecies* in regard of them. *Sed non eſt ita*, ſaith *Lodovicus Vives*, *nec nos ſumus nani, nec illi homines Gigantes, ſed omnes ejuſdem ſaturæ, & quidem nos altius evecti eorum beneficio, maneat modò in nobis quod in illis, ſtudium, attentio animi, vigilantia & amor veri; quæ ſi abſint, jam non ſumus nani, ſed homines juſtæ magnitudinis humi proſtrati.* It is not ſo, neither are wee *Dwarfes*, nor they *Gyants*, but all of equall ſtature, or rather wee ſomewhat higher, being lifted vp by their meanes, conditionally there be in vs an equall intention of ſpirit, watchfulneſſe of minde, and loue of truth: for if theſe be wanting, then are we not ſo much dwarfes, as men of a perfect growth lying on the ground. *De Cauſis corrupt. Artium l. 1.*

Likewiſe it cannot be denied, but that the incouragements for ſtudy & Learning were in former times greater: what liberall bountifull allowance did *Alexander* afford *Ariſtotle* for the entertainment of *Fiſhers*, *Faukeners* and *Hunters* to bring him in beaſts, fowles, & fiſhes of all kindes for the diſcovery of their ſeverall natures and diſpoſitions. Nay the daily wages of *Roſcius* the ſtage-player, as witneſſeth *Macrobius*, was a thouſand *denarij*, which amounteth to *thirty pound* of our coyne. And *Æſope* the *Tragedian* grew ſo rich by the onely exerciſe of the ſame trade, if wee may credit the ſame *Author*, as hee left to his Sonne aboue *one hundred and fifty thouſand pound ſterling*: Wherevnto may be added, that the *Ancients* coppying out their bookes for the moſt part with their owne hands, it could not but worke in them a deeper impreſſion of the matter therein contained, and being thereby forced to content themſelues with fewer bookes, of *neceſſity* they held themſelues more cloſely to them. And it is moſt true which *Seneca* hath as well in reading as eating, in bookes as dyet, *Varietas delectat, certitudo prodeſt*, Variety is delightfull, but certainty more vſefull and profitable. 800. Talents. *Saturnal. lib. 3. c. 14.*

So that vpon the matter, all reckonings being on all ſides caſt vp, and one thing being ſet againſt another, as wee want ſome *helpes* which the *Ancients* had, ſo are wee freed from ſome *hinderances* wherewith they were incumbred, as againe it is certaine that they both wanted ſome of our helpes, and were freed from ſome of our hinderances: if then wee come ſhort of their perfections, it is not becauſe *Nature* is generally defectiue in vs, but becauſe we are wanting to our ſelues, and do not ſtriue to make vſe of, and improue thoſe abilities wherewith *God* and *Nature* hath endowed vs. *Male de Natura cenſet quicunque vno illam aut altero partu effœtam eſſe arbitratur*, ſaith *Vives*; He thinkes vnworthily and irreverently of *Nature* who conceiues her to be barren after one or two birthes; no, no, that which the ſame *Author* ſpeakes of places, is likewiſe vndoubtedly true of *times*, *Vbiq; bona naſcuntur ingenia, excolantur modo, alibi fortaſſis frequentiora, ſed vbiq; nonnulla.* Every where and in all ages

good wits ſpring vp, were they dreſſed and manured as they ought, though happily more frequently in ſome places & ages then in others. *Scythia* it ſelfe anciently yeelded one *Anacharſis*, and no doubt had they taken the ſame courſe as hee did, more of the ſame mettall would haue beene found there.

SECT. 2.

That there is both in wits and Arts as in all things beſides, a kinde of circular progreſſe as well in regard of places as times.

THere is (it ſeemes) both in *wits* and *Arts*, as in all things beſides, a kinde of *circular progreſſe:* they haue their *birth*, their *growth*, their *flouriſhing*, their *fayling*, their *fading*, and within a while after their *reſurrection*, and *reflowreſhing* againe. The *Arts* flouriſhed for a long time among the *Perſians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Ægyptians*, and therefore is *Moſes* ſaid to be learned in all the wiſedome of the *Ægyptians*, who well knowing their owne ſtrength, were bold to obiect to the *Grecians*, that they were ſtill *children*, as neither having the *knowledge of Antiquity*, nor the *Antiquity of knowledge:* But afterwards the *Grecians* got the ſtart of them, and grew ſo excellent in all kinde of learning, that the reſt of the world in regard of them were reputed *Barbarians*, which reputation of wiſedome they held even to the *Apoſtles* time, *I am a debter*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *both to the Grecians and to the Barbarians, both to the wiſe and to the vnwiſe*. And againe, *the Iewes require a ſigne and the Grecians ſeeke after wiſedome*. By reaſon whereof they reliſhed not the ſimplicity of the *Goſpell*, it ſeeming fooliſh vnto them: And in the 17 of the *Acts* the *Philoſophers* of *Athens*, (ſometimes held the moſt famous *Vniverſity* in the World) out of an opinion of their owne great learning ſcorned S. *Paul* and his doctrine, tearming him a *ſower of words*, a very *Babler* or *triffler:* yet not long after this, theſe very *Grecians* declined much; & themſelues (whether thorow their owne inclination, or by reaſon of their bondage vnder the *Turke*, the common enemy both of Religion and Learning, I cannot determine) are now become ſo ſtrangely *barbarous*, that their knowledge is converted into a kinde of affected ignorance, as is their liberty into contended ſlavery: yet after the loſſe both of their *Empire* and *Learning*, they ſtill retained ſome ſparke of their former wit and induſtry.

Act. 7 22.

Rom. 1. 14. 1. Cor. 1. 22.

Ingenium velox, audacia perdita, ſermo
Promptus, & Iſæo torrentior, ede quid illum
Eſſe putas quemvis hominem ſecum attulit ad nos
Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres Pictor, Aliptes,
Augur, Schænobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit
Græculus eſuriens, in cœlum juſſeris, ibit.

Iuven. Sat 7.

Quick-witted, wondrous bold, well ſpoken, then
Iſæus fluenter, tell who all men
Brought with himſelfe: a Southſayer, a Phyſitian,
Magician, Rhetoritian, Geometrician,

Gramma-

Grammarian, Painter, Ropewalker, all knowes
The needy Greeke; bid goe to heaven, hee goes.

But now they wholy delight in eaſe, in ſhades, in dancing, in drinking, and for the moſt part no farther endeavour the inriching either of their mindes or purſes then their bellies compell them.

The lampe of Learning being thus neere extinguiſhed in *Greece*,

In Latium ſpretis Academia migrat Athenis.
Athens forſaken by Philoſophie,
She forthwith travell'd into *Italie*.

It beganne to ſhine afreſh in *Italy* neere about the time of the birth of *Chriſt*, there being a generall peace thorow the world & the *Roman Empire* being fully ſettled and eſtabliſhed, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Philoſophers*, *Hiſtorians*, never more excellent. From thence this light ſpread it ſelfe over *Chriſtendome*, and continued bright till the invndation of the *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, & *Vandals*, who ranſacked Libraries, and defaced almoſt all the monuments of *Antiquity*, inſomuch as that *lampe* ſeemed againe to be put out by the ſpace of almoſt a thouſand yeares, & had longer ſo continued, had not firſt *Menſor* King of *Africa* & *Spaine* raiſed vp & ſpurred forward the *Arabian* wits to the reſtauration of good letters by propoſing great rewards and encouragements vnto them. And afterwards *Petrarch* a man of a ſingular wit & rare naturall endowments, opened ſuch *Libraries* as were left vndemoliſhed, beate off the duſt from the moth-eaten bookes, and drew into the light the beſt *Authors*. He was ſeconded by *Boccace* & *Iohn* of *Ravenna*, & ſoone after by *Aretine*, *Philelphus*, *Valla*, *Poggius*, *Omnibonus*, *Vergerius*, *Blondus*, & others. And thoſe againe were followed by *Æneas Sylvius*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Marſilius Ficinus*, and that *Phœnix* of Learning *Iohannes Picus* Earle of *Mirandula*, who as appeares in the entrance of his *Apologie* propoſed openly at *Rome nine hundred queſtions* in all kinde of faculties to be diſputed, inviting all ſtrangers thither, from any part of the knowne world, and offering himſelfe to beare the charge of their travell both comming and going, and during their abode there: ſo as hee deſervedly received that *Epitaph* which after his death was beſtowed on him:

Iohannes jacet hîc Mirandula, cætera norunt
Et Tagus, & Ganges, forſan & Antipodes.
Here lies *Mirandula*, *Tagus* the reſt doth know,
And *Ganges*, and perhaps th' *Antipodes* alſo.

And rightly might that be verified of him which *Lucretius* ſometimes wrote of *Epicurus* his Maſter:

Hic genus humanum ingenio ſuperavit, & omnes
Præſtrinxit, ſtellas exortus vt æthereus ſol.
In wit all men he hath farre overgone,
Eclipſing them like to the riſing Sunne.

This path being thus beaten out by theſe *Heroicall* ſpirits, they were backed by *Rodulphus Agricola*, *Reucline*, *Melanćthon*, *Ioachimus Camerarius*, *Wolphangus Lazius*, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Almaines*; the great *Eraſmus* a *Netherlander*; *Ludovicus Vives* a *Spaniard*; *Bembus*, *Sadoletus*, *Eugubinus Italians*; *Turnebus*, *Muretus*, *Ramus*, *Pythæus*, *Budæus*, *Amiot*, *Scaliger*,

Frenchmen, *Sir Thomas Moore*, and *Linaker Engliſhmen*; And it is worth the obſerving that about this time the ſlumbring drowzie ſpirit of the *Grecians* began againe to be revived and awakened; in *Beſſarion*, *Gemmiſtius*, *Trapezontius*, *Gaza*, *Argyropilus*, *Calcondilas*, and others: nay, thoſe very *Northerne* Nations which before had given the greateſt wound to learning, began now as by way of recompence to advance the honour of it by the fame of their ſtudies, as *Olaus Magnus*, *Holſterus*, *Tycho Braye*, *Hemingius*, *Danes*, *Hoſius*, *Frixius*, *Crummerus*, *Polonians*: But the number of thoſe worthies, who like ſo many ſparkling ſtarres haue ſince through *Chriſtendome* ſucceeded, and ſome of them exceeded theſe in learning and knowledge, is ſo infinite, that the very recitall of their names were enough to fill whole volumes: And if wee deſcend to a particular examination of the ſeverall profeſſions, *Arts*, *Sciences* and *Manufactures*, wee ſhall ſurely finde the prediction of the *Divine Seneca* accompliſhed, *Multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis ſciet*, the people of future ages ſhall come to the knowledge of many things vnknowne to vs: And that of *Tacitus* moſt true, *nec omnia apud priores meliora, ſed noſtra quoque ætas multa laudis & artium imitanda poſteris tulit*: Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, but our age hath left vnto poſterity many things worthy praiſe and imitation. *Ramus* goes further and perchance warrantably enough: *Majorem doctorum hominum & operum proventum ſæculo vno vidimus, quàm totis antea 14 majores noſtri viderant.* We haue ſeene within the ſpace of one age, a more plentifull crop of learned men and workes, then our *Predeceſſours* ſaw in *fourteene*, next going before.

Natural. quæſt. l. 7. c. 31.

Annal. 3. 6. 12.

præfat. Schol. Mathemat.

CAP. 7.

Touching the three principall profeſſions, Divinity, Law, and Phyſicke.

SECT 1.

Of the Divinity of the Gentiles and Iewes before Chriſt, and the next ages after Chriſt.

WE will begin with the high and noble profeſſion of *Divinity*, this among the *Gentiles* was partly prophaine and fabulous in their vaine diſcourſes touching the *Genealogie*, the number and nature of their *Gods*, and partly mixed with much error & weakeneſſe in their *Metaphyſickes*; *profeſſing themſelues to be wiſe, they became vaine in their imaginations and their fooliſh heart was darkned.* *Ante Chriſtum quã moleſtæ diſputationes*, ſaith *Lodovicus Vives* in his 5 booke & 9 chapter *de veritate fidei Chriſtianæ*, how irkeſome were the diſputes? how tedious their deliberations in comparing honeſty with profit, becauſe they knew not what was honeſty, nor in very truth what was truly profitable. How diverſe and vncertaine were their ends of goodneſſe? which held mens minds in ſuſpenſe? but *Chriſt* hath now fully cleered & opened all points, wee are now well acquainted with the true end & the meanes that conduce to that end, what is honeſt, what profitable, what hurtfull

Rom. 1. 21. 22.

hurtfull, the resolutions are now easie and perspicuous; & in the fourth chapter of the same booke, *nunc reconditissima mysteria scitu digna & necessaria, melius nostræ mulierculæ intelligunt, quàm maximi olim philosophi*; Our sillieſt women now better vnderstand the deepest Mysteries worthy or needefull to be knowne, then the profoundest Philosophers then did. They were (as the *Apostle* speakes in another case) *ever learning*, but never came, nor indeede could ever come to the knowledge of the truth, in as much as the meere naturall man perceiveth not, nor can perceiue the hid things of God, the mysteries of the knowledge of heaven; which made them to bee, as *Minutius Fœlix* in his *Octavius* hath truly obserued, *semper adversus sua vitia facundi*, alwaies eloquent in declayming against their owne vices; but wee (sayth hee) *qui non habitu sapientiam sed mente præferimus*, who do not place, or weare wisedome in the robe but in the minde: *Non eloquimur magna sed vivimus*, wee speake not bigge but liue well, and glory in this, that wee haue found that, which they with all eagernesse sought, but could not finde. His conclusion is: *Quid ingrati sumus? quid nobis invidemus, si veritas divinitatis nostri temporis ætate maturuit? fruamur bono nostro*: Why are wee ingrate? why do wee envie our selues, if the true knowledge of the deitie haue beene brought to ripenesse and full perfection in our age? In Gods name let vs enjoy our owne blessing. Among the *Iewes*, the only visible *Church*, the sacred Oracles of *God*, containing the revelation of supernaturall truthes, were indeede preserved: But hereunto, their *Talmudists* and *Cabalists*, their *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, their *Sadduces* and *Essens* added such traditions, such fictions, such corrupt glosses and malitious interpretations, as the fruit of their doctrine lay hid vnder the leaues; and as the learned in their language well know, very little vse can be made of their best *Commentaries* vpon Scripture; howbeit they presumed that their chiefest skill lay that way: So that wee neede not doubt, but the most excellent *Divines*, haue all beene since the comming of *Christ*. It is to mee very strange, that not onely the *Pharisees* should be infected with this opinion of the *Pythagorians*, touching the dwelling of the same soule in diverse bodies successiuely, and in diverse ages; but that *Herod*, and the whole nation of the *Iewes*, should be tainted with that grosse errour, as appeares in that they held our *Saviour* to be *Iohn* the *Baptist*, or *Elias*, or one of the *Prophets*; all which they knew to be dead, and some of them long before: Their meaning being that the soule of the *Baptist*, or of *Elias*, or of one of the *Prophets*, was by traduction passed into our *Saviours* bodie; as *Pythagoras* writes of himselfe, that hee was first *Euphorbus*, and then *Callidas*, then *Hermotimus*, then *Pyrrhus*, and lastly *Pythagoras*: but yet farre more strange it is, that the *Apostles* of our Saviour themselues should be thus misled, and yet it should seeme by that their demand touching him that was borne blinde, *Master, who did sinne, this man, or his parents, that hee was borne blinde*; that they were indeede possessed with that opinion, for how could they conceiue that hee should sinne before he was borne, but in some other body which his soule actuated before? and in truth Saint *Cyrill* vpon that occasion, is induced to thinke, that they

Iosephus de bello Iud. 2. 7.

Mat. 14. 2. Mar. 18. 28. Luk. 9. 19.

Ioh 9. 2.

In Graca Catena.

were ſwayed with the common errour of that nation and thoſe times; and *Calvin* confidently cries our *Prodigij ſane inſtar hoc fuit quòd in electo Dei populo, in quo cæleſtis ſapientiæ per Legem & Prophetas lux accenſa fuerat, tam craſſo figmento fuerit datus locus.* Truly, this is a prodigious kinde of wonder, that among the elect people of God, who were enlightned by the heavenly wiſdome of the Law and the Prophets, way ſhould be given to ſo palpable a fiction. Yet I know not whether their ſtupiditie, were greater in this, or in that other demaund of theirs, at our *Saviours* aſcenſion, *Lord wilt thou at this time reſtore the kingdome to Iſrael?* where *Calvin* againe ſtands amazed, that they ſhould all with one conſent (for ſo much doth the text imply) joyne together in ſuch a *fooliſh queſtion* as hee tearmes it, *mira profectò illorum fuit ruditas, quod tam abſolutè tantaque cura per triennium edocti non minorem inſcitiam produnt, quàm ſi nullum unquam verbum audiſſent, totidem in hac interrogatione ſunt errores quot verba:* wonderfull in truth was their rawneſſe and rudeneſſe, that having beene ſo exquiſitely and diligently taught by three yeares ſpace, they notwithſtanding bewray as much ignorance, as if they had never heard ſo much as one word of inſtruction, as many errours are in their queſtion as words: But this likewiſe of reſtoring them a *temporall kingdome*, then was, and at this day continues to be, the *common errour* of that *whole nation*, neither by any meanes will they be beaten from it: That which to mee ſeemeth more admirable, is, that S. *Peter* himſelfe, even after the deſcending of the *holy Ghoſt*, was ignorant of the calling of the *Gentiles*, of whom together with the *Iewes*, the *Catholique* Church was to be made vp: whereby it ſhould ſeeme, that then likewiſe he was ignorant, that himſelfe was the head of the *Catholique Church*, as by thoſe who hold themſelues the onely *Catholiques*, hee is now made; yet may it not be denyed, or ſo much as doubted, that the holy and bleſſed *Apoſtles* were all indowed with ſingular gifts and graces, as well for knowledge and wiſdome, as all kinde of morall vertues, fitting for ſo high a calling; and that in their writings, they were the pen-men of *God*, inſpired by the *holy Ghoſt*: but leaving them, let vs deſcend a little lower in the Church of Chriſt. As then the three firſt *Centuries* are commended for *Piety*, *devotion*, and *Martyrdome*, ſo is the fourth for learned and famous *Divines*. *Habuit hæc ætas ſi quæ unquam alia plurimos præſtantes & illuſtres Doctores*, ſay the *Magdeburgians*: This age if ever any abounded in excellent and famous *Doctours*, as namely *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Athanaſius*, *Hilarius*, *Victorinus*, *Baſilius*, *Nazianzenus*, *Ambroſius*, *Prudentius*, *Epiphanius*, *Theophilus*, *Hieronymus*, *Fauſtinus*, *Didymus*, *Ephraim*, *Optatus*; to which number they might well haue added, (for that he began to ſhew his worth in the ſame *Century*) that renowned pillar of truth and hammer of hereſies *S. Auguſtine*. Theſe and the like great *Divines* of thoſe ages I much honour, *& eorum nominibus ſemper aſſurgo*, I confeſſe I reverence their very names; yet moſt certaine it is, they had all their ſlips and blemiſhes in matter of doctrine: But before this age, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, are ſpecially branded for notorious errours, and *Vincentius Lirinenſis* giues this rare commendation of the *Fathers*, aſſembled in the Councell of *Nice*, that they

were

Comment. in Iegum.

Act. 1. 6.

Centur. 4. c. 4.

were *tantæ eruditionis, tantæque doctrinæ*, of ſo profound learning and ſingular knowledge, *vt propè omnes poſſent de dogmatibus diſputare*, that almoſt all of them could reaſon of matters of faith. Yet in thoſe very times, was the Church ſo rent and torne in ſunder with *Capitall* hereſies, trenching vpon the very vitall parts and fundamentall principles of *Chriſtian* Religion, touching the ſacred *Trinity*, and incarnation of our bleſſed *Saviour*, *vt illis temporibus ingenioſa res fuit eſſe Chriſtianum*, ſo as in thoſe times it was a matter of wit to be a *Chriſtian*: ſuch were the *nicities*, wherein their Teachers differed, and ſuch their *ſubtilties*, they bound their ſchollers to maintaine. *Contra hæreſes, cap. 41.* *Eraſmus.*

But that which to mee ſeemes moſt ſtrange, is, that ſo many of them were infected with the errour of the *Millenaries*, that ſo many, ſpecially of the *Greeke Fathers*, held that the *Angells* were created long before the creation of the viſible world, that a number both of the *Greeke* and *Latine* maintained, that the ſoules of men departed this life, went neither to heaven nor hell, till the reſurrection of the bodie but remained in certaine hidden receptacles they knew not where, that *Anti-Chriſt* was to come of the tribe of *Dan*, that the *ſonnes of God*, who in the ſixth of *Geneſis*, are ſayd to haue fallen in loue with the *daughters of men*, were the bleſſed *Angells*: vpon which occaſion, *Pererius* a learned *Ieſuite* hath theſe memorable words, *Pudet dicere quæ de optimis Scriptoribus hoc loco dicturus ſum*: I even bluſh to vtter thoſe things which heere I am to ſpeake of excellent writers, they being not onely falſe, but abſurd and ſhamefull, vnworthy the wit and learning of famous men, as alſo of the purity and holineſſe of the bleſſed *Angells*; yet truth inforceth mee to ſpeake, partly leaſt that ſhould ſeeme probable to any man, by reaſon of the countenance of ſo graue *Authours*, which is no way to be approued; and partly, that from hence it may appeare how much the *Church* of *Chriſt*, from that time to this hath profitted in the knowledge of holy Scriptures and divine myſteries: *Nam multa quondam vel doctiſsimis viris, aut obſcura & dubia, aut etiam incognita, nunc vel mediocriter eruditis perſpicua, indubitata, exploratèque percepta ſunt*: for many things anciently either obſcure or doubtfull, or altogether vnknown to the moſt learned among them, are now become even to meane Clarkes cleere & certaine. And with him fully accords *Andradius* in his defence of the *Tridentine* Councell, *God hath revealed many things to vs that they never ſaw*. And *Dominicus Bannes* a famous ſchoole-man: *It is not neceſſary, that by how much the more the Church is remote from the Apoſtles times, by ſo much there ſhould be the leſſe perfect knowledge of the myſteries of faith therein, becauſe after the Apoſtles times, there were not the moſt learned men in the Church, which had dexterity in vnderſtanding and expounding matters of faith.* *Roffenſis* likewiſe our Countrey-man ſtrikes vpon the ſame ſtring: *it cannot be vnknowne to any, but that many things are more narrowly ſifted & clearely vnderſtood by the helpe, of latter wits, as well in the Goſpell, as other parts of the Scriptures, then formerly they haue beene*; and laſtly, to make vp the muſicke full, *Cardinall Caietan* beares a part, *Let no man thinke it ſtrange, if ſometimes wee bring a new ſence of holy writ, different from the auncient Doctours, but let him diligently examine the Text and context,* *Commentar. in lecum.* *Lib. 2. 2ª. 2æ. pag. 58.* *Conſut. aſſert. Luth. art. 8.* *In 1. Gene.*

context, and if hee finde it to agree therewith, let him praise God, who hath not tyed the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, to the sences given by the auncient Doctours. These testimonies I the rather vouch for that the *Authours* of them being professed *Champions* of the *Romane* Church, withall professe themselues to be the greatest friends to the ancient *Fathers.*

SECT. 2.

Of ensuing ages.

YEt not to conceale a truth, these were lightsome times in regard of those *succeeding ages* that followed after, when *Divinity* was woven into *distinctions,* which like Cobwebs were fine and curious in working but not much vsefull. And in the meane time for the most part in the *Scriptures* and holy *Languages* there was so great ignorance, *vt Græcè nosse suspectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*, that, as witnesseth *Espencæus* himselfe a *Doctour* of the *Sorbon*, to bee skilled in *Greeke* was suspitious, in the *Hebrew* almost hæreticall; which suspicion *Remigius* an interpreter of *S. Pauls* Epistles surely was not guilty of: for commenting vpon these words, *à vobis diffamatus est sermo*, hee tells vs, that *diffamatus*, was somewhat improperly put for *divulgatus*, S. *Paul* being not very sollicitous of the propriety of words: wherevpon *Ludovicus Vives* demaunds, *quid facias principibus istis Scholarum qui nondum sciunt Paulum non Latinè, sed Græcè scripsisse:* What shall wee say to these *Masters* in *Israel*, who know not that S. *Paul* wrote not in *Latine*, but in *Greeke*. It appeares by the rescript of Pope *Zacharie* to *Boniface* a *German* Bishop, that a *Priest* in those parts baptized in this forme, *Baptizo te in nomine Patria, & Filia, & Spiritua sancta:* And by *Erasmus*, that some *Divines* in his time would take vpon them to proue, that Heretiques were to be put to death, because the *Apostle* sayth, *Hæreticum hominem deuita*, which it seemes they vnderstood as if hee had said, *de vita tolle.* I haue somewhere read, that two Fryars disputing whether *God* made any more worlds then one, the one wisely alleadging that passage of the *Gospell* touching the ten Lepers which were cleansed, *Annon decem facti sunt mundi*, as if *God* had made tenne worlds, the other looking into the text, replies as wisely, with the words immediately following, *Sed vbi sunt noveme?* but what is become of the nine? so as from thence hee would proue but one to be left. Hee that is disposed to make himselfe merry in this kinde, may finde in *Henry Stevens* his Apologies of *Herodotus*, a number of like stuffe, I will onely touch one or two of the choisest. *Du prat* a Bishop and Chauncellour of *France*, having received a letter from *Henry* the eight King of *England* to *Francis* the first of *France*, wherein among other things hee wrote, *mitto tibi duodecem Molossos*, I send you twelue mastife dogs, the Chauncellour taking *Molossos* to signifie *Mules*, made a journey of purpose to the Court to begge them of the King; who wondring at such a present to be sent him from *England*, demaunded the sight of the letter, and smiling thereat, the Chauncellour finding himselfe to be deceiued, told him that hee mis-

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2. Tim. 3. digressione 17.
1. Thess 1. 8.
Comment. de Civ. Dei l. 20. c. 21.
3. part. Decret. de consecr. distinct. 4. Can. 84.

tooke *Moloſſos* for *Muletos*, and ſo hoping to mend the matter, made it worſe. Another tale hee tells of a Pariſh Prieſt in *Artois*, who had his Pariſhioners in ſuite for not paving the Church, and that the charge thereof lay vpon them and not vpon him he would proue out of the 17 of the Prophet *Ieremie*, *Paveant illi, non paveam ego.* I remember Arch-Biſhop *Parker* ſomewhere in his *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, makes relation of a *French* Biſhop, who being to take his oath to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, & finding the word *Metropoliticæ* therein, being not able to pronounce it, he paſſed it over with *Soit pour dict*, let it be as ſpoken; and when they had moſt groſſely broken *Priſcians* head, being taken in the fact, their common defence was, thoſe words of S. *Gregory, non debent verba cæleſtis Oraculi ſubeſſe regulis Donati*, the words of the heavenly Oracles ought not to be ſubject to the rules of *Donatus*.

But about 200 yeares ſince, together with the *Arts*, the *languages* likewiſe began to reviue in ſo much as *Hebrew* & *Greeke* are now as common as true *Latine* then was, and for the true ſence of holy *Scripture*, never had the Church more judicious and faithfull Interpreters, then by the *Divine Providence* it hath injoyed theſe laſt 100 yeares: beſides, the *Sermons* of this latter age, ſpecially in this land, haue doubtleſſe bin more exquiſite and effectuall, then ordinarily they haue beene in any precedent age, inſomuch as it is obſerved, that if there were a choice collection made of the moſt accurate, ſince the entrance of Queene *Elizabeth*, to theſe preſent times, (leaving out the largeneſſe of applications thereupon) it would proue one of the rareſt peeces that hath beene publiſhed ſince the *Apoſtles* times. Herevnto might be added for practicall divinity, the deciſions of *caſes of conſcience*, which the *Ancients* did not handle profeſſedly, but onely vpon the Bye, and the many ſingular treatiſes tending to devotion, which I wiſh they were as well practiſed as they are written. And no doubt but the great agitation of *controverſies*, which theſe latter times haue produced, hath not onely ſharpned the ſpirits of *Divines*, but made the grounds of *Chriſtian* religion to be better vnderſtood. For, as S. *Auguſtine* ſpeakes of the *Fathers* writings before *Pelagius*, *ante exortum Pelagium ſecurius loquebantur Patres*, before the riſing of *Pelagius* the Fathers ſpoke more ſecurely: ſo may wee truly ſay, before *Luther* aroſe and awakened the world, Divines ſpoke and wrote more looſely then ſince they haue done: The ſparkes of truth being forced out of contention, as the ſparkes of fire are out of the colliſion of the flint and ſteele.

To conclude this Section, touching *Divinity*, it is moſt true which a learned *Divine* of our owne times and Church hath rightly obſerved, *D. I.* that whoſoever ſhall peruſe the *Church* ſtory digeſted into *Centuries* or *Annales*, or caſt but a glance of his eye vpon the *Catalogues* of writers, made by S. *Hierome*, *Suidas*, *Photius*, *Gennadius*, *Abbas*, *Tritemius*, *Illyricus*, *Ball*, and *Bellarmine*, ſhall finde the ages of the *Church* to reſemble the ſtarres of the skie. In ſome parts wee ſee many glorious and eminent ſtarres, in others few of any remarkeable greatneſſe, and in ſome none but blinkards and obſcure ones: In like manner, in ſome ages of the Church, we may behold many worthy and glorious lights like ſtars

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of the firſt or ſecond magnitude, in others few of any note or bright luſtre, and in ſome none but obſcure and vnknowne *Authours*, reſembling the leaſt and obſcureſt ſtarres in the skie. After wee haue paſſed the eight age of the Church, we fall into *Cymerian* darkeneſſe. *Bellarmine* cannot ſpeake of the ninth age with patience. *Seculo hoc nullum extitit indoctius aut infœlicius, quo qui Mathematicæ aut Philoſophiæ operam dabat vulgo Magus putabatur:* never was there any age more vnlearned or vnhappy then this, in which hee that ſtudied the Mathematickes or Philoſophy was commonly held a Magician. *Sabellicus* is at a ſtand in admiring the palpable *Egyptian* darkeneſſe thereof: *mirum eſt quanta omnium bonarum artium oblivio per id tempus mortalium animos obrepſerit, vt ne in Pontificibus quidem vllis ſive Principibus quicquam illuceret quod vitam juvare poſsit.* A wonder it is, how ſtrange a forgetfulnes of all good arts about this time crept vpon the mindes of men: ſo as neither in Prelates nor Princes appeared any thing which might further civility. *Genebrard* after a ſort bleſſeth himſelfe from it, *Infœlix dicitur hoc ſeculum, exhauſtum hominibus doctrina & ingenio claris, ſine etiam claris Principibus atque Pontificibus:* This is called the vnhappy age, void of men renowned either for wit or learning, as alſo without any famous either Princes or Prelates: So great an alteration there is in the ſtudies and endeavours of men in diverſe ages, ſometimes for the better, ſometimes for the worſe, and then by Gods bleſſing for the better againe.

De Romano Pontific. l. 4. c. 12.

Enead. 9.

Chron. lib. 4.

SECT 3.

The Lawyers of this laſt age, preferred before thoſe of former times.

NExt *Gods Lawes*, thoſe of the *Empire* ſeeme to challenge their place, howbeit with vs, having neither that reward nor imployment as they deſerue, they haue loſt both their ranke and dignitie, but in forraine parts where they are cheriſhed and honoured, they marvellouſly flouriſh, in ſo much as in ſome tranſmarine kingdomes their *Lawyers* are held, and for the moſt part vndoubtedly are more ſufficient Schollers then their *Divines*; and within this laſt *Centenarie*, much more ſufficient then the writers and profeſſours of the ſame facultie in many precedent ages, as well in that part which is profeſſed in Schooles, as the practique expreſſed in judgements and pleadings. He that ſhall judiciouſly compare *Baldus* and *Bartolus*, *Iaſon* and *Accurſius*, with *Cuijacius*, *Alciatus*, *Ottiomannus*, *Duarenus* all Frenchmen, ſhall eaſily finde theſe latter not only for their phraſe more polite, and for their methode more exact, but for the marrow & true ſence of the Law more profound. I will inſtance onely in the two firſt. For *Cuijacius*, it is a memorable teſtimony which is yeelded him by *Maſſonius*; *Iacobus Cuijacius juris Romani radices tanta cura effoſſas in lucem protulit, vt cæteri ante eum ignoraſſe illas, ipſe ſolus poſt multos & quæſiuiſſe diligentiùs, & penitiùs inveniſſe videatur: Iames Cujace* with ſo great induſtry digged vp and brought to light the very rootes of the *Imperiall* Law, that both others before him ſeemed to be ignorant of them, and hee alone after o-

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thers to haue ſought them more diligently, and diſcovered them more fully: but that of *Pythæus* outvies this of *Maſſonius*, where in an *Epitaph* erected to him, he doubts not to ſtile him, *Romani juris à primis Conditoribus interpretem primum & vltimum*, the firſt and the laſt interpreter of the *Romane* Law ſince the firſt founders thereof: adding withall, that what cleere and natiue light ſoever is at all brought to that ſcience, this preſent age hath derived it from him, and to him poſterity muſt owe it, which he hath well expreſſed in this *Diſtich*:

Cuijacij Themidiſque vides commune ſepulchrum,
Conduntur ſimul hic quæ periere ſimul.

Cujas, and *Themis* here lie in one common graue,
They dy'd together and one ſepulchre they haue.

Wherevnto may be added the graue teſtimony which *Arias Montanus* giues *Alciat*:

Eloquio jus Romanum lucebat & arte
Turba obſcurarunt barbara legulei.
Andreas priſco reddit ſua jura nitori
Conſultoſque facit doctiùs inde loqui.

The Civill Law with art and eloquence did ſhine,
But barbarous pettifoggers did the ſame obſcure;
In ſeaſon *Alciat* came and did the Lawes refine,
And taught the Lawyers thence to ſpeake more pure.

Yet *Cuijacius* himſelfe, whether out of judgment or modeſty I cannot affirme, was content to yeeld the bucklers to *Govianus*, touching whom *Thuanus* witneſſeth, that himſelfe heard him thus proteſting, *Govianum ex omnibus juris Iuſtinianei interpretibus, quotquot ſunt vel fuere, vnum eſſe, cui, ſi quæratur quis excellat, palma differenda ſit*: that of all the Interpreters of the Lawes of *Iuſtinian*, which either are, or haue bin, if the queſtion ſhould be, who amongſt them moſt excelled, *Govianus* was the onely man, to whom the price was of right to be adiudged Now for the latter part, which is the *practique*, it may eaſily be evidenced to any who will be pleaſed to looke into it, that by the obſervations, experience, paines, and learning of the *Lawyers* of thoſe latter ages, it is grown to much more exactneſſe and perfection, then former ages had. Which appeares by the *iudgements*, *deciſions*, *arreſts*, and *pleadings* of the higheſt Courts of the greateſt part of the *Chriſtian* Nations, which are extant in great numbers, as the *deciſions* of the ſeverall *Rotes* of *Italy* at *Rome*, at *Naples*, at *Florence*, at *Genoa*, at *Bononia*, at *Mantua*, at *Peruſium*, and the reſt. The *Iudgments* of the *Imperiall* chamber at *Spire*, which is the laſt reſort of the *Germane* Nation: and the arreſt of the ſeverall Courtes of *Parliament* in *France*, as *Paris*, *Aix*, *Burdeaux*, *Grenoble*, and the reſt: to which may be added the pleadings of *Monſieur Servin*, the *French* Kings advocate, and others of that nature, which are all publiſhed and extant, partly in *Latine*, and partly in their owne languages, with that variety and learning as much exceedes the former ages.

Biblior. hiſt. 99.

SECT. 4.

SECT 4.

Ancient and Moderne Phyſitians compared eſpecially in the knowledge of Anatomy and Herbary, the two legges of that Science.

THe third great Profeſſion is *Phyſicke*, in which beſides the vncertaine and fabulous reports of *Apollo* and *Eſculapius*, wee reade not of any excellent till *Hippocrates*, and after him being much decayed, it was revived by *Gallen*, *vt ſub eo rurſum nata medicina videatur*, ſo as it ſeemed vnder him to be borne againe. Two ſpeciall parts thereof are the *knowledge of the body of man, and the knowledge of ſimples*: touching the former, the opening and anatomizing of mens bodies. It was doubtleſſe among the *Ancients* in very little vſe, I meane the *AEgygtians*, the *Hebrewes*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the Primitiue *Chriſtians*. Firſt then I know the *AEgyptians* are by ſome ſaid to haue beene this way moſt skilfull, but conſidering how exceſſiuely curious & ceremonious, or rather ſuperſtitious they were in preſerving their bodies intire & vnputrified, I conceiue their opening them to haue been rather for the imbowelling & imbaulming, then the anatomizing of them: and for the *Grecians* they could not well practiſe it, in as much as they vſually burnt their dead bodies, by the teſtimony not onely of *Homer* and *Herodotus*, (whoſe authorities yet in this caſe might paſſe as ſufficient) but likewiſe of *Thucidides* and *Plutarch*, witneſſes beyond all exception, whereof the latter in the 3 booke and 4 queſtion of his *Sympoſiaques* giues vs to vnderſtand, that their cuſtome was with the bodies of ten men to burne one of a woman, becauſe they ſuppoſed their fleſh to be more vnctuous, and thereby to helpe forward the burning of the reſt more eaſily and ſpeedily; and ſurely had Anatomy bin in vſe among the *Grecians*, mee thinkes Phyſitians & Anatomiſts ſhould ſomewhere diſcover it in the works of *Hippocrates* yet extant, which I preſume cannot be ſhowne; once I am ſure, that when at the inſtance of the *Abderites* he came to viſite *Democritus*, hee found him (as may be ſeene in his Epiſtle to *Damogetus*) cutting vp ſeverall beaſts, who being by him demaunded the reaſon thereof, *Democritus* returnes him this anſwere, *Hæc animalia quæ vides propterea ſeco, non dei opera peroſus, ſed fellis biliſque naturam diſquirens*, theſe beaſts which thou ſeeſt I cut vp, not becauſe I hate the works of God, but to ſearch into the nature of gall and choller: now if he feared leſt the cutting vp of beaſts might be cenſured as an hating of Gods workes, hee muſt needes much more haue feared that cenſure, had hee cut vp the bodies of men.

Laurentius.

But among the *Iewes* it is evident, that this Art could not be in vſe, for that their executed malefactours were put to death either by burning or ſtoning, (whom they buried vnder an heape of ſtones) or by crucifying them vpon a croſſe, and for theſe they had expreſſe charge, *Deu.* 21. at the laſt verſe, that they ſhould not ſuffer them *to hang all night vpon the tree, but in any wiſe muſt they bury them the very day they were crucified*: and beſides it was moſt preciſely inioyned them *Numbers* 19.

11.

11. that they might not ſo much as *touch the dead body* of any that was either executed, or died otherwiſe, & he that touched it was by the law of *Moſes* ſo farre held *vncleane*, that if he preſumed to enter into the *tabernacle* before he was purified, he was to be cut off from *Iſrael* for defiling it; nay, if in this caſe he but touched bread or pottage, or wine, or oyle, or any meate, he thereby made it vncleane, as appeares *Aggai* 2.13.

Some more doubt ſeemes to be touching the ancient *Romans*, but I thinke it may eaſily bee ſhewed, that from the *Grecians* they likewiſe tooke vp & practiſed the burning of dead bodies: the places which they commonly vſed to this purpoſe were by them called *puticuli* or *culinæ*, & the pots or veſſels in which they preſerued the bones & aſhes of the burnt bodies, *Vrnæ*, whereof I haue ſeen one in M. *Chambers* his keeping at *Bath*: but all the difficultie ſeemes to cõſiſt in this, when this cuſtome *began* among them, and when it *ceaſed*, for the former it is commonly held, that it was not in vſe among the *Romans* before *Sylla* the *Dictator*, who hauing himſelfe cruelly tyrannized vpon the dead bodie of *Marius*, & fearing leſt the ſame meaſure might be ſhewed to himſelfe, commanded that his body inſtãtly vpõ his death ſhould be burned, whereas *Pli.* 7.54. only ſayes, that he was the firſt of the *Cornelian* family that had his body burnt: & *Tully* 2 *de legibus* reſtraines it more narrowly, *Primus è patritijs Cornelijs igni voluit cremari*, he was the firſt of the *Cornelian* nobility that commanded it; & he that attentiuely reades the *Roman* ſtory will eaſily finde, that this cuſtome was practiſed among them long before *Sylla*, euen from the firſt foundation of *Rome*, ſo witneſſeth *Ovid* in his 4 *de Faſtis*, ſpeaking of *Remus* the brother of *Romulus*;

Arſuroſque artus vnxit.
The limbes that now were to be burnt
His brother did annoynt.

And againe:

Vltima plorato ſubdita flamma rogo eſt:
The laſt fire now was ſet vnto his hearſe.

After this *Numa* being by ſect a *Pythagorian*, forbad his owne body to be burnt, as witneſſeth *Plutarch* in his life, which he needed not haue done had not the cuſtome then beene vſuall: and *Tullus Hoſtilius* his ſucceſſour had not his body therefore burnt becauſe he was ſtricken dead with lightning, for ſo was the Law. After this again *Tully* in his ſecond *de legibus* tells vs, that the Law of the 12 Tables commanded, *Hominem mortuũ in vrbe ne ſepelito, neve vrito:* let no dead body be buried or burned in the Citie, which (as he there addes) was for feare their buildings might from thence take fire: now the Lawes of the 12 Tables were compoſed, as witneſſeth *Gellius* 20.1. in the 300 yeare after the foundation of the City, which was almoſt 400 yeares before *Sylla*; & if any deſire further ſatisfaction in this point, I referre him to the learned and copious *Annotations* of *Blaſius Vigenerus* in *French* vpon the firſt *Decade* of *Livie*, which Author himſelfe hath excellently tranſlated into that language; among other examples produced by him to this purpoſe, he makes it plaine out of *Livie lib.* 8. that the body of the ſonne of

Manlius the Conſull, (who contrary to his fathers command fought out of his ranke, & was therefore by a command from the ſame mouth put to death) was preſently carried out of the campe and burned with all military pompe, and this he aſſignes to the yeare 412 by his computation, aboue 270 yeares before the death of *Sylla*.

Now this practiſe of the *Romans* I haue the longer inſiſted vpon partly for the checking of a *common errour*, holding that before *Sylla* the *Romans* burnt not their dead bodies, and partly to ſhew that many of thoſe monſtrous giantlike bodies, which as well among the *Romans* as *Grecians* are ſaid to haue beene digged vp, where vndoubtedly burnt, but cheifly that hereby it may appeare, that the noble and vſefull practiſe of *anatomizing* mens bodies, was not in vſe among them, neither indeede could it be, conſidering they held it vnlawfull, *aſpicere humana exta*, as *Pliny* ſpeakes in his proeme to his 28 booke, to looke vpon the entrals of mens bodies, and *Dion* in his 55 tels vs, that it was granted to *Tiberius* to touch the body of *Auguſtus*, *quod nefas aliàs erat*, which was otherwiſe vnlawfull: and from hence it was that their *Veſpillones*, *Coriarij*, *Pollinctores*, *Libitinarij*, and other officers of that kinde imployed about the waſhing, the annointing, the carrying forth, the burning and providing things neceſſary about the dead, were not ſuffered to liue in the City, and the bodies themſelues were burnt without the City, and few there were that went forth of the city gates to wait on the funerals of their neareſt and deareſt friends.

Sen. nat. quæſt. 3 18.

Now the Antiquity of this cuſtome being cleared, a ſecond doubt there is, when it ceaſed: manifeſt then it is, that it continued in vſe till the *Antonins*, and then began it by degrees to be diſuſed, *Macrobius* witneſſing in the ſeaventh booke and ſeaventh chapter of his *Saturnals*, that in his time it was in a manner growne out of vſe, yet certaine it is that the bodies of *Pertinax* and *Severus* fifty yeares after, were both burned, as reporteth *Dion* of the one, & *Herodian* in his fourth booke of the other: and neere about this time it was that *Galen* liued, ſo as I verily beleeue he neuer or very ſeldome opened the bodies of men, I know that *Riolan* and *Laurentius* haue both of them zealouſly defended him againſt the Neotericks, who charge him with much weakeneſſe and ignorance in this Art, but I cannot obſerue that either of them hath produced ſo much as one cleare paſſage out of any part of his workes, to proue that he euer ſo much as once opened the body of man: dogges indeed, & ſwine, & apes it appeares he opened, & once an Elephant, but for his vſuall opening of mens bodies, in my minde they bring no ſufficient proofes, which *Laurentius* himſelfe well perceiuing, modeſtly concludes his anſwere to the firſt inſtance brought againſt *Galen* with a *verſimile eſt*, it is likely that he cut vp the bodies of men.

But let vs paſſe on from the *Iewes* and *Gentiles*, to the Primitiue *Chriſtians* who were (as their workes ſhew) *profeſſed adverſaries* to this practiſe. *Tertullian* in the fourth chapt. of his booke *de anima*, ſpeaking of *Herophilus*, doubts whether he may call him *medicum* or *lanium*, a Phyſitian or a butcher, *qui hominem odijt vt noſſet* ſaith he, who hated mankinde that he might know it, & S. *Auguſtine de Civit. dei* 22. 24. harpes much

much vpon the ſame ſtring, *Etſi medicorum diligentia nonnulla Crudelis quos anatomicos appellant laniavit corpora mortuorum:* howbeit the ouer-diligent crueltie of ſome Phyſitians whom they call *Anatomiſts* hath butchered the bodies of the dead: And to like purpoſe is that of *Boniface* the eight, *extravag. commun. lib. 3. tit. 6. cap.* 1. where he ſeuerely threatens ſuch with the thunderboult of *excommunication* irrevocable, but onely by the ſea *Apoſtolique*, who exenterate dead bodies, and cut the fleſh from the bones, mangling it into gobbets, *quod non ſolum* (ſaith hee) *divinæ majeſtatis conſpectui abominabile plurimum redditur, ſed etiam humanæ conſiderationis obtutibus occurrit vehementius abhorrendum*; which is a practiſe abominable in the eyes both of God and men. Out of all which it appeares that this practiſe of anatomizing the dead bodies of men, ſo profitable to bring vs to the knowledge of our ſelues, and conſequently of our maker, ſo neceſſarie to Phyſitians & Surgeans, was neuer brought into the bodie of a perfect art, till this latter age. *Nos multa quotidie prioribus ſeculis incognita obſeruamus:* we obſerue many thinges vtterly vnknowne to former ages: And this laſt age in truth hath yeelded men ſingular in this art. *Veſalius, Vaſſæus, Varolius, Sylvius, Fallopius, Piccolhominæus, Columbus, Riolanus, Bauhinus, Laurentius*, who followed *Henry* the fourth of *France* in his *civill* warres, and gained much experience by cutting vp the bodies of ſuch as were ſlaine in the field, *vt videatur hæc Ars nunc ſummum perfectionis faſtigium attigiſſe*, they be his owne words, ſo as this Art now, & neuer before ſeemes to haue reached the very toppe of perfection. Neuer was it in any age ſo illuſtrated with liuely & exquiſite pictures, ſo encouraged with ſtipends, ſo furniſhed with ſchooles, fitting inſtruments & all manner of helpes, and generally ſo honoured as it is at this day. And truely I haue often not a little wondred with my ſelfe, that an Vniverſitie ſo famous in forraine parts as this of *Oxford*, was neuer to my knowledge provided of a *publique Lecture* in this kinde, till now; as neither was it for a *garden of ſimples*, now in good forwardnes by the noble munificence of the *Heroicall Earle* of *Danbie*, nor of a *Hiſtory* Lecture, nor of an *Arabique*, though it were long ſince ſolemnly decreed in the Councell of *Vienna*, that this Vniverſity, as likewiſe *Paris, Bononia, Salamanca*, & *Rome* (which were vndoubtedly then accounted the principall Vniverſities in *Chriſtendome*) ſhould each of them haue maintained two profeſſours in that language, as alſo in *Chalde* & *Hebrew: Clementinarum, lib. 5. Tit. 1. cap. 1.* *Laurentius.*

Now for the knowledge of *Simples*, the other legge, as it were vpon which *Phyſicke* ſtands, as *Theophraſtus* was in many things amended by *Pliny*, & *Pliny* by *Dioſcorides*, ſo hath *Dioſcorides* himſelfe by the happy travells of *Ruellius*, and *Rouillius*, & *Leonardus Fuchſius*, who in his *Epiſtle* to *Ioachimus* Marquis of *Brandenburge*, tels vs, that this part of *Phyſicke* was a while ſince ſo vtterly neglected & defaced, that, had not *God* rayſed vp induſtrious and learned men to reſtore it, *actum plane de Medicina Herbaria fuiſſet*, it had beene vtterly loſt: But *Hermolaus Barbarus* was hee, who by tranſlating *Dioſcorides* out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, & by adding his *Corrolarium* thereunto touching the ſame ſubject, firſt recovered the ancient luſtre thereof. And ſince, by reaſon of the diſcoue-

rie of many parts of the world vnknowne to the Ancients, many *plants*, *gummes*, *drugges*, and *mineralls*, are by *Monardus* & others knowne to vs, which they neuer heard of.

SECT. 5.

Of the profitable vse of extractions, and the Paracelsian Physicke, either wholy vnknowne to the Ancients, or little practised by them.

TO the perfiting of the *Anatomicall* and reviuing of the *Botanicall* art in this latter age, may be added a *new* kinde of *physicke* professed by a *new sect* of *Physitians*, never heard of in the world before; and altogether differing from the *Ancients*, as in *name*, in *tearmes of art*, so likewise in *rules*, in *matter*, in *methode* & *manner* of proceeding, as well for *doctrine* as *practise*, a founder it had (if wee may credit himselfe) descended of a noble and ancient familie among the *Heluetians*, the name which he giues himselfe *Philippus*, *Theophrastus*, *Bombastus*, *ab Hoenhaim*, or *Paracelsus*, by which name he is now commonly known; borne he was in or about the yeare 1494, and died at *Salisburge* in *Germanie* in the yeare 1541, being then but forty seaven; a man strangely composed, as *Bullinger*, and *Gesner*, and *Operinus*, a citizen of *Basile* (his bosome friend and individuall companion for some yeares) haue characterized him: without learning, without civilitie, without religion, being neuer heard to pray, a great hater of women, and yet an excessiue louer of wine, exceedingly vaine-glorious in his words and writings, & yet sordide in his apparell, and base in the company he willingly made choise of, which for the most part were coach-men and carters, or bores of the countrey, & with these would he sit vp drinking all night, and (then seldome shifting himselfe) cast himselfe downe on a bed to sleepe, prodigall he was in his expenses, yet seldome wanted money, & sometimes hauing not a pennie in his purse ouer night, he would draw forth handfulls of gold in the morning, which made men beleeue hee had indeede the art of transmutation of mettals, & that he carried with him the Phylosophers stone in the pommell of his sword, which he alwayes wore: he spent some time in most of the Vniversities in *Christendome*, consulting in matters of physicke with *Doctours*, *Surgeans*, *keepers of Bathes*, *wise men*, *Magitians*, *Alchymists*, *Monkes*, and of all kinde of people: And lastly, passing into *Arabia*, he there likewise spent tenne yeares more in the same studies, (if wee may credit *Bickerus* in *Hermete redivivo*) and so returning (as he there speakes) loaden with the spoiles of the *East*; he brought to light in these parts of the world the vse of *Hermeticall*, *Spagyricall*, or *Chymicall* physicke, (as they tearme it.) So as where *Galen* mentions in his time but three sects of Physitians, *Emperikes*, *Methodists* and *Dogmatiques*; we haue now a fourth that goe vnder the name of *Chymiques*, *Hermetiques*, or *Paracelsians*, & a branch of them (as I conceiue, is the order *Roseæ Crucis*) who treading in the steppes of their *master*, haue changed *Aristotles* 3 principles of naturall bodies, *matter*, *forme*, and *privation*; into *Salt*, *Sulphur*, and *Mercury*; and from the

the ſeverall temper of theſe three, they affirme all ſickneſſes and health to ariſe. I will not in all things vndertake the defence of them, neither can I if I would; the truth is, they magnifie themſelues too much, and overvaluing themſelues and their owne wits, and worth, they too much diſeſteeme the precepts and practice of the Ancients; yet it cannot be denied, but by reaſon of their artificiall *extractions*, *ſeparations*, and *preparations* of their medicines; they haue had happy ſucceſſe in the curing of ſome *deſperate diſeaſes*, which in former ages haue bin thought incurable; and *Paracelſus* himſelfe, even by the acknowledgment of his adverſaries, wrought wonders in the ſpeedy healing of inveterate and feſtered vlcers; for that he was able by meere art to make *Homuncules* litle men, or to raiſe the dead to life, or to prolong the life of a man to ſome thouſands of yeares, (as he vainely boaſteth of himſelfe) is I confeſſe no part of my Creede. Well then, leaving their vanities to themſelues, I doubt not but the moſt learned Phyſitians of this age, who ſticke moſt to *Galen*, (if they be not led with *faction* or *fancie*, but with *judgement*, *reaſon*, and *experience*) will eaſily confeſſe at times a profitable vſe of the *Paracelſian extractions* in their practice, as being leſſe loathſome, & cumberſome, and withall more actiue and vigorous, more ſpiritfull and operatiue; as on the other ſide it muſt be granted, that being applied without good adviſe and moderation, they cannot but proue dangerous, by reaſon of their peircing and ſearching nature; ſo as the joyning of the *Galenicall* and *Paracelſian* Phyſicke together, making vſe of them both as occaſion ſerues, is by 1 *Audernacus*, 2 *Sennertus*, 3 *Quercitan*, and ſome others of beſt note, held the beſt and ſafeſt courſe. I cannot here omit *Quercitanes* words to this purpoſe: *Si Hippocrates, vel Ariſtoteles, vel ipſe etiam Galenus nunc reviviſceret, obſtupeſceret certè tot ornamentis artem hanc adauctam atque illuſtratam, tot novis inventis ditatam, tot mirificis operationibus confirmatam:* If *Hippocrates*, or *Ariſtotle*, or *Galen* himſelfe were now aliue, they would wonder to ſee this art enlarged and beautified with ſo many ornaments, enriched with ſo many new inventions, confirmed by ſo many ſtrange practiſes & experiments. Whereupon he inferres: *Veriſſimum itaque eſt quod ſapientum quidam medicorum noſtri ſeculi ait, creverunt cum ingenijs & ipſæ ſcientiæ arteſque magnæ & incredibilia incrementa ſumpſerunt:* It is moſt true, which one of the wiſeſt Phyſitians of our age affirmes, together with good wits the ſciences ſprang vp, and the Arts are incrediblely inproved.

1 *De vetere & nova medicina.*
2 *De Chymicorum cum Galenicis conſenſu.*
3 *Pharmacopœa dogmaticorum reſtituta.*

CAP. 8.

Touching Hiſtory, Poetry, and the Art Military.

SECT. 1.

That the moderne farre exceeded the Ancients in Chronologie and Coſmography, the two eyes of Hiſtory.

AS the two legges of *Phyſicke* are *Anatomie* and *Herbarie*, ſo the two eyes of *Hiſtory* are *Chronologie* and *Topographie*, *computation* of *times*, and *deſcription* of *places*: in both which it is certaine, that the *Modernes* haue ſo farre exceeded the *Ancients*, as theſe ſeeme to haue ſeene nothing in a manner in regard of them. Firſt then for *Chronologie*, how dim-ſighted are the *Ancients* in the *computatiõ* of *times*, how miſerably doe they wander vp and downe in the darke, & knocke their heads each againſt other, and how excellently haue latter Writers, and ſpecially *Ioſeph Scaliger* in that moſt elaborate worke of his *de emendatione Temporum*, cleared thoſe miſts, and chaſed away that darknes. It is to this purpoſe a notable ſpeech of *Caſaubons*, *Scientia temporum quantoperè fuerit poſt renatas literas exculta, quàm admiranda acceperit incrementa, aſinus eſt qui ignorat inter literatos, malignus & beneficiorũ Dei ingratus æſtimator qui diſſimulat, ſtupenda enim ſunt quæ ſũmi viri in noſtra præſertim Gallia & Germania præſtiterũt.* He that knowes not how much the knowledge of times hath beene laboured ſince the new birth of good letters, among the learned, can be held but an aſſe, and he who diſſembles it, enuious, and an vngratefull vnder-valuer of *Gods* bleſſings towards this age: admirable things they are which in this kinde men of note haue atchieved, ſpecially in our *France* and *Germany*. The learned workes in *Chronologie* of *Funccius*, *Buntingius*, *Bucholcerus*, *Helvicus*, *Calviſius*, *Genebrardus*, *Gordonus*, *Salianus*, *Torniellus*, and our *Engliſh Liuely* (of whoſe skill in *Chronologie*, the ſame *Caſaubon* makes honorable mention, *cont. Bar. Exer. 16. n. 13.*) their workes, I ſay, publiſhed to the world, make his words good, and fully teſtifie what hee there affirmes. The computation of the yeare euen amongſt the *Grecians* (then held the wiſeſt people of the world) was for a long time groſſe and vncertaine, till *Meton* the *Athenian* corrected it; which invention of his being entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome* was there inſerted into their Calender in Golden letters, being from thence called the *golden number*, which name it ſtill retaineth vnto this day: but afterward, this being likewiſe found defectiue, *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*; & after this again *Hipparchus* a noble Aſtrologer, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former obſervations, which they diligently amended; yet not ſo exactly, but a farther reformation ſtill needed which *Iulius Cæſar* made, by the aduice of the beſt Mathematicians then to be found, who more preciſely examining the courſes of the Sunne and Moone, reduced the yeare vnto the forme which is now

Ex. 1. in Baron. p. 150.

in

in vſe with vs containing 365 dayes and ſix houres, which houres in foure yeares make vp one whole day that is intercalated euery fourth yeare, the 24 of *Februarie:* this worthy worke of *Cæſars*, *Plutarch*, and *Scaliger*, parallell with his greateſt triumphs; yet was it not ſo accurate, but the firſt Generall Councell held at *Nice*, found in it ſomewhat amiſſe and reformed it: though ſome miſtake was herein alſo obſerued by *Bede*, *Argyrus*, *Campanus*, *Iohannes de ſacro boſco* and others, and therevpō was the right ordering thereof attempted by *Nicholaus Cuſanus*, and *Petrus de Alliaco* Cardinalls; *Paule of Middleborough*, and *Lucas Gauricus* Biſhops, *Regiomontanus*, *Stoſlerinus* & *Pighius* learned men; but *Aloyſius Lilius* was he who compoſed a treatiſe thereof, which after his death being by his brother *Antonius* Dr of phyſicke, preſented to *Gregorie* the 13th Biſhop of *Rome*, hee approued it ſo well as he ſent Copies thereof to the cheife Princes, and Vniverſities vnder his juriſdiction, to craue their opinions therevpon, and conſents therevnto; and for the better ſetling thereof, called to *Rome* the moſt famous Mathematicians through the world, profeſſing the *Romiſh* Religion, who conſulting of this great buſineſſe by the ſpace of ten yeares, at laſt agreed vpon that Calender, which is called either *Gregorianum*, becauſe it was publiſhed in the yeare 1582 during the Popedome, & by the command of *Gregorie* the 13th, or *Lilianum*, becauſe it was for the maine ground thereof the invention of *Aloyſius Lilius:* which though it be oppoſed by *Scaliger*, *Gernianus*, *Vieta Mæſtlin* and others, yet hath *Clauius* (who was himſelfe preſent and a principall actor in that Mathematicall Synode in *Rome*) vndertaken the defence thereof againſt them all, how juſtly I leaue it to the ſkilfull in that profeſſion to judge, but this I thinke, that it is an eaſier matter to finde fault with that then to finde out a better.

Now for *Topographie*, the other eye of *Hiſtory*, *Strabo* often, and that deſervedly cenſures *Eratoſtenes*, *Hipparchus*, *Polybius*, *Poſſidonius*, the graveſt *Authours* among the *Ancients*, and *Ptolomie* ſharply takes vp *Marinus Tyrius*, though otherwiſe a diligent Writer: yet both *Strabo* & *Ptolomy* themſelues, if they be compared with our latter Geographers, *Hondius*, *Mercator*, *Thevet*, *Merula*, *Ortelius*, *Maginus*, how defectiue, how imperfect will they be found? The ignorance of former ages in this point was ſo groſſe, that what time *Pope Clement* the ſixth, as we reade in *Robert* of *Aueſbury*, had elected *Lewis* of *Spaine* to be *Prince* of the *Fortunate Ilands*, and for to aide & aſſiſt him, muſtred Souldiers in *France* & *Italy*, our Countrey-men were verily perſwaded that he was choſen *Prince* of *Brittaine*, as one (ſaith he) of the *Fortunate Ilands:* yea and our very *Ligier Embaſſadours* there with the *Pope*, were ſo deepely ſetled in this opinion, that forthwith they with-drew themſelues from *Rome*, & haſted with all ſpeed into *England*, there to certifie their Countreymen and friends of the matter: It is very obſervable and indeed admirable that neither *Herodotus*, nor *Thucydides*, nor any other *Greeke* author contemporarie with them, haue ſo much as mentioned the *Romans* though then growing vp to a dreadfull power, and being both *Europæans*; and for the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, the *Grecians*, as witneſſeth *Budæus* in his fourth booke *de aſſe*, were ſo vtterly ignorant of them, that *Ephorus* one *Anno* 1344.

of their moſt accurate writers tooke, *Spaine* which he calls *Iberia*, to be a Citie, though the Coſmographers make the circuit of it to containe aboue 1136 *French* miles, ſo true is that of *Fracaſtorius* in his epiſtle to to *Paule* the third Biſhop of *Rome* prefixed to his booke which he intitles *Homocentricorũ*. *Majores noſtri*: &c. Our anceſtours knew litle Weſtward beyond the Fortunate Ilands, and Eaſtward as little beyond *Catygara*, ſo as of the whole habitable world, hardly one halfe thereof was knowne to them. The head of *Nilus* was to the ancients vtterly vnknowne, as wineſſeth *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, *Strabo* in his Geographie *lib.* 17. *Diodorus Siculus* in his *Bibliotheca lib.* 1. to which *Ovid* in his *Metam.* alludes:

Lib. 2.

Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem,
Occuluitque caput, quod adhuc latet.

Nile fled for feare to the worlds vtmoſt bound,
And hidde his head, which cannot yet bee found.

And with him doth *Lucan* accord,

Lib. 10. Pharſ.

Et te terrarum neſcit cui debeat orbis
Arcanum natura caput, non prodidit vlli:
Nec licuit populis parvum te Nile videre,
Amovitque ſinus, et gentes maluit ortus
Mirari quam noſſe ſuos.

Nor knowes the wondring world in what world bred,
So nature, *Nile* conceales thy ſacred head,
None ſeeing thee not great; thy fountaines ſhee
Hath ſet apart, and would that they ſhould bee
Rather admir'd then knowne.

Notwithſtanding that the firſt originall of this river was ſought after by many great Potentates, and that with exceſſiue trauell and charge, as namely *Seſoſtris*, *Cambyſes*, *Alexander*, *Philadelphus*, *Nero*, yet was it diſcovered by none of them. *Sed hoc tempore vt alia multa comperta ſunt veteribus incognita, ſic etiam deprehenſa ſunt primordia Nili*, ſaith *Pererius in Gen. lib. 3. de Paradiſo*: but now as many other thinges are found out vnknowne to the ancients, ſo likewiſe among others the head-ſpring of *Nilus*, and that in vaſt mariſhes neere the mountains of the *Moone*, not farre from the famous promontorie of *Good hope*, where is the vtmoſt bound of the Continent, according to the latitude of the Globe of the earth, Southward. Yet that which to me ſeemeth more ſtrange, is that thoſe two learned Clearkes *Lactantius* and *Auguſtine*, ſhould with that earneſtneſſe deny the being of any *Antipodes*. Their words are worth the noting, thereby to ſee their confidence and eagerneſſe in the maintenance of ſo evident a miſtake. *Quid illi*, ſaith *Lactantius, qui eſſe contrarios veſtigijs noſtris Antipodes putant, num aliquid loquuntur? aut eſt quiſquam tam ineptus qui credat eſſe homines quorum veſtigia ſunt ſuperiora quam capita? aut ibi quæ apud nos jacent inverſa pendere? fruges & arbores deorſum verſus creſcere, pluvias, & nives, & grandinem ſurſum verſus cadere in terram? Et miratur aliquis hortos penſiles inter ſeptem mira narrari, quum Philoſophi & agros, & maria, & vrbes, & montes penſiles faciunt?* What ſhall we thinke of them who giue out there are *Antipodes*, that walke

Divinarum Inſtitut. l. 3. c. 24.

walke oppoſite to vs, doe they ſpeake any thing to the purpoſe, or is there any ſo blockiſh as to beleeue there are men whoſe feet are higher then their heads,or that thoſe thinges there hang, which with vs lye on the ground? that the plants and trees ſpring downeward,that the ſnow and raine,and haile fall vpward vpon the earth? & need any man marvell that hanging gardens are counted in the number of the ſeuen wonders of the world, ſince the Phyloſophers haue made both fields and ſeas, cities & mountaines all hanging? *Lactantius* is herein ſeconded by *Auguſtine*: *Quod verò & Antipodes eſſe fabulantur, id eſt homines à contraria parte terræ vbi ſol oritur quando occidit nobis, adverſa pedibus noſtris calcare veſtigia, nullâ ratione credendum eſt.* Their fable of the *Antipodes*, that is,men dwelling in the oppoſite part of the earth where the Sunne riſes when it ſets to vs,hauing their feete oppoſite to ours,is a matter altogether incredible,and by no meanes to be beleeued. But *Zachary* Biſhop of *Rome*,and *Boniface* Biſhop of *Mentz*, led(as it ſeemes) by the authority of theſe Fathers, went farther herein,condemning one *Virgilius* a Biſhop of *Saltzburg* as an *Heretique*, only for holding that there were *Antipodes*. But time and travell haue now diſcovered the contrary ſo evidently,that we may as well doubt the being of a Sun in the firmament as the experimentall clearenes of this truth.

De Civit. Dei l.16.c.9.

Aventinus in hiſt. Boiorum An.745.

And as evident it is now likewiſe found to bee by certaine experience,that vnder the middle or *burning Zone* (which the *Ancients* by meanes of exceſſiue heat, held altogether *inhabitable*)there is as healthfull, temperate,and pleaſant dwelling as any-where in the world, as appeares by the relations of *Benzo*, *Acoſta*, and others. Beſides the *Ancients* (as it ſeemes) were altogether ignorant of the new World diſcovered in the yeare 1492 by *Columbus*, now knowne by the name of *America* or the *Weſt-Indies*, whatſoeuer from *Platoes Atlantis*, or *Salomons Ophir* be ſleightly pretended to the contrary: yet I confeſſe I haue often wondred not a little at *Senecaes* bold propheticall ſpirit touching that diſcovery:

Venient annis *Secula ſeris,*
Quibus Oceanus *Vincula rerum*
Laxet,& ingens *Pateat tellus,*
Typhiſque novos *Detegat orbes,*
Nec ſit terris *Vltima Thule,*

Seneca in Medea.

In latter times an age ſhall riſe
Wherein the Ocean ſhall the bands
Of things enlarge: there ſhall likewiſe
New Worlds appeare,and mighty Lands
Typhis diſcouer, then *Thule*
The Worlds end ſhall no longer be.

This *propheſie* wee haue found fulfilled not onely in the diſcovery of thoſe vaſt Regions before vnknowne,but in opening by meanes of *Navigation*, and the helpe of the *Compaſſe* euery creeke and corner of the habitable World, worth the knowing: ſo that now it hath, & neuer before had it, *thorow lights* made in it. Nay particular countreyes haue bin of late yeares moſt exactly deſcribed by ſeverall *Writers*. The *Netherlands*

lands by *Lewis Guicciardine*, *Great Brittaine* by the renowned *Camden*,& the like by others. Neither haue there wanted ſome who haue deſcended to Provinces and Shires, Maſter *Carew* to the *ſurvay* of *Cornewall*,& Maſter *Lambert* to the *perambulation* of *Kent*, and Maſter *Burton* to the deſcription of *Leceſterſhire*: yea particular Cities, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, *London*,& the Houſes of great Princes haue found their particular *Maps* & delineations ſo fully and perfectly expreſſed, as in *Braunius* may bee ſeene, that a man who neuer ſaw them but in repreſentation, may now ſpeake as particularly of them,as if he had beene borne & bred in them.

SECT. 2.

That the defect of the Ancients in Naturall & Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory is juſtly corrected by the moderns, & in Civill hiſtory the moderns are matched with the Ancients: And of the knowledge of weights and meaſures, and the true valuations of coynes recovered and reſtored by latter Writers, which thorow the neglect of former ages had well nigh periſhed.

THe body of *Hiſtory*, branches it ſelfe into Hiſtory *Naturall*, *Eccleſiaſticall*, and *Civill*. For the firſt it is moſt certaine, that even *Ariſtotle* himſelfe and *Pliny* were ignorant of many things, and wrote many not onely vncertaine, but now convinced of manifeſt errour and abſurdity, *Conradus Geſnerus* hath laboured this part of Hiſtory moſt induſtriouſly: but others who haue vndertaken ſeverall pieces of this burden more exactly, Some of birds,*de animalibus inſectis, cruſtaceis, teſtaceis, Zoophytis*,as *Abdrovandinus*.Some of fiſhes, as *Rondoletius*: Some of Bathes, as *Baccius*, and *Blanchellus*, and *Michael Savanorola*; Some of Mettals, as *Georgius Agricola*; and ſome of plants and vegetables, as *Mathiolus*, *Ruellius*, *Fuchſius*, *Bauhinus*, to whom may bee added the commendable paines of *Gerrard* in our owne language. And ſome others againe purpoſely of ſome one particular kinde of beaſts, or birdes, or fiſhes, or plants, or bathes, or mettalls.

Hiſtory *Eccleſiaſticall* hath likewiſe beene ſhamefully abuſed by thruſting into it many *fabulous narrations* of the liues of *Saints* and deaths of *Martyrs*. *Baronius*, and before him the *Magdeburgians*, haue both very diligently, though with different purpoſes travelled herein; in ſo much that now betweene them both, we haue made vp a compleate hiſtory of the *Church* which former ages never ſaw.

Civill Hiſtory indeed the *Grecians* and *Romans* excelled in, but with much partiality on both ſides, & many ſpeeches they haue put into the mouths of *Commanders* and others, meerely fained; and beſides, they lay in darkenes & obſcurity, for the ſpace of many hundred yeares together; till this latter age, in which they were not only drawne into the light,but emulated and equalled. *Cornelius Tacitus* ſo much magnified *Sr Henry Savill* ſharply cenſures for his ſtile,taking occaſion from thoſe words in the life of *Agricola*, *bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter: at te*(ſaith he) *Corneli Tacite bonum hiſtoricum facile credimus, bonum oratorem*

in his Annot.

oratorem crederemus libenter, were it not for this and ſome other ſayings of the like making: *Fuit illi viro*, ſaith *Tacitus* (judging of *Seneca* as wee may of him) *ingenium amœnum, & temporis illius auribus accommodatum*: How that age was eared long or round I cannot define, but ſure I am it yeelded a kind of ſophiſticate eloquence & riming harmony of words, where-vnder was *ſmall matter* in ſenſe, when there ſeemed to be moſt in appearance; and diverſe inſtances hee brings out of *Tacitus*; and as *Sr Henry Savill* taxes him for his phraſe; ſo doth *Strada* for his *hiſtory*, in that not content with bare relations, he addes of his owne *conjectures, animadverſions, interpretations* of actions, ſometimes ſavouring of *detraction*, ſometimes of *flattery*, and for the moſt part, as it beſt ſerved his turne, to make way for the *diſplaying of his wit* in his politicall obſervations and precepts, as he ſhewes by diverſe paſſages taken out of him, accuſing him likewiſe of *irreligion*: and with *Strada* herein accords *Lipſius*, who calls *Tacitus, immemorem, ſecumque pugnantem*, vnmindefull of what he had ſaid, and croſſing himſelfe: *Bonamicus, ſectantem veri ſpeciem relicta veritate*, a follower of the ſhadow of truth, leaving the truth it ſelfe: *Cæſar Baronius*, who convinces him of envy and lying: *Tom.* 1. *Annal. lib.* 21. *cap.* 24. as likewiſe doth *Marſilius Ficinus de Chriſtiana religione, cap.* 35. and *Dion nepos in vita Probi Imperatoris*. And to paſſe by others, *Tertullian*, who liued in the next age after him, ſtiles him *mendaciorum loquaciſſimum*, a lowd lyar, and in truth his vaine and fabulous narration touching the *Iewes*, in the laſt booke of his *hiſtory*, together with his virulency againſt the Chriſtians, *annal.* 15. 10. ſhew him to haue beene none other, whatſoeuer he pretend to the contrary: But I leaue him, and returne to *Civill Hiſtorie* in generall, of which *Gerardus Iohannes Voſſius* the famous profeſſour of hiſtory at *Leyden*, hath compoſed an art not attempted to my knowledge by any of the Ancients, which he intitles *Ars Hiſtorica*, and digeſted it into 32 chapters; the ſame learned Authour hath in two volumes giuen his judgment of all the *Greeke* and *Latine* Hiſtoriographers, amongſt which he doth not alwayes prefer the former before the latter, but in his firſt Booke and firſt Chapter of Latine Hiſtories tells vs: *Habet Hiſtoria quaſi pueritiam ſuam, habet adoleſcentiam, item ætatem ſtatam; denique ſua ei quoque ſenectus fuit: nec minus ea gradibus ſuis diſtincta, quàm variare illam in hominibus videmus*: Hiſtorie hath it's childhood, it hath it's youth, as alſo it's manhood or full growth, and laſtly it's old age, and all theſe no leſſe diſtinct in their ſeuerall ſtations, then we ſee them varie in men: but herein is the difference, men ordinarily returne not from decrepite age to youth againe, as Hiſtorie did, by confeſſion of the ſame authour in his third Booke and Contents of the firſt Chapter: *a longa hiſtoriæ ſenectute ad ea tranſitur tempora quibus (vt rerum omnia Circuitus ſunt) literarum etiam & eloquentiæ honos cæpit revireſcere*, after a long old age of hiſtorie, we are now come to thoſe times (ſuch a revolution there is of all thinges) in which the honour of learning and eloquence began to reflouriſh.

13. *Annal.*

Lib. 1. *prol.* 2.

In notis.

In ſerm. Poet. ſer. 5. *de Veriſſim.*

In Apolog. c. 16.

To come neerer home, Sr *Walter Rawleigh*, for ſo farre as he hath gon in the hiſtory of the world, is matchable with the beſt of the *Ancients*. *Francis Guicciardine, Comines, Thuanus* not inferiour to any: & the particular

ticular hiſtories of moſt countries, haue receiued, as it were, new light and freſh colours in this latter age. The *Spaniſh* from *Mariana*, & *Turquet*; the *French* from *Peter Mathew*, and Du *Serres*; the high *Dutch* from *Paulus Iouius* & *Sleidan*; the low *Dutch* from *Meteranus* & *Vbbo Emmius*; the *Scottiſh* from *Buchanan*, the *Iriſh* from *Stannihurſt*, the *Sicilian* from *Fazelus*, the *Turkiſh* from *Knoles*; and for our owne ſtorie, it lay diſperſed in the narrations of ſeverall writers, and thoſe for the moſt part Monkes, till *Polidor Virgill* collected it into one bodie: but in my judgement Sr *Henry Savill* and Mr *Camden* haue better deſerued, by preſenting vs the Authours themſelues in two ſeverall volumes: Some peeces hereof wee haue very well done in our owne language, as the three *Norman* Kings, and *Henry* the fourth by Dr *Hayward*: *Edward* the fifth, or rather *Richard* the third by Sr *Thomas More*; *Henry* the ſeaventh by my Lord of S. *Albanes*; the life of Q. *Elizabeth* by Mr *Camden* ſince tranſlated. Neither haue there beene wanting ſuch as haue written, and that very commendablely the liues of particular men, eminent for vertue, or learning, or place. *Onuphrius* and *Cicarella* come nothing ſhort of *Anaſtaſius* and *Platina* in the liues of the *Popes*. The liues of the *Emperours*, *Petrus Mexias* hath well performed. *Serrarius* of the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, and *Mathew Parker* Archbiſhop of Canterbury of his predeceſſours. *Barlet* hath with good approbation publiſhed the life of *Scanderbegge*, and *Catena* of *Pius Quintus*, Doctour *Humphreys* of Biſhop *Iewell*, Sir *George Paule* of Archbiſhop *Whitegift*: and Dr *Carleton* late Biſhop of *Chicheſter* of Mr *Gilpin*: and it were to be wiſhed that this kinde of hiſtory were more in vſe, as well for the honour of the deceaſed, as the incitement of the liuing, in which kinde *Thevet*, and *Paulus Iouius*, and the right Reverend Father in God Doctour *Godwine*, now Biſhop of *Hereford*, deſerue both praiſe and imitation.

An *appendix* of hiſtorie is the right valuation of *weights*, and *meaſures*, and *coynes*, which though they were doubtles knowne to the *Ancients* who vſed them; yet ſince for many ages paſt, the knowledge of them hath much growne out of vſe, and was in a manner loſt; which bred a marvelous great miſtake and confuſion in *hiſtorie*, vntill by the worthy paines of *Budæus*, *Geſnerus*, *Alciatus*, *Glarianus*, *Agricola*, *Villalpandus Mariana*, and our learned Countrey-man *Edward Brierwood*, late profeſſour of *Aſtronomie* in *Greſham* Colledge, it was againe regained and reſtored: And if any deſire to ſee all that haue written of this ſubject, I refer him to *Gaſper Wolphius* his treatiſe, intituled, *Virorum illuſtrium alphabetica enumeratio qui de ponderibus ac menſurarum doctrina ſcripſerunt.*

SECT. 3.

A Compariſon betweene the Greeke *and* Latine, *as alſo betweene the ancienter and latter Latine Poets, and thoſe that haue written in other languages, and that poetry as other arts hath fallen and riſen againe in this latter age.*

TOuching *Poetrie* for the inventiue part thereof, Sir *Phillip Sydneyes Arcadia* is in my judgment nothing inferiour to the choiſeſt

ſeſt peece among the Ancients, and for the Poets themſelues it is true of the moſt ancient, both among the *Greekes* and *Latines* which *Bartas* hath of *Marrot:*

Thee *Marrot* I eſteeme even as an old *Coloſſe*
All ſoyled, broken, overgrowne with moſſe,
Worne picture, Tombe defac'd, not for fine worke I ſee,
But in devout regard of their antiquity.

Volcatius Sidigitus having named nine of the *Romane Comedians*, addes in the cloſe of all: Gellius, 15.24.

---Decimum addo antiquitatis cauſâ Ennium.
Ennius as tenth I adde
Becauſe he ancient'ſt is.

Quos (ſicut præſens tempus oſtendit) non ſolum neglectui, verum etiam riſui habere iam cæpimus, ſayth *Macrobius*, ſpeaking of the ancient Poets in his ſixth booke *de ſomnio Scipionis* and firſt chapter; whom (as the times preſent ſhew) wee now beginne not onely to neglect but to laugh at.

This controverſie being it ſeemes on foote in *Horace* his time, (as in all ages it hath beene) he wittily demaunds this queſtion.

Si meliora dies, vt vina, poemata reddat.
Scire velim pretium chartis quotus arroget annus.
If as time betters wine, it betters Poems too,
Tell mee how many yeares doth giue them price enough.

And in the end concludes,

Qui veteres ita miratur laudatque Poetas
Vt nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.
Who praiſes and admires old Poets much doth erre,
If nought he dare compare, or nought to them preferre.
Vis imiter veteres Chreſtille tuoſque Poetas,
Deſperiam ſi ſcis carmina quid ſapiant.

Sayth *Martial*, Lib. 11. epi. 55.

Thou would'ſt *Chreſtillus* that I imitate
The Poets ancient, and of thy palate;
But with this caution let mee ſurely periſh
If thou canſt beſt iudge what verſes beſt doe reliſh.

Hercules Ciophanus witneſſeth, that *Planudes* well knowing that *Greece* had not a *Poeme* ſo abounding with delight and beauty, as *Ovid Metamorphoſis*, tranſlated it into that language. And generally the *Latine Poets*, who came after the *Greeke* in time, are notwithſtanding by *Scaliger* preferred before them; And by name *Virgill* before *Homer*, *Virgilius artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectioris naturæ ſtudijs atque iudicio ad ſummum extulit faſtigium perfectionis*: *Virgill* receiving from him an vnpoliſht art by the ſtudie & judgement of a choiſer temper, rayſed it to the vtmoſt point of perfection. And againe, *Equidem vnum illum cenſeo ſciviſſe quid eſſet non ineptire, vnum eſſe inter omnes vnicum, ſingulis autem inſtar omnium*. Truely I thinke hee onely knew what it was not to trifle, that hee was the onely one amongſt them all, and inſteed of all being compared with any one. To which I know not what can be added, Poetices. l. 5 c 2. Ibid.

except that of *Macrobius* exceede it. *Hæc eſt Maronis gloria, vt nullius laudibus creſcat, nullius vituperatione minuatur:* This is *Virgils* commendation, that a man can neither adde to him by prayſing him, nor take from him by diſprayſing him. *Iuvenall* puts him in equall ballance with *Homer:*

Conditor Iliados cantabitur, atque Maronis
Sat. 11. *Altiſoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.*

And againe,

Committit Vates, & comparat inde Maronem
Sat. 6. *Atque alia parte, in trutina ſuſpendit Homerum.*

But *Propertius* doubts not to preferre him before *Homer*,

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graij
Neſcio quid majus naſcitur Iliade.

Yet if I ſhould match him with *Arioſto* or *Torquato Taſſo* in *Italian*, *Bartas* in *French*, or *Spencer* in *Engliſh*, I thinke I ſhould not much wrong him. Of the latter of which, our great *Antiquary* in the life of Q. *Elizabeth* anno 1598, giues this teſtimonie, *Muſis adeo arridentibus natus, vt omnes Anglicos ſuperioris ævi poetas (ne Chaucero quidem concine excepto) ſuperaret*, hee was borne ſo farre in favour of the *Muſes*, that hee excelled all the *Engliſh* Poets of former ages, not excepting *Chancer* himſelfe his fellow citizen. And among the *Latine Poets*, as they
Idem Scalig. Ib. began their infancie or child-hood in *Livius Andronicus*, *Ennius*, *Accius*, *Pacuvius*, *Nevius*, *Plautus*, ſo they came to their full ſtrength in *Terence*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, *Ovid*, *Horace*, *Virgill*, *plus eſt exacti judicij in vna*
Eraſmus. *Comædia Terentiana quàm in Plautinis omnibus*, there is more exact judgement in one of *Terence* his *Comedies*, then in all thoſe of *Plautus*. They declined in *Martiall*, *Iuvenall*, *Silius*, *Statius*: grew old in *Serenus*, *Sidonius*, *Severus*, *Auſonius*, but ſprang vp and reflouriſhed againe in *Palingenius*, *Aonius*, *Politianus*, *Cerratus*, *Vida*, *Pontanus*, *Sanazarus*, *Fracaſtorius*; *quos cum quovis veterum compares, multis, & non ignobilibus anteponas*, ſayth the ſame *Scaliger*, whom a man may ſafely compare with any of the *Ancients*, and preferre before many of them, and thoſe not of the loweſt ranke. *Crinitus* his cenſure of the *Latine* Poets differs not much from this of *Scaligers*: and *Famianus Strada* hath ſo well both cenſured and imitated the chiefe of them, that hee comes nothing
In 5. libris de Poetis Latinis. ſhort of the Authors themſelues, which is the more to be wondred at, in that therein hee is to act ſo different parts, and to apply himſelfe to ſo different vaines; nay his imitation of *Claudian* in expreſſing a controverſie betweene a *Lutiſt* and a *Nightingale*, for quickneſſe and life may without preiudice be equalled with any thing that *Antiquity* can boaſt of in that kinde.

It is true that (*Mantuan* excepted) few of the *Monkes* or *Fryars*, (who were counted the onely Schollers for a while) excelled in *Poetry*, for the moſt part they only delighted in rhyming, without either ſharpneſſe of wit, or neatneſſe of ſtile, and ſometimes they wanted all three: witneſſe thoſe poore verſes vpon *Venerable Bede*.

Preſbyter hic Beda requieſcit carne ſepultus,

Dona

Dona Chriſte animam in cœlis gaudere per ævum,
Daque illi Sophiæ d' ebriari fonte cui jam
Suſpiravit ovans intentus ſemper amore.

Presbyter *Bedes* corſe reſts buried in this graue;
Grant Chriſt his ſoule in Heaven eternall joyes may haue:
Giue him of to be drunke the well of wiſedome, to
Which with ſuch joy and loue he ſtriu'd and breathed ſo.

Which verſes *William* of *Malmeſburie*, though himſelfe a *Monke*, bitterly cenſures, as being ſhamefull ones, vnworthy the monument of ſo worthy a man: Neither can the ſhame, ſayth he, be leſſened by any kind of excuſe, that in the Monaſtery, which whiles he liued, flouriſhed as a Schoole of good letters, not a man could be found to commend his memory to poſterity, but in ſo barren & ſlender a ſtile: Yet were theſe tollerable verſes in regard of thoſe which paſſed with applauſe in ſucceeding ages, the famous King *Ethelbert* had this *Epitaph* ſet vpon him; *De rebus geſtis Anglorum l. 1.*

Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in poliandro,
Fana pians certus Chriſto meat abque Meandro.

King *Ethelbert* lyeth here
Cloſ'd in this Polyander,
For building churches ſure hee goes
To CHRIST without *Meander.*

Gervaſius de Blois, ſonne to King *Stephen*, and Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was there buried with this,

De Regum genere pater hic Gervaſius *ecce*
Eſt & defunctus, mors rapit omne genus.

Even father *Gervaſe* borne of Kings race,
Loe is dead, thus death all ſorts doth deface.

Vpon the Great Seale of *Edward* the *Confeſſor* was this verſe ingraven,

Sigillum Eaduuardi, Anglorum Baſilei.

But I moſt pitty the miſhap of *Francis Petrarch* a man of ſingular learning, and himſelfe an excellent Poet as thoſe times afforded, that his bones could finde no better an *Epitaph* then this at *Arqua* in *Italy*;

Frigida Franciſci *lapis hic tegit oſſa* Petrarchæ
Suſcipe virgo parens animam, ſate virgine parce,
Feſſaque jam terris cœli requieſcat in arce.

This ſtone doth cover the cold bones of *Franc. Petrarch*,
Thou Virgin Mother take his ſoule, thou Chriſt pardon grant,
Now weary of the earth hee reſt in Heavens Arke.

But when together with the regeneration of other kindes of learning *Poetrie* likewiſe grew in requeſt, among an infinite number which excelled in this kinde, I will onely inſtance in two, *Ronſard* and *Buchanan*: of the former of which *Paſquier* hath written this ſingular Epigram.

Seu tibi numeri Maroniani, *Lib. 1.*
Seu placent Veneres Catulliana,
Sive tu lepidum velis Petrarcham,
Sive Pindaricos modos referre,
Ronſardus numeros Maronianos,
Ronſardus Veneres Catullianas,

Nec non Italicum refert Petrarcham,
Nec non Pindaricum refert leporem.
Quin & tam benè Pindarum emulatur,
Quin & tam variè exprimit Petrarcham,
Atque Virgilium, & meum Catullum
Hunc ipſum vt magis æmulentur illi:
Rurſus tam graviter refert Maronem,
vt nullus putet hunc Catullianum.
Rurſus tam lepidè refert Catullum,
Vt nullus putet hunc Maronianum,
Et cùm ſit Maro totus & Catullus,
Totus Pindarus, & Petrarcha totus,
Ronſardus tamen eſt ſibi perennis.
Quod ſi nunc rediviv us extet vnus
Catullus, Maro, Pindarus, Petrarcha,
Et quotquot veteres fuere vates,
Ronſardum nequeant ſimul referre
Vnus qui reliquos refert Poetas.

Whether the Maro's number pleaſe,
Or elegant Catullus vaine,
Or Petrarchs Thuſcan gracefulneſſe,
Or Theban Pindars lofty ſtraine:
Ronſard doth Maro's rimes expreſſe;
And elegant Catullus vaine,
And Petrarchs Thuſcan gracefulneſſe,
And Theban Pindars lofty ſtraine.
He ſo expreſſeth Pindars ſtile,
So doth Catullus emulate,
Virgil and Petrarch, that the while
They all ſeeme him to imitate.
Graue Maro he reſembles ſo,
None would him thinke Catullian:
So elegant Catullus too,
None would him thinke Maronian;
Though all Catullus, all Virgill,
All Pindar he and Petrarch be,
Yet the ſame Ronſard is he ſtill.
Maro, Catullus might wee ſee,
Pindar or Petrarch liue againe,
And all th'old Poets more or leſſe
All joyntly hit not Ronſards vaine,
Who onely doth them all expreſſe.

To which wee may adde *Pithæus* his *Epitaph* vpon the ſame *Ronſard.*

Summe poetarum quos priſca & noſtra tulerunt
Quoſque ferent Gallis poſthuma ſæcla tuis:
Parce nec iſta tibi veluti data juſta putato
Sed tanquam ſummis manibus inferias.

Greateſt of Poets whom old or preſent times,

Or

Or future to thy *French* ſhall ere bring forth,
Pardon, thoſe are not rights fitting thy worth,
But to thy great ghoſt like ſome ſprinkling rimes.

Of the latter *Ioſeph Scaliger* giues this teſtimony,

Namque ad ſupremum producta poetica culmen
In te ſtat, nec quo progrediatur habet:
Romani imperij fuit olim Scotia limes,
Romani eloquij Scotia limes erit.

Vnto the higheſt pitch haſt thou advauced Poetrie,
Raiſ'd to the height in thee it ſtands, and higher cannot flie.
Scotland ſometime the limit was of Roman Empirie,
By thee of Roman eloquence Scotland the bound ſhall be.

SECT. 4.

In military matters the Romans exceeded the Grecians, and haue themſelues beene matched, if not ſurpaſſed in latter ages, in weapons, in fortifications, in ſtratagems, but ſpecially in ſea-fights.

THough *Mars* and the *Muſes* haue little affinity, and ſeldome lodge together, yet will I not feare to joyne the *Art Military* next to *Poetrie*. And though the knowledge hereof belong not to my profeſſion, yet I dare ſay, it will not be gainſaid, but as *Alexander* herein exceeded his Predeceſſours, ſo did *Iulius Cæſar* him, and generally the *Romans* the *Grecians*; yet a worthy knight and expert Captaine himſelfe demaunding the queſtion, whether was the better Souldier, the *Grecian* or *Roman*, makes anſwere the *Engliſhman*. And truly I thinke, he who well conſiders what noble acts *Edward* the third, the *blacke Prince* his ſon, and *Henry* the fifth performed in *France*, and vpon what tearmes and conditions, with what numbers, and againſt what enemies, will eaſily beleeue, that hee ſpake not ſo much out of affection as judgment: The *Grecian* built his glory and erected his triumphes of victorie and trophies of honour, vpon the delicacie of the *Perſian* and nakedneſſe of the *Indian*, & the *Romane* for the moſt part, vpon the diviſion & rudenes of poore barbarous nations; but the *Engliſh* his, vpon the ruines of a ſtout warlike, and every way accompliſhed *Nation*: and for *Cæſar* himſelfe, if I ſhould parallell him with *Charlemaigne*, *Hunniades*, *Tamerlane*, *Caſtriot*, *Ziska*, or the great *Henry* of *France*, I thinke I ſhould not diſparage him. Of which latter *Pythæus*, comparing him with the great *Alexander*, hath compoſed his Epigram.

Cui palma veſtrûm deferatur bellica
Certavit orbis, reſque ſtetit anceps diu,
Sed mors ſecundum, Henrice, te litem dedit
Fecitque primum & vltimum ſimul ducem.

Which of you twane the warlike palme ſhould weare
Hath the world ſtroue, and long beene at a pauſe,
But death O *Harry* gaue to thee the cauſe
Both firſt and laſt of Captaines name to beare.

Sir Walter Raleigh in his hiſtory of the world. part. 1. lib. 5. cap. 1. § 1

The armour and weapons now vſed in the warres, as well for offence as defence, are nothing inferiour to the *Ancient*, nay many of them are doubtleſſe more commodious,& ſome much more terrible: what childiſh weapons were the long-bow &croſſe-bow,if we regard annoyance of the enemy,in compariſon of the *Gunne* and great *Ordinance:* and yet nothing ſo many are now ſlaine in the warres as then: ſo as the preſent are both of more ready diſpatch, and for the moſt part in concluſion of the warre leſſe bloody. I am not ignorant that diſcourſes haue beene written by ſouldiers on both ſides, ſome preferring the *bow* before the *gunne*,others the *gunne* before the *bow*, but the latter haue beene by the moſt iudicious preferred before the former, and time and experience haue found their judgment true.

But for the matter of *Fortification*, there is no queſtion, but this age exceedes any that haue gone before it,as far as wee can trace the prints and footſteps of *Antiquity*. It being now brought into Art, the profeſſours whereof wee name *Enginers*, a word vnknowne to *Anceſtours*, at leaſt in that ſence: But the *Italians* are they who in this *Art* haue ſhewed themſelues moſt skilful,as well in the precepts as practiſe thereof,and haue carried away the *Bell* from all other *Nations*,as may appeare both by their bookes and workes.

And for *Stratagems* of warre,whether we take them in their proiects or effects, I conceiue thoſe of latter ages to be nothing inferiour to thoſe of auncient times,howſoever *Poliænus* and *Iulius Frontinus* in their ſeverall bookes of that ſubiect be pleaſed to admire them: What a blunt invention was that of the *Troiane* horſe,in compariſon of the ſurpriſe of *Amiens* by the *Spaniard*; or of *Breda* by the *States* of the *vnited Provinces*,in the *Netherlands*; or the diſordering of the *Spaniſh* fleete,by by Sir *Francis Drake* in 88; or the ſending of doues out of the beſieged towne of *Leyden* for the bringing backe of intelligence by the adviſe and direction of *Douſa*,of which *Heinſius*,

--- Qui falleret hoſtem
Douſa virum nequijt mittere,miſit avem.

But that recorded by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in the fourth booke of his firſt part of the *Hiſtory* of the world, and acted in *Queene Maries* time, is in my judgment matchable to any that ever yet I heard of. Hee thus relates it: The *Iland* of *Sarke* joyning to *Garneſay*, and of that government, was ſurpriſed by the *French*, and could never haue beene recovered againe by ſtrong hand, having corne and cattell enough vpon the place, to feede ſo many men as would ſerue to defend it; and being every way ſo vnacceſſable as it might be held againſt the great *Turke*; yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained: Hee anchored in the roade with one ſhip of ſmall burthen, and pretending the death of his Merchant, beſought the *French*,being ſome thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappell of that Iſle; offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch commodities as they had aboard: Whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come to ſhore with any weapon,no not ſo much as with a knife)the *Frenchmen* yeelded: Then

Cap 2. Parag 18.

did

did the *Flemings* put a coffin into their boate, not filled with a dead carkaſſe, but with ſwords, Targets, and Harquebuſhes. The *French* receiuing them at their landing, & ſearching every of them ſo narrowly, as they could not hide a penknife, gaue them leaue to draw their coffin vp the rocks with great difficultie; ſome part of the *French* tooke the *Flemiſh* boate and rowed aboard the ſhippe to fetch the commodities promiſſed and what elſe they pleaſed; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the land, when they had carried their coffin into the Chappell, ſhut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the coffin, ſet vpon the *French*, they runne to the cliffe and cry to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to ſuccour, but finding the boate charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themſelues and the place.

Laſtly, for *Sea-fight*, this age vndoubtedly ſurpaſſeth the *Ancient*, theirs being but *boyes play* in compariſon of ours. What poore things were their *Gallies* to our ſhips, their pikes and ſtone-bowes and ſlings, to our Canon and musket-ſhot; how vntowardly the managing of their veſſels, in regard of that skill, which latter ages haue found out and practiſed: And herein I dare match our owne *Nation* (if perchance the *Hollander* haue not gotten the ſtart of vs) with any in the world: onely it were to be wiſhed, that ſome worthy pen would vndertake the reducing of theſe kindes of fights into an *Art*, as many haue done the land-ſervice, by ſetting downe rules and precepts for it, gathered out of obſervation: Sir *Richard Hawkins* hath done ſomewhat in this kinde, but brokenly and glancingly, intending chiefely a diſcourſe of his owne voyage: Sir *Walter Rawleigh* tells vs in his hiſtory of the world, that himſelfe had entred vpon ſuch a worke, at the commaund of Prince *Henry*, but vpon his death put it by: The intendment was noble, and the writer doubleſſe very able; ſo as it were to be wiſhed, that thoſe peeces and fragments which he left behinde him, touching that ſubject, were ſought vp and brought to light, that they might ſerue, if not for ſufficient directions in matter of practiſe; yet for patternes and delineations to ſuch as would farther advance and perfect ſo worthy a buſineſſe, there being no one thing (as I conceiue) which can be more important for the ſtate, or more concerne the ſafety and wellfare of this *Iland*.

Lib. 5. c. 1. p. 6.

CAP. 9.

Touching Grammar, Rhetorique, Logicke, the Mathematiques, Philoſophy, Architecture, the Arts of Painting and Navigation.

SECT 1.

Touching Grammar, Rhetoricke, and Logicke.

BUt leaving theſe conſiderations to *Souldiers*, let vs returne to our owne *Element*, taking a view of the *liberall ſciences*, among which *Gram-*

Grammer deſervedly challenges the firſt ranke, as being indeede the *key* that opens the doores to the reſt. This *latter age* hath herein excelled ſo farre, that all the great learned Schollers, who haue of late riſen, ſpecially if they adhered to the reformed *Churches*, haue beene by the *Fryers*, and ſuch like people in a kinde of skorne tearmed *Grammarians*: But theſe *Grammarians* are they, who by the helpe of *Philologie*, and the languages, haue diſcovered ſo many forgeries & ſuperſtitious writings, now by all acknowledged ſo to be, which before paſſed as currant, as well in the workes of the *Fathers* of the *Church*, as prophaine *Authours*. Theſe are they, who haue preſented vs mith ſo many exact *Tranſlations* out of *Greeke* & *Hebrew* into *Latine*, and againe out of *Latine* into other *languages*. And howſoever *Albericus Gentilis*, and ſome others haue written in defence of the *Latinity* of that tranſlation of the *Bible*, which goes vnder the name of the *Vulgar*; yet can it not be denyed, but it is juſtly accuſed of much incongruity & barbariſme, which by latter *Tranſlations* haue beene reformed. Theſe are they, who haue vindicated infinite *Authours* from a number of foule corruptions, which by tract of time had crept vpon them, thorow the ignorance or negligence of *Tranſcribers* or *Printers* or both: So that they haue herein in a manner reſtored the Authours to themſelues, making them ſpeake in their owne words and ſence; and beſides by annotations, animadverſions, commentaries and expoſitions, by the ſearch and helpe of coynes, old Epitaphes, inſcriptions, and ſuch like remainders of Antiquity, haue further added a marveilous great light vnto them.

But for the manifold and needefull vſe of the myſticall art of *Critickes*, I referre the Reader to *Heniſius* his *Prolegomena*, prefixed to his *Ariſtarchus Sacer*. To which may be added the exquiſite helpe of *Dictionaries*, *Lexicons*, and *Grammars* in this latter age beyond the precedent, not only for the eaſier learning of the Weſterne languages, *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *French*, but ſpecially of the Eaſterne, the *Hebrew*, the *Chalde*, the *Syriacke*, the *Arabique*. The Chriſtians ſcarce ſaw any grammar in *Hebrew* before that of *Capino* or *Reuchlin*, nor of *Chalde* before that of *Munſter*, nor of *Syriacke* before that of *Tremellius*, *Maſius*, and *Guido Fabritius*; nor of *Arabique* before that of *Raphelengius*, *Baptiſta*, and *Erpenius*: and (which is worth the obſerving) of all the auncient Fathers, but onely two; among the Latines S. *Hierome*, and *Origen* among the *Grecians*, are found to haue excelled in the *Orientall* languages, this laſt centenary having afforded more skilfull men that way then the other fifteene ſince *Chriſt*. To Grammar may likewiſe be referred the vſefull art of *Brachygraphy*, or writing by ſhort markes, which though it were practiſed among the *Romans*, as appeares by that of *Martial*,

Currant verba licet, manus eſt velocior illis,
Nondum lingua ſuum, dextra peregit opus.

Lib. 14. *Epig.* 208.

Though words be ſwift, ſwifter the hand doth runne,
the tongue hath not, the hand its worke hath done.

Yet haue wee not certaintie that either the *Grecians*, or the *Hebrewes*, or any of thoſe Eaſterne Nations had before the *Romans* the vſe or knowledge thereof, and beſides, this invention for ought wee finde was loſt

in

in ſucceeding ages, but in theſe latter recovered againe, or ſomewhat at leaſtwiſe equivalent therevnto. And to *Brachygraphie* may be added, the writing by *Zifers* or *notæ furtivæ* ſecret markes for the hiding of the writers minde from others ſaue him to whom hee writes it, as alſo the wittie invention of dezifring or diſcovering the moſt difficult of thoſe ſecret characters; in both which, how farre latter ages haue excelled the former, appeares not onely by the teſtimonie of *Pancirollus*, and *Salmuth* in his commentaries vpon him, but of *Hermannus Hugo* in his 17 chapter *de prima ſcribendi origine*.

In the next place, *Rhetorique* preſents it ſelfe, which in truth was brought to the height among the *Grecians* & *Romans*, ſpecially whiles their ſtates remained popular: But in the generall declination and decay of *Arts* which followed after, this likewiſe was well neare extinguiſhed, that little life of it which remained, being reſerved onely in the predicancie of *Poſtillars*, or the patheticall ſermons of *Friers*, till *Sadoletus*, *Bembus*, *Muretus*, and others revived and reduced it to its ancient luſtre.

Logicke indeed is it, wherein wee are thought to be moſt defectiue in regard of former ages; and it is true, that the *Schoole-men* had ſet their ſtocke, the vtmoſt of their endeavours vpon this part of learning, their whole life being in a manner little elſe but a perpetuall wrangling and altercation, and that many times rather for victory & oſtentation of *wit*, then a ſober & ſerious ſearch of *truth*: ſo as their entrance being vaine, their end was likewiſe fruitleſſe. What huge volumes haue they compiled of the *Predicables* & *Predicaments*? as if in them conſiſted the very ſpirit and ſoule of *Logicke*; whereas in truth they are rather an *Appendix* or *preparatiue* vnto it, then *part* of it. By which meanes they kept men ſo long in the *porch*, that they entred not into the *houſe* till it was more then time to goe out of it. *Latter ages* finding this intollerable inconvenience, haue well compacted the body of this Art into a leſſer compaſſe, (yet ſo as *Ariſtotles* Text is not to be neglected) and to this body haue they not improperly added the doctrine of *Methods* as a neceſſary limbe thereof: whereas wee do not finde that anciently, it was ſo held either by the *Founders* or principall *Maſters* of this ſcience, or at leaſtwiſe they haue left vs no ſufficient *Rules* and precepts touching this moſt vſefull part. Even *Hooker* himſelfe (though otherwiſe no friend to *Ramyſtry*) acknowledgeth that it is of marveilous quicke diſpatch, ſhewing them that haue it as much almoſt in three dayes, as if it dwelt three ſcore yeares with them: and againe, that the minde of man is thereby reſtrained, which through curioſity, doth many times with perill wade farther in the ſearch of truth then were convenient. And for *Raymundus Lullius* (a man it ſeemes of a ſtrong braine) ſome great wits are of opinion, that by his *ars brevis* greater matters may in the ſciences be more ſpeedily effected then by any helpe of the *Ancients* that went before him.

SECT. 2.

SECT 2.

Touching Aſtronomie and Geometry, as alſo the Phyſickes and Metaphyſickes.

FOr the *Mathematiques*, *Regio-Montanus* might in *Ramus* his judgement ſafely enough compare with the beſt of the *Ancients*: *Noriberga tum Regio-Montano fruebatur, Mathematici inde & ſtudij & operis gloriam tantam adepta, vt Tarentum Archyta, Syracuſæ Archimedi, Byzantium Proclo, Alexandria Cteſybio non juſtius, quàm Noriberga Regio-Montano gloriari poſſit:* Then did *Norinberg* injoy *Regio-Montanus*, & of from thence purchaſed ſo great honour both of the ſtudie and practice the mathematiques, that *Tarentum* could not more juſtly glory in *Archytas*, nor *Syracuſe* in *Archimedes*, nor *Bizantium* in *Proclus*, nor *Alexandria* in *Cteſybius*, then might *Norinberg* in *Regio-Montanus*. I will onely touch the two moſt noble parts thereof, *Aſtronomy* and *Geometry*. It was the opinion of the greateſt part of the *Ancients*, not onely, *Grecians*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Hebrewes*, but many Doctours of the Chriſtian Church, as appeares by *Eſpencæus* in his Treatiſe *de Cælorum animatione*, that the Heavens, or at leaſt the ſtarres were *living bodies*, informed with quickening ſoules. *Multi ſcriptores Eccleſiaſtici cœli rotunditatem non modo negârunt, ſed etiam ſacris literis adverſari exiſtimârunt*, ſaith *Pererius* in his ſecond booke and third queſtion vpon *Geneſis*; many of the *Eccleſiaſticall* Writers not onely denyed the ſphericall or circular figure of the Heavens, but were of opinion that it croſſed the holy Scriptures. S. *Auguſtine* himſelfe in diverſe places ſeemes to make a doubt of it: but *Chryſoſtome* in his *Homilies* vpon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrewes* dare challenge any that ſhould defend it, and herein is he followed by *Theodoret* & *Theophilact*. But theſe fancies are now ſo generally cryed downe, that to reviue them would be counted no leſſe then folly, and to defend them abſurdity. In how many things are *Aratus* and *Eudoxus* corrected by *Ptolomy*, and *Ptolomy* himſelfe by *Regio-Montanus*, *Alphonſus*, *Purbachius*, *Copernichus*: and they againe by *Clavius*, *Tycho-Braye*, *Galilæus*, *Kepler*, and others? It was the errour of *Ariſtotle*, that *via lactea* was a meteor; and not onely of *Ariſtotle*, but almoſt all before him, that there were but *eight Celeſtiall Spheares*; after this *Timocaris* about 330 yeares before *Chriſt* found out *nine*, but about the yeare of *Chriſt* 1250, *Alphonſus* diſcovered *ten*, and the received opinion now is, that there are *eleven*, the higheſt of all being held *immoveable*, the ſeat of Angels and bleſſed ſpirits. Vpon which ground *Fracaſtorius* in his fore mentioned Epiſtle to Pope *Paul* the third, doubts not confidently to affirme, *Superioris mundi illius quod cœlum dicimus magnam partem majoribus noſtris ignotam fuiſſe*, that a great part of that higher world, which wee call heaven was to our anceſtours vnknowne: and then after a few lines addes: *Nunc vero (quaſi vtriuſque mundi cognitio fato reſervata fuerit ætati noſtræ) & majori numero & magis admirando cogniti orbes ſunt*, but now (as if the knowledge of both the worlds were by deſtinie reſerved to this our age) the Celeſtiall Orbs are

Scbol. Math. l. 2.

knowne

knowne both more in number, and in a manner more admirable. And thus wee ſee how truth is the daughter of Time, how one day teacheth another, and one night certifieth another; which is likewiſe verified in the admirable invention of compoſing the *Ephemerides*, vnknowne to *Ptolomy* and the Ancients, who for want of the vſe of it were forced by Tables to make their ſupputations in a moſt toyleſome manner: who was the firſt inventer thereof I am not certaine, ſayth *Cardan de rerum varietate lib.*11.*cap.*59. but *Purbachius* was the firſt who ſeemes to haue brought it to light, after whom *Regio-Montanus* inlarged it, but *Zelandinus*, *Meſtlinus*, *Stadius*, *Maginus*, *Origanus*, and others haue ſince perfected it, *ita vt jam nihil deſiderari poſſe videatur*, nothing ſeemes to bee wanting to it.

The like may be ſaid of *Geometry*, I will inſtance onely in one *demonſtration*, which is the *Quadrature* of a *Circle*. This *Ariſtotle* in diverſe places calls *ſcibile* but not *ſcitum*, a thing that might be knowne, but as then not knowne, in as much as the meanes of finding it out, though much laboured, yet was it in his time vnknowne among the *Ancients*: *Antiphon*, *Bryſe*, *Hippocrates*, *Euclide*, *Archimede*, *Apollonius*, *Porus* travelled long and earneſtly in the diſcovery hereof, but *Buteo* in a booke written of purpoſe, hath accurately diſcovered their errours herein. And *Pancirollus* in his *nova reperta* tels vs, that *annis abhinc plus minus triginta Ars iſta fuit inventa, quæ mirabile quoddam ſecretum in ſe continet:* about thirty yeares ſince was that Art found out, which containes in it wonderfull ſecrets, And to ſhew that it is indeede found out, he there makes *demonſtration* of it, approued and farther explicated by *Salmuth*, who hath both tranſlated him, and written learned commentaries vpon him. Notwithſtanding *Ioſeph Scaliger* in an *Epiſtle* of his to the *States* of the *Vnited Provinces*, challenge this Invention to himſelfe: *Nos tandem in conſpectum poſt tot ſecula ſiſtimus*, we at laſt after ſo many ages haue brought to light, and expoſed it to publique view. Titulo 17 Cyclomet. Element.

True indeede it is, that *Adrianus Romanus* hath written an Apologie for *Archimede* againſt *Scaliger*, wherein he labours to proue that he hath not found out the concluſion he pretends, which is anſwered by *Scaliger* and againe replied vpon *Romanus*, but which of them hath the beſt I referre to the determination of the profeſſours in that facultie: and herevnto annexe a briefe view of the moſt obſervable inventiõs of moderne Mathematicians vnknowne to the Ancients ſent mee from my learned friend Mr *Brigges* Profeſſour of *Geometrie* at *Oxford*.

Mathematica ab antiquis minus cognita.

Aſtronomia Copernicana quæ docet Terram eſſe centrum orbis Lunaris, Solem vero eſſe centrum reliquorum omnium planetarum: quod in Venere & Mercurio, cum ſint in inferiori parte ſuorum orbiũ etiam oculis deprehendi poteſt, ope tubi Optici nuper inventi. Docet etiam per motum Telluris diurnum, Ortus & Occaſus omnium ſyderum: Et per motum ejuſdem annuum in Orbe ſuo magno, omnium Planetarum motus & diſtantias, eorumque in cœlo progreſſus ſtationes & regreſſus, multo facilius & accuratius inveſtigare, quàm per Ptolomæi aut antiquã cujuſquam Epicyclos aut alias Hypotheſes.

Sydera quatuor Medicea (ita enim appellantur à Galileo Galilei Florentino qui

qui ea per Tubum Opticum primus invenit) quæ circa Iovis ſtellam perpetuò circumaguntur, & cum in ejus vmbram inciderint eclipſim patiuntur. Iove radios ſolares intercipiente, eodem modo quo Terra in eclipſi Lunari.

Aequationem Algiebraicarum omnium verum valorem invenire, ſi is ſit rationalis: ſin minus eum tamen proximè in numeris abſolutis exprimere: idq; non minus accuratè, quàm latus quodlibet numeri ſurdi, vel lineæ cujuſvis irrationalis longitudinem.

Data qualibet ſubtenſa in Circulo, invenire ſubtenſam trientis datæ peripheriæ: (quod Theon in Comentario in Ptolomæum arbitrabatur eſſe impoſſibile) nec trientis modò, ſed omnino cujuſcunque partis, imparis vel paris. Partis imparis invenitur ipſa ſubtenſa: at partis paris non invenitur vnica operatione ipſa ſubtenſa, ſed tantum ſubtenſæ ipſius quadratum: quo autem magis fuerit nomen partium, eo operoſior erit ſubtenſæ inventio.

Canones Rectarum peripheriam Tangentium & Secantium, nulli antiquorum cogniti: quos Eraſmus Reinholdus primus condidit, & Canon Sinuum (multo commodior Canone Subtenſarum apud Ptolomæum) à Iohanne Regio-Montano primo traditus, & poſtea à multis accuratiſſimè ſupputatus.

Tota Logarithmorum Doctrina, à Iohanne Nepero Barone Merchiſtonij primùm inventa: de qua nullus antiquorum vel per ſomnium vnquam cogitavit. Quâ, plurima problemata Arithmetica, Geometrica, & Aſtronomica minimo negotio expediuntur, quæ aliâs vel impoſſibilia cenſenda ſunt, vel admodum difficilia; nec ſine magno tædio, & multi temporis iactura abſolvenda.

Arcam Trianguli, Sphærici, vel quantitatem anguli ſolidi invenire, primus docuit peritiſſimus Geometra Thomas Hariottus, cum ante eum nemo hoc ſit aſſequutus. Huius propoſitionis ignoratio Ariſtoteli impoſuit ad 8 cap. libri 3. de cælo, opinanti locum ſolidum poſſe compleri à pyramide, idem etiam contigit P. Ramo ad 16 & 4 lib. Geometriæ, qui idem fieri poſſe contendit etiam ab Octaedro.

Dotij vel ſegmenti Sphæroidis menſuram invenire, per modum, qui Archimedeum (prop. 31 & 33. libri de Conoidibus) ſubtili & accurata veritate adæquare poſſit, facilitate vero longè ſuperare.

I will cloſe vp this conſideration of the *Sciences* with a view of *Philoſophy*, which branches it ſelfe into the *Metaphiſickes*, *Phiſickes*, *Ethickes*, and *Politickes:* the two latter of which I will reſerue to the next Booke, contenting my ſelfe at this time with the two former: Firſt then the *Metaphyſicks* that part of it which conſiſts in the knowledge of *immateriall ſubſtances* was vndoubtedly neither ſo well ſtudied nor vnderſtood of the ancient *Philoſophers*, as now it is of *Chriſtian Divines*. They knew little that belonged to the *attributes* of *God*, which of them were *communicable* to the *Creature*, which *incommunicable*, ſo as they might truly graue that *inſcription* vpon their *Altars*, *Ignoto Deo*, to the vnknown God; Their ignorance was likewiſe no leſſe touching the nature and office of *Angels*, the manſion or function of ſeparated ſoules, nay not a few of the moſt ancient *Chriſtian Divines* held the *Angels* corporeall, though inviſible ſubſtances, and that the reaſonable ſoule of man was derived from his *Parents*, whereas the contrary opinions are now commonly held

held both more *divine* and more reasonable.

The *Physickes* or *Naturall Philosophy* is it which the *Ancients*, & specially the *Grecians*, and among them *Aristotle* hath with singular commendation much inriched, yet can it not be denied, but he is by the experience of latter ages found very defectiue in the *historicall* part thereof: And for the speculatiue, both himselfe & his followers seeme to referre it rather to *profession* & disputation, matter of wit and credit, then vse & practice: It is therefore a noble and worthy endeavour of my Lord of S. *Albanes* so to mixe and temper practice & speculation together, that they may march hand in hand, and mutually embrace and assist each other. *Speculation* by precepts and infallible conclusions preparing a way to *Practice*, and *Practice* againe perfecting *Speculation*. Now among those practicall or actiue parts of *Naturall* Physosophie which latter ages haue produced *Pancirollus* names *Alchymie* for a chiefe one: And it is true that we finde little mention thereof in *Antiquity*, not suspected of forgery. But for mine owne part I much doubt whether any such experiment be yet really found or no: And if it be, whether the operation of it be not more dangerous & difficult then the effect arising from it, is or can be advantagious. But of this I am well assured, that as he who digged in his Vineyard for gold missed it, but by opening the rootes of the Vines, thereby found their fruit the next yeare more worth vnto him then gold: so whiles men haue laboured by transmutation of mettals from one *species* to another to make gold, they haue fallen vpon the distillations of waters, extractions of oyles, and such like rare experiments vnknowne to the *Ancients*, which are vndoubtedly more pretious for the vse of man then all the gold of both the *Indies*.

Noua repert. tit. 7

SECT. 3.

Of the Arts of Painting and Architecture revived in this latter age.

HErevnto may be added the *Arts* of *Horsmanship*, and *Herauldry*, *Agriculture*, and *Architecture*, *Painting* and *Navigation*, all which haue beene not a little both *inlarged* and *perfected* in these latter ages: yet with this difference, that some of them together with the other *Arts* decayed, and againe reviued with greater perfection: Others were neuer in their perfection till now: I will instance onely in the three latter. To begin then with the *Art* of *Painting*. When the *Romans* arrived to the height of their *Empire*, they equalled, nay excelled the *Grecians* herein, who before were esteemed the best in the world.

Venimus ad summum fortunæ, pingimus atque
Psallimus, & luctamur Achivis doctiùs vnctis.

Horat. Ep. 1. l. 2.

To Fortunes height we are aspir'd, we paint, we sing,
The skilfull Greekes we passe in wrestling.

Quintilian in the last chapter saue one of his last booke, shewes how much this *Art* was accounted of amongst the *Ancients*, and how by degrees it grew to perfection, and so doth *Pliny* in his 35 booke, & 9 & 10 chapters. Some inventing colours, others shadowes & landskips, and o-

thers rules of proportion, but in tract of time, it ſo farre againe decay-
Ep. 119. ed, that *Æneas Sylvius* who liued about 200 yeares ſince, tels vs in one Epiſtle, *videmus picturas ducentorum annorum nulla prorſus arte politas*, We ſee the pictures made 200 yeares ſince poliſhed with no kind of art. And in another immediatly following, *Si ducentorum, trecẽtorumve annorum, aut ſculpturas intueberis, aut picturas, invenies non hominum, ſed monſtrorum portentorumque facies*, If we looke vpon the ſculptures or pictures made about 200 or 300 yeares ſince, wee ſhall finde faces rather of monſters
Epiſtola ante Geometriam. then men, And to like purpoſe is that of *Durerus* himſelfe an excellent Painter, *Penitus deperdita vltra mille annos latuit, ac tantidem ante ducentos hos annos per Italos rurſum in lucem prodijt*: This *Art* lay hid in obſcurity as it had bin vtterly loſt aboue a thouſand yeares, til at length about 200 yeares agoe it againe brake forth into light by helpe of the *Italian* wits. The moſt famous *Italians* in this Art were *Michael Angelo*, and *Raphael Vrbin*. Some of our owne *Nation*, as namely Maſter *Heliard* an *Exeter* man borne, & many *Netherlanders*, whoſe *names* & *Icones* are publiſhed by *Hondius*, haue herein deſerued good commendation: But *Durerus* of *Norinberg* is indeed the *Man*, who as well for *practice* as precepts in this Art, is by the moſt judicious moſt commended. He was commonly ſtiled whiles he liued, the *Apelles* of *Germany*, nay *Eraſmus* in his Dialogue of the right pronunciation of the *Greeke* and *Latine* Tongues, ſeemes to preferre him before *Apelles*: *Equidem arbitror* (ſaith he) *ſi nunc viveret* Apelles, *vt erat ingenuus & candidus*, Alberto *noſtro ceſſurum hujus palmæ gloriam*. Truly I am of opinion, that did *Apelles* now liue, being as hee was of an ingenuous diſpoſition, he would in this Art yeeld the Bucklers to our *Albertus*. But for ſingular rules in this kinde, *Lomatius* may not be forgotten, whom Mr *Richard Haydocke* hath tranſlated out of Italian into Engliſh, & dedicated to the euer honoured Sir *Thomas Bodley*.

Such is the *affinitie* betwixt the *arts* of *painting* & *building*, by reaſon they both ſtand chiefely vpon *proportion* & *juſt dimentions*, that *Vaſſari*, who was both himſelfe, hath likewiſe written the liues of the moſt famous & beſt skilled in both. *Vertruvius* who liued but in the reigne of *Auguſtus*, is the only man in a manner among the *Ancients*, either in *Greeke* or *Latine*, who is renowned for the rules of *Architecture*: Among thoſe of latter times, Sir *Henry Wotton* in his *preface* to his *Elements* of *Architecture*, reputes *Leon Baptiſta Alberti* the *Florentine*, the firſt learned *Architect* beyond the *Alpes*: To whom *Angelus Politianus* in an *Epiſtle* of his to *Laurentius Medices*, *Duke* of *Florence*, yeelds this teſtimony *Ita perſcrutatus antiquitatis veſtigia eſt, vt veterem Architectandi rationem & deprehenderit & in exemplum revocauerit*: He ſo narrowly traced the prints & foot-ſteps of *Antiquity*, that he both fully comprehended the manner of the ancient building and reduced it into patterne; and in the end concludes touching his worth as *Saluſt* of *Carthage*, *Tacere ſatius puto quam pauca dicere*, I hold it ſafer to be ſilent then to ſpeake in few words, now as the moſt ſufficient *moderne Architects* in moſt things follow the ancient, ſo in many things they varie from thẽ, & that vpon juſt reaſon. The *ancient Grecians* & the *Romanes* by their example in their buildings abroad where the ſeate was free, did almoſt religiouſly ſcitu-

ate

ate the front of their houſe towards the South: But from this the *moderne Italians* doe juſtly varie. Againe, the *Ancients* did determine the *longitude* of all roomes which were longer then broad by the double of the *latitude*, and the height by the halfe of the breadth and length ſummed together: But when the roome was preciſely ſquare, they made the height halfe as much more as the *latitude*: from which dimenſions, the *moderne Architects* haue likewiſe taken leaue to vary and that vpon good diſcretion. *Vitruvius l. 6. c. 5.*

The publique buildings of the *Grecians* and *Romans* were doubtles very artificiall and magnificent, and ſo were likewiſe many of thoſe of the ancient *Chriſtians*, I meane their *Churches*, *Monaſteries*, *Caſtles*, *bridges*, and the like: But the houſes of private men were in the memorie of our *Fathers*, for the moſt part very homely, till the Princes of *Italy* began to beſtow more art and coſt vpon them. *Coſmo Medices* Duke of *Florence* being one of the firſt who ſet vpon this worke; the *Italians* were ſoone followed by the *French* after the victorious returne of *Charles* the eight from *Naples*, and they againe by vs euer ſince the vniting of the *two roſes* in King *Henry* the ſeaventh, who at his comming to the Crowne, had ſpent the greateſt part of his time in *France:* Before his entrance we had indeede ſome huge vaſt buildings, but his houſe at *Richmond* & his *Chappell* at *Weſtminſter* (except perchance ſome would preferre *Kings* Colledge Chappell in *Cambridge* begun by *Henry* the ſixth) were the two firſt neate curious peeces that this Kingdome had ſeene: The latter of which may well enough compare, not onely with any peece this day in *Chriſtendome*, but for the bignes of it, with any thing in *antiquity* of that kinde. But for a ſtately dainty houſe, that of *None-ſuch* excells, which King *Henry* the eight, ſaith our *great Antiquarie*, built with ſo great ſumptuouſnes, and rare workemanſhippe, that it aſpireth to the very toppe of oſtentation for ſhew: So as a man may thinke, that all the skill of *Architecture* is in this one peece beſtowed and heaped vp together. So many ſtatues and liuely images there are in euery place: ſo many wonders of abſolute workemanſhippe & workes ſeeming to contend with *Romane Antiquities*, that moſt worthily it may haue and maintaine ſtill this name that it hath of *None-ſuch*, according as *Leland* hath written of it. *Camden* in *Surrey.*

Huic quia non habeant ſimilem laudare Britanni
Sæpe ſolent, nullique parem cognomine dicunt.

The Brittaines oft were wont to praiſe this place for that through all
The Realme they cannot ſhew the like, and *None-Such* they it call.

So as what *Sebaſtianus Serlius* a skilfull Architect ſpake of the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, may not vnfitly be applied to this pile of building, that it is *vnicum exemplar conſummatæ Architecturæ*, the only patterne we haue of perfect Architecture; whether we caſt our eyes abroad into the country vpon the houſes of Noble-men & Gentle-men, or vpon the Colledges & Schooles in the Vniuerſities, or vpon the dwellings of the Merchant & Artificer in the towne & city, ſpecially in the *Metropolis*; wee ſhall generally finde a wonderfull great change in building within theſe laſt hundred yeares, this latter as much exceeding the former, as *Au-*

guſtus his *marble Rome* did that of *bricke*. And if we looke into forraine parts, the *Eſcuriall* in *Spaine*, and the *Gallery* in *France*, will yeeld to nothing, *Antiquity* can boaſt of in that kinde: Yet if wee may beleeue reports, the King of *Chinaes* pallaces, at leaſt-wiſe for riches & ſtate, put downe any thing which is to be ſeene in *Europe* at this day.

Now I know the *Pyramides* rayſed by the Egyptian Kinges, & the *Obeliskes* by the *Grecian* & *Romane Emperours* are much ſpoken of, as being vnparalleld by any thing in theſe latter ages, and they were indeede *inſanæ ſubſtructiones*, as *Pliny* ſpeakes, mad kinde of buildings, only for ſhew and oſtentation, nothing at all for vſe: yet that *Obeliske*, which in the yeare 1586 was raiſed by the direction of *Dominicus Fontana*, & at the charge of *Sixtus Quintus* (which *Thuanus* tearmes, *inter opera ejus primum & præcipuum*, the firſt and the principall among all the great workes which he did) may well be counted little inferiour to the chiefeſt of them. It was one ſolide ſtone 107 foote in height, weighing 956148 pounds. It was tranſlated from the *Vatican*, where it lay in an obſcure & durtie place almoſt couered ouer with filth, and erected in a more eminēt place neere S. *Peters Church*. There where disburſed about this worke (as *Fontana* himſelfe hath written) 37975 Crownes; there being imployed therein from the beginning of *May* to the middle of *September* 900 men and 70 horſes.

Hiſt. l.85. c.4.

SECT. 4.

Of the art of Navigation, brought to perfection in this latter age, and vpon that occaſion of the ſituation of Ophir.

THe laſt, but the chiefe & moſt vſefull of the three *Arts* which I laſt named is *Navigation*, in which thoſe of former ages were ſo ignorant, that they ingraued *Non vltra* vpon *Hercules* pillars, that the *Nations* about *Pontus* thought no ſea in the world like their owne, and doubted whether there were any other ſea but that only; whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word vſed for the ſea in generall. That the *Egyptians*, held otherwiſe a wittie people, vſed to coaſt the ſhores of the *Red Sea* vpon *Raffs*, diviſed by King *Erythrus*: And in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittanes*, our Anceſtours had a kinde of boate (with which they croſt the Seas) made of ſmall twigs and couered with leather, of which *Lucan* the *Poet*.

Primum cana ſalix madefacto vimine parvam
Texit in puppim, caſoque induta juvenco
Victoris patiens, tumidum ſuperenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus *ſtagnante pado fuſoq; Brittannus*
Navigat Oceano:

The moiſtned oſyre of the hoarie willow
Is wooven firſt into a little boate
Then cloath'd in bullocks hide vpon the billow
Of a proud river lightly doth it floate
Vnder the water-man.

So

So on the Lakes of over-ſwelling Poe
Sailes the Venetian, and the Brittaines ſo
On the out-ſpread Ocean.

And to like purpoſe is that of *Feſtus Avienus:*

Navigia junctis ſemper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vaſtum ſæpe percurrunt ſalum.
Of ſtitched hides they all their veſſels had,
And oft thorow Sea in leather voyage made.

But that which is more obſervable is, that the *Iewes* were ſo vnskilfull in this art, as both they and God himſelfe accommodating himſelfe to their capacity, commonly called the *Mediterranean* ſea, the *great Sea*; thoſe times, as it ſeemes, not being much acquainted with the *Ocean*: And though the *Phenicians* and *Carthaginians*, the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, are much renowned in hiſtories for great *Navigatours*; yet it is thought by the learned, that thoſe voyages they performed, was onely by coaſting, and not by croſſing the Ocean. Numb. 34. 6.

--- Hæc ætas quod fata negarunt
Antiquis totum potuit ſulcare carinis,
Id pelagi immenſum quod circuit Amphitrite.
This age what fates to former times deni'd,
Through the vaſt Ocean now in ſhips doth ride.

Saith *Fracaſtorius*, and *Acoſta*, *Equidem navigationem altiſsimo Oceano commiſſam, neque apud Veteres lego, neque ab illis aliter Oceanum navigatum puto quam à noſtris Mediterraneum*: That the Ancients adventured themſelues into the maine *Ocean*, neither doe I reade it in any of their Writers, nor doe I beleeue they otherwiſe ſayled over the *Ocean*, then we doe now over the *Mediterranean* Sea. And it ſhould ſeeme they vndertooke not their longeſt voyages without *Oares*, which the *Scripture* implies in that vndertaken by *Ionas*, where the Marriners vpon the riſing of a violent tempeſt were conſtrained to vſe their *Oares*. *Lib. 1. De natura novi Orbis: c. 1. 8.* Ionas, 1. 13.

I am not ignorant, that as *Vatablus* and *Arias Montanus* would make *Ophir*, whither *Salomon* ſent his Navie (by reaſon of the affinity of the name) to be *Peru* in the *Weſt Indies*, ſo *Pineda* ſpends no leſſe then twelue leaues in the largeſt folio, to proue *Tharſis*, to which it is likewiſe commonly thought to haue gone to be *Tarteſſus* in *Spaine*: But for the firſt of theſe opinions, *Cornelius Wytfliet*, Secretary of State in the Counſell of *Brabant*, in his booke intituled *Deſcriptionis Ptolomaicæ argumentum*, or *Occidentis notitia*, hath ſtrongly confuted it; and ſo hath *Pererius* in his third booke vpon *Geneſis* treating of *Havilah*. But Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is confident that himſelfe hath ſo knockt it in the head, as it were idle 'to make any more queſtion thereof. That this queſtion, ſaith he, be 'a ſubject of no farther diſpute. It is very true that there is no Region 'in the world of that name, (meaning *Peru*) ſure I am that at leaſt *Ame-* 'rica hath none, no not any city, village, or mountaine ſo named: But 'when *Francis Pizarro* firſt diſcovered the lands to the South of *Panama*, 'arriving in that Region which *Attabaliba* commanded, (a Prince of 'Magnificence, riches, and dominion, inferiour to none) ſome of the 'Spaniards vtterly ignorant of that language, demaunding by ſignes as 'they 1. King 9. 28. *De rebus Salomonis, l. 4. c. 14.*

'they could, and pointing with their hand athwart the riuer or brooke 'that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of 'that brooke or of water in generall: The *Spaniards* therevpon conceiving that the people had rightly vnderſtood them, ſet it downe in the 'journall of this enterprice, and in the firſt deſcription made and ſent 'ouer to *Charles* the Emperour, all that Weſt part of *America* to the 'South of *Pannama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer 'ſince, as diverſe *Spaniards* in the Indies aſſured me. Which alſo *Acoſta* the Ieſuite in his naturall and morall *Hiſtory* of the *Indies* confir-'meth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth that a part of the *Indies* 'called *Iucatan* tooke the name of *Iocktan*, who as he ſuppoſeth, navi-'gated from the vtmoſt *Eaſt* of *India* to *America*: It is moſt true that *Iu-'catan* is nothing elſe in the language of that countrey, but, *What is that*, 'or *What ſay you?* For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place, 'no man conceiving their meaning, one of the *Saluages* anſwered *Iuca-'tan*, which is, *What aske you?* or *what ſay you?* Thus farre Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, yeelding the reaſon of his diſſent from *Montanus* & *Vatablus*, holding that *Ophir*, to which *Salomons* Nauy ſayled for gold, was *Peru* in the Weſt *Indies*. Wherevnto may be added out of *Salmuth* in his Commentary vpon *Pancirollus*, that in all likelihood, this land of *Ophir* tooke it's name from *Ophir* the ſone of *Iocktan*, (as the land of *Havilah* likewiſe did from another ſonne of his, mentioned in the ſame place) who as *Ioſephus* witneſſeth, fixed his ſeate in the *Eaſt*, placing the countrey of *Ophir* about *Cherſoneſus*, with whom accords *Gaſpar Varrerius* in his Commentaries purpoſely written *de Ophyra Regione*, where he plainely proues *Ophir* to be that *Aurea Cherſoneſus* in the *Eaſt Indies*, which is now called *Malaca*. Moreouer one of the principall commodities which *Solomons* fleete brought home was *yvory*, of which in the *Weſt Indies* there is none to be found, it being knowne to want *Elephants*: And laſtly out of the Text it appeares, that *Salomon* prepared his Navy for a voyage into the *Eaſt*, inaſmuch as his ſhips ſet forth at *Ezion-Geber* bordering vpon the Red ſea, & thither as to the *Rendivouz* came the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, *Hirams* men to joyne with them: which had beene a moſt indirect courſe, had they intended their voyage toward the Weſt.

Titulo de novo orbe.

Gen. 10. 19.

Lib. 1. Antiq. c. 14.

1. King. 9. 26. 27.

Now for *Pineda* his making of *Tharſhis*, to bee *Tarteſſus* in his owne Countrey of *Spaine*, though herein he follow *Goropius Becanus*, yet in the judgment I ſuppoſe of moſt men, *recitaſſe eſt refutaſſe*, the very recitall of it, is refutation ſufficient. For if I ſhould demand *Pineda* where thoſe *Spaniſh* mines are now to be ſeene, from whence *Salomons* ſhippes brought ſo much treaſure, he muſt tell me, that either they are dryed vp, or tranſported to the *Indies*, from whence in fleetes they are yearely brought backe into *Spaine*, as *Serrarius* ſports with him: *in novum orbem tranſlata magnis claſſibus revehuntur:* So as had not *Spaine* it ſelfe an *Ophir* or *Tarſhis* to furniſh it with gold, the poverty of it would doubtleſſe ſoone appeare to the world. Beſides, *Pineda* herein diſſents from *Acoſta* his owne countryman & brother of the ſame ſociety, who thinkes that by *Tarſhis* the *Hebrewes* indefinitely vnderſtand *ſome remote, ſtrange*, and *rich*,

Hiſpanicorum lib. 7.

De Nauig. novi Orbis l. 1. c. 13.

rich place, as we, ſaith he, doe by the *Indies*. And if we ſhould ſay, that *Salomons Tarſhis* by a little change of letters was *Paules Tarſus*, a famous City in *Silicia* (which ſeemes likewiſe to haue it's name from *Tarſis* the 2d Son of *Iavan*) we therein ſhould I thinke ſhoot nearer the marke then *Pineda:* but I muſt confeſſe for mine owne private judgment, I rather incline to their opinion who by *Tarſhis* vnderſtand none other than the *Sea*. The *Iſraelites* and *Phenicians*, becauſe they knew no other Sea then the *Mediterranean* in the beginning, & that the people of *Tarſhis* had the greateſt ſhippes, and were the firſt *Navigators* in thoſe parts with ſuch veſſels, they were therefore called *Men of the Sea*, and the word *Tharſhis* vſed often for the Sea. Thus S. *Hierome* in his commentaries on *Daniel*, *Ionas fugere cupiebat non in Tharſum Silicia, ſed abſolute in pelagus. Ionas* deſired to flie not to *Tarſus* in *Silicia* but to the Sea. But *Iunius* and *Tremelius* goe farther, traſlating *Tharſhis* by *Oceanus*, thus: *Nam claſſis Oceani pro Rege cum Claſſe Chirami erat, ſemel ternis annis veniebat claſsis ex Oceano, afferens aurum & argentum: &c.* which we thus render in our laſt *Engliſh Tranſlation: For the King had at Sea a Navy of Tharſhis with the Navy of Hiram, once in three yeares came the Navy of Hiram, bringing gold and ſilver.* And from this opinion, that by *Tarſhis* is or may be vnderſtood the *Sea*, the learned *Druſius* in his *ſacred obſervations* diſſents not, onely he affirmes that not *Tharſhis*, but *Iam* is the common name for the *Sea*, and that not in *Syriacke* as S. *Hierome* would haue it, but in *Hebrew*. Whereas then it is ſaid or vnderſtood, that the ſhippes of *Salomon* went every three yeares to *Tharſhis*, if by *Tharſhis* we vnderſtand the *Sea*, the phraſe, is not improper or ſtrange at all: for we vſe it ordinarily whereſoeuer we navigate, namely, that the Kings ſhippes are gone to the *Sea* or returned from the *Sea*, by which it appeares, (not to touch their opinion who deceiued by the *Chalde Paraphraſt*, by *Tharſhis* vnderſtand *Carthage*) that the voyage of *Salomons Navy* was neither to *Peru* in the *Weſt Indies*, nor *Tarteſſus* in *Spaine*, but to *Ophir* in the *Eaſt Indies*, which being performed by *coaſting*, needed perchance more time, but leſſe skill in navigation.

Act. 21. 39.

Gen. 10. 4.

Cap. 10.

1. King. 10. 22.

Lib. 9 c. 12.

The perfection then of this *Art* ſeemes by *Gods providence* to haue beene reſerued to theſe latter times, of which *Pedro de Medina*, & *Baptiſta Ramuſio* haue giuen excellent precepts. But the Art it ſelfe hath bin happily practiſed by the *Portugals*, the *Spaniards*, the *Hollanders*, and our owne *Nation*, whoſe voyages and diſcoveries, Maſter *Hackluit* hath collected & reported in three ſeverall volumes, lately inlarged & perfected by Maſter *Purchas*, and it were to be wiſhed as well for the honour of the *Engliſh* name, as the benifite that might thereby redound to other Nations, that his collections and relations had beene written in *Latine*, or that ſome learned pen would be pleaſed to turne them into that *Language*. Among many other famous in this kinde, the noble ſpirited *Drake* may not be forgotten, who, *God* being his *Guide*, wit, skill, valour and fortune his attendants, was the next after *Magellanus* that ſayled round about the World, wherevpon one wrote theſe verſes vnto him.

Drake peragrati novit quem terminus orbis

Camden in Devonſhire.

Quemque ſemel mundi vidit vterque polus:
Si taceant homines facient Teſydera notum
Sol neſcit comitis immemor eſſe ſui.
Sir *Drake* whom well the worlds end knew,
Which thou didſt compaſſe round:
And whom both Poles of Heau'n once ſaw,
Which North and South doe bound.
The ſtarres aboue will make thee knowne
If men here ſilent were:
The Sun himſelfe cannot forget
His fellow traveller.

And for the better breeding, continuance, and increaſe of ſuch expert *Pilots* amongſt vs, it would doubtleſſe bee a good & profitable worke, (according to Maſter *Hackluits* honeſt motion in his *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to the Lord *Admirall*, then being) if any who hath the meanes had likewiſe the minde to give allowance for the reading of a *Lecture* of *Navigation* in *London*, in imitation of the late *Emperour Charles* the fift, who wiſely conſidering the rawneſſe of his Seamen, and the manifold ſhipwracks which they ſuſtained in paſſing & repaſſing betweene *Spaine* and the *Weſt Indies*, eſtabliſhed not only a *Pilot Major* for the examination of ſuch as were to take charge of ſhippes in that voyage, but alſo founded a *Lecture* for the *Art* of *Navigation*, which to this day is read in the Contractation houſe at *Sivill*. The Readers of which *Lecture* haue not only carefully taught and inſtructed the *Spaniſh Marriners* by word of mouth, but haue alſo publiſhed ſundry exact & worthy Treatiſes concerning *Marine Cauſes*, for the direction & incouragement of *poſterity*: and namely theſe three, *Alonzo de Chavez*, *Hieronymo de Chavez*, & *Rodorigo Zamerano*, & to this purpoſe it is a commendable worke of Maſter *Hues*, who for the inſtruction of *Navigators* in the principles of *Geometry* & *Aſtronomy*, & thereby for the improuement & advancement of the *Art* of *Navigation*, hath written & twice publiſhed in two ſeverall editions a learned *Treatiſe* of the *Celeſtiall* & *terreſtriall Globes*, and their vſe, which for the better vſe of ſuch as are ignorant of the *Latine* tongue, & deſirous to learne, I could wiſh were tranſlated into our owne *Language*.

CHAP. 10.

Touching diverſe artificiall workes & vſefull inventions, at leaſtwiſe matchable with thoſe of the ancients, namely & chiefly the invention of Printing, Gunne, and the Sea-Card or Marriners Compaſſe.

SECT. 1.

Of ſome rare invention and artificiall workes of this latter age, comparable both for vſe and skill to the beſt of the Ancients.

AS the *Arts* & *Sciences* haue all of them in theſe *latter ages* either beene *reuiued* from *decay* or *reduced* to *vſe*, or *brought forward* to *perfection*

perfection: ſo many *ſecrets of Nature* and *rare concluſions* haue beene found out & imparted to the World by *Albertus Magnus*, *Levinus Lemnius*, *Fernelius*, *Fracaſtorius*, *Mizaldus Baptiſta Porta*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Cardanus*, *Trithemius*, *Delrio*, and others, and many ſingular *artificiall inventions*, for the *vſe*, *eaſe*, *delight*, or *ornament* of mankinde, as a number of *Mechanicall*, *Mathematicall*, & *Muſicall* Inſtruments, *Chimneyes*, *ſtirrups*, *paper*, *ſpectacles*, *Porcellan*, *perſpectiue glaſſes*, *fining of ſugars*, *hand-mils*, *glones*, *hats*, *bands*, *watches*, the vſe of hoppes in our drinke, of riding in coaches, and of ſide-ſaddles, but ſince the time of *Richard* the 2 here with vs: beſides diverſe excellent workes in *ſtuffs*, in *ſilkes*, in *linnens*, in *hangings*, in *carpets*, and the like, particularly ſet downe by *Polidore Virgill de Inventoribus Rerum*, *Pancirollus* in his *Noua-reperta*, *Cardanus* in his 17 booke *de artibus artificioſiſque rebus*, *Dornavus* in his Oration which he intitles *fælicitas hujus ſæculi:* to whom notwithſtanding much more might eaſily be added, For as truth is the daughter of time, ſo are vſefull Inventions too, as rightly *Manilius*, *lib.* 1.

Sed cùm longa dies acuit mortalia corda
Et labor ingenium miſeris dedit, & ſua quemq;
Advigilare ſibi juſsit fortuna premendo,
Seducta in varias certârunt pectora curas,
Et quodcunque ſagax tentando reperit vſus,
In commune bonum commentum læta dedere.
But when that tract of time had whet mens wits,
And induſtry had moulded them, by fits
Fortune preſſing each man to endeavour
To free himſelfe from miſerie, together
They bend their minds to ſearch out ſundry things
And what is found by obſervation ſage,
They cheerefully impart from age to age.

I will onely ſpecifie ſome of the *rareſt artificiall workes* of this *latter age*, comparable for the workemanſhip with the beſt of the ancient.

Peter Ramus tels vs of a *wooden Eagle*, & an *iron flie* made by *Regiomontanus* a famous *Mathematician* of *Norinberge*, whereof the firſt (in imitation and emulation of *Architas* his doue) flew forth of the city aloft in the aire, met the *Emperour* a good way off comming towards it, and having ſaluted him, returned againe, waiting on him to the City gates. The *ſecond* at a feaſt whereto he had invited his familiar friends, flew forth of his hand, & taking a round, returned thither againe to the great aſtoniſhment of the beholders: Both which the divine pen of the noble *Du Bartas* hath excellently expreſſed. *Schol. Mat. l. 2.* *Gellius l. 10. & c. 2.*

Why ſhould I not that wooden Eagle mention,
A learned *Germans late* admir'd invention,
Which mounting from his fiſt that framed her
Flew farre to meet an *Almaine Emperour*.
And hauing met him with her nimble traine
And weary wings, turning about againe
Followed him cloſe vnto the Caſtle gate
Of *Norinberg*, whom all their ſhewes of ſtate

The 6 day of the firſt weeke.

Streetes

Streetes hang'd with Arras, arches curious built,
Gray-headed Senate, and youths gallentiſe,
Grac't not ſo much as only this deviſe.

He goes on and thus deſcribes the *flye*,

Once as this *Artiſt* more with mirth then meat
Feaſted ſome friends whom he eſteemed great,
From vnder's hands an iron *flye* flew out,
Which hauing flowne a perfit round about,
With weary wings return'd vnto her Maſter,
And as judicious on his arme he plac't her.
O divine wit, that in the narrow wombe
Of a ſmall flye could finde ſufficient roome
For all thoſe ſprings, wheeles, counterpoiſe and chaines,
Which ſtood inſteed of life, and ſpurre, and reines.

Deſinamus itaque Archytæ columbam mirari, cum muſcam, cum aquilam geometricis alis alatam Noriberga exhibeat, ſaith *Ramus*, let vs giue ouer to wonder at *Archytas* his doue, ſithence *Norinberg* hath exhibited both a *Fly* and an *Eagle* winged with Geometricall wings. *Bartas* likewiſe remembers the curious *Diall* & clock at *Strauſburgh*, which my ſelfe haue beheld not without admiration.

But who would thinke that mortall hands could mould
New heavens, new ſtarres whoſe whirling courſes ſhould
With conſtant windings, though contrary wayes
Marke the true monds of yeares and moneths and dayes,
Yet 'tis a ſtory that hath oft beene heard,
And by an hundred witneſſes aver'd.

Neither doth hee forget that moſt exquiſite ſilver *ſpheare* (matchable with *Archimedes*, or that of *Zapores* King of *Perſia*) which was ſent as a preſent from the Emperour *Ferdinand* to *Solyman* the great *Turke*, and is mentioned by *Paulus Iovius* and *Sabellicus*: It was carried as they write, by twelue men, vnframed and reframed in the *Grand Signiours* preſence by the maker, who likewiſe delivered him a booke contayning the myſtery of vſing it.

Nor may we ſmoother nor forget ingrately
The *Heaven of ſilver*, that was ſent but lately
From *Ferdinando* as a famous worke,
Vnto *Bizantium* to the *greateſt Turke:*
Wherein a ſpirit ſtill moving too and fro,
Made all the *Engine* orderly to goe;
And though th' one ſpheare did alwayes ſlowly ſlide,
And contrary the other ſwiftly glide;
Yet ſtill their ſtarres kept all their courſes even
With the true courſes of the ſtarres of heaven.
The Sunne there ſhifting in the *Zodiaque*
His ſhining houſes, never did forſake
His pointing path; there in a moneth his ſiſter
Fulfil'd her courſe and changing oft her luſtre
And forme of face, (now larger, leſſer ſoone)
Followed the changes of the other moone.

SECT. 2.

SECT. 2.

Of the benefit and Inventour of the moſt vſefull Art of Printing.

BUt leaving theſe,

Magna nec ingenijs inveſtigata priorum
Quæque diu latuere canam.

I'le ſpeake of greater things which long lay hid,
Neither were found by ſearch of former wits.

Theſe ſpoken of, are in truth but toyes and trifles in regard of thoſe three moſt vſefull inventions, which theſe *latter ages* challenge as due & proper to themſelues, *Printing*, *Gunnes*, and the *Marriners Compaſſe*; of which *Cardane* comparatiuely ſpeakes in high tearmes. *His tribus tota Antiquitas nihil par habet:* All Antiquity can boaſt of nothing equall to theſe three. Vpon theſe then will I inſiſt, and with theſe conclude this compariſon of *Arts* and *Wits*; the rather for that there is none of them but ſome haue excepted againſt, as being not *moderne* but *ancient* inventions. I will begin with *Printing*, touching which *Bodin* outvies *Cardane*, *Vna typographia cum omnibus omnium veterum inventis certare facilè poteſt.* Printing alone may eaſily contend for the prize with all the inventions of the *Ancients*. And *Polidore Virgill* having ſpoken of the famous Libraries erected by the Ancients, preſently addes, *Fuit illud omnino magnum mortalibus munus, ſed nequaquam conferendum cum hoc quod noſtro tempore adepti ſumus, reperto novo ſcribendi genere: tantum enim vno die ab vno homine literarum imprimitur, quantum vix toto anno à pluribus ſcribi poſſit.* That was indeede a great benefit to mankinde, but not to be compared with this which our age hath found out and injoyed, ſince a new kinde of writing was brought to light and practiſed, by meanes whereof, as much may be printed *by one man in one day*, as could be written by *many in a whole yeare*; or as *Sabellicus*, as much as the *readieſt pen-man could well diſpatch in two yeares.* And by this meanes, bookes which were before in a manner confined to the Libraries of *Monaſteries*, as their only *Magazines*, were redeemed from bondage, obtained their inlargement, and freely walked abroad in the light; ſo as now they preſent themſelues familiarly to the eyes and hands of all men, and he that hath but ſlender meanes, may notwithſtanding furniſh himſelfe in a competent manner, there being now more good *Authours* to bee bought for *twenty ſhillings* then could then bee purchaſed for *twenty pounds*. And beſides, they then ſpake ſuch *languages* as it pleaſed the *Monkes* to put into their mouths, who many times thorow ignorance, or negligence, or wilfulnes miſtooke words and ſentences, and ſometimes thruſt that into the *Text* which they found in the *Margine*. From whence aroſe ſuch a confuſion in moſt *Authours* that it much puzled the beſt wits how to reſtore them to the right ſenſe, as *Lodovicus Vives* complaines, it befell him in the ſetting forth of S. *Auguſtines* workes *de Civitate Dei, & divinandum ſæpenumero fuit, & conjecturis vera reſtituenda Lectio*: I was often forced to gueſſe at the ſenſe & none otherwiſe then

De ſubtil. l. 17.

De Meth. hiſt. lib. 7.

De Inventor. rerum, l. 2. c. 7.

Enead. 10. 6.

In præfatione.

then by conjectures could the text be reſtored to the true reading: And *Eraſmus* in his preface to the workes of the ſame father, *vix in alterius tam impiè quàm in hujus ſacri Doctoris voluminibus luſit otioſorum temeritas*, hardly hath the raſhnes of idle braines ſo impiouſly played it's part in the volumes of any other, as of this holy *Doctour*: Yet that other complaint of his in his preface before S. *Hieromes* workes, touching the many and groſſe corruptions which therein hee found, farre exceedes this, *Vnum illud & verè dicam & audacter, minoris arbitror Hieronymo ſuos conſtituiſſe libros conditos, quàm nobis reſtitutos:* This one thing may I truly and boldly affirme, that in mine opinion, S. *Hieromes* bookes coſt him leſſe paines the making, then mee the mending. *Againe*, it cannot be denied but the fairenes of the letter beyond that of ordinary writing, addes no ſmall grace to this invention. *Mira certè Ars*, ſayth *Cardane*, *quâ mille chartarum vna die conficiuntur, nec facile eſt judicare an in tanta facilitate ac celeritate pulchritudo, an in tanta pulchritudine celeritas & facilitas ſit admirabilior:* An admirable Art ſure it is, by which a thouſand ſheets may be diſpatcht in a day; neither is it eaſie to judge whether in ſo great eaſineſſe and quickneſſe of diſpatch the fairenes of the letter, or in the faireneſſe of the letter the quickneſſe of diſpatch and eaſineſſe thereof, be more to be wondred at. *Laſtly*, it is not the leaſt benefit of Printing, that by diſperſing a number of *Copies* into particular mens hands, there is now hope that good letters ſhall neuer againe ſuffer ſo vniverſall a decay as in former ages they haue done, by the burning and ſpoyling of publique *Libraries*, in which the whole treaſure of learning was in a manner ſtored vp. Since then by this meanes, bookes are become both *fairer*, and *cheaper*, and *truer*, and *leſſe ſubject to a totall periſhing:* and ſince by this *Art* the *preſeruer of Arts*, the Acts & writings of worthy men are made famous and commended to poſterity; it were a point of haynous ingratitude to ſuffer the *Inventor* thereof to be buried in obliuion.

De varietate rerum, l. 3 c. 64.

Some difference I confeſſe there is about his name, yet not ſuch but may be reconciled without any great difficulty. *Peter Ramus* ſeemes to attribute it to one *John Fuſt* a *Moguntine*, and in truth ſhewes good cards for it, telling vs, that he had in his keeping a copie of *Tullies Offices* printed vpon parchment with this inſcription added in the end thereof: *Præſens Marci Tullij clariſſimum opus Iohannes Fuſt Moguntinus ciuis non atramento, plumali canna, neque ærea, ſed arte quadam perpulchra manu Petri de Gerneſhem pueri mei fœliciter effeci, finitum* an. 1466, 4 *die menſis Februarij*. This excellent worke of *Marcus Tullius* I *Iohn Fauſt* a citizen of *Mentz* happily imprinted, not with writing inke, quill, or braſſe pen, but with an excellent *Art* by the helpe of *Peter Gerneſhem* my ſervant: finiſhed it was in the yeare 1466, the 4th of *Februarie*. *Paſquier* averres that the like had come to his hand, and *Salmuth* that one of the ſame impreſſion was to be ſeene in the publique Librarie of *Auſburg*, and another (as others) in *Emanuell* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and my ſelfe haue ſeene a fifth in the publique Librarie at *Oxford*, though with ſome little difference in the inſcription. Yet *Pollidore Virgill* from the report of the *Moguntines* themſelues affirmes, that *Iohn Gutenberg* a Knight & dwelling

Scol. Mathem. lib. 2.

Lib. 4. c. 22. Titul. 12.

Lib. 2. c. 7.

ling in *Mentz*, was the first Inventour thereof, and therein with him accord *Palmerius* in his Chronicle, *Melchior Gualandinus* in the 26 Chapter of his Treatise touching *paper* & *parchment*, *Chasaneus* in his *Catalogue* of the *Glory of the world*, the second part and 39 Consideration, *Veignier* in his *Bibliotheque*, *Bibliander de communi ratione omnium linguarum*, in his chapter of printing (professing that therein he followes *Wymphilingius* in his *Epitomie* of the affaires of Germany) *Iohannes Arnoldus* in his booke of the invention of Printing. And lastly, *Munster* in his *Cosmographie*,, who addes this particular, that he smoothered it a long time, labouring to conceale it all that he might. For the reconciling then of this difference, it may well be that *Gutenberg* was indeed the first happy inventour of this invaluable *Art:* But *Fust* the first, who taking it from him, made proofe thereof in Printing a booke: They both then deserue their commendation, but in different degrees: *Gutenberg* in the highest, *Fust* in a second or third; & no doubt, but many since haue added much to the speede, grace and perfection thereof, whose names, though wee know not, yet perchance, haue they as well deserved of the commonwealth of learning as hee: Sure wee are, that *Manutius*, *Operinus*, *Raphelengius*, *Plantin*, and both the *Stephens*, the Father and the Sonne, are not to be forgotten, but remembred with honour, for the furthering and perfecting of this *Art*.

Yet some there are who writing of the affaires of the *Indies*, as *Petrus Maffaius*, *Garzias ab Horto*, and *Paulus Iovius* assure vs, that either the *Germanes* borrowed this Invention first from the *Chineses*, or at leastwise the *Chineses* had the practise and vse of it long before them. Wherevnto I answere (not to question the credit of the *Authours* though in truth (as is well knowne) no great friends to the *German* nation) that though it were long since in vse with the *Chineses*, yet, for ought appeareth, was it never, nor yet is with them brought to that perfection, as it is with vs at this day: *Si à veteribus tale quiddam excogitatum sit, vt nemo debita laude fraudandus, fateri quisque debeat omnia minus fuisse exculta, nitida, subtilia, elimata, nec tam spectabili literarum varietate exornata atque expolita*, sayth *Levinus Lemnius*. If any such thing was discovered by the *Ancients* (either by the *Chineses* or otherwhere) as they are not to be robbed of their due praise, so ought wee to confesse, that all things are now more exact and perfect, and better polished with a faire variety of letters. But that the *Germans* should borrow it from the *Chineses*, as is pretended by the *Spaniards*, is more I thinke then is true, I am sure, then is yet proved, or in likelyhood doth appeare: And the *Germans* themselues will never with patience endure such a wrong. *Germania certè nunquam sibi hanc laudem patietur extorqueri*, sayth *Salmuth*, *Germany* will never suffer the praise of this *Invention* to be wrested from her. And *Beroaldus*;

Hist Ind. l. 6. Lib. 2. Aven. apud Indos cap. 38.

Lib. 14. Hist.

De occultis rerum mirac. l. 3 c. 4.

O Germania muneris repertrix,
Quo nil vtilius dedit vetustas,
Libros scribere quæ doces premendo.

Thou *Germany* this blessing did'st invent,
Then which the world more vsefull never saw,

To write on bookes thou teacheſt thus by print.

And with him accords *Laurentius Valla*, though himſelfe an *Italian*, if thoſe verſes be his which are aſcribed vnto him in the front of his Workes.

Abſtulerat Latio multos Germania libros,
Nunc multò plures reddidit ingenio.
Et quod vix toto quiſquam perſcriberet anno,
Munere Germano conficit vna dies.

Germania drew great ſtore of bookes from *Italy*,
But now much more ſhe doth then ſhe receiu'd, repay:
What erewhile in one yeare could ſcarcely written be;
Now by *Germania's* helpe is finiſht in a day.

SECT 3.

Of the vſe and invention of Gunnes.

AS the Invention of *Printing* is chiefely in vſe in time of *Peace*, ſo is that of *Gunnes* in time of *warre*, with which the *Aries*, *Onagri*, *Catapulta*, or *Baliſtæ*, *Engines* of the *Ancients*, (which I know not well how to *Engliſh*, they being growne for the moſt part out of vſe) are no way comparable, *Nec vlla ex parte huic conferendus eſt antiquus Aries, vires inferiores habebat, & difficiliùs ad muros adigebatur*, ſayth *Patricius*, The *Ramme* anciently for battery, is in no ſort to be compared with this *Engine*, it had leſſe ſtrength, and more difficulty there was in bringing it, and applying it to the walls. And *Bodine* to like purpoſe, (though herein perchance hee jumpe not with *Lipſius* in his *Poliorcetica*) *omitto Catapulta Veterum & antiqua belli tormenta, quæ ſi cum noſtris conferantur ſanè puerilia quædam ludicra videri poſſint*. I paſſe over the *Engines* of the *Ancients*, which being compared with ours, are rather childiſh toyes then inſtruments of warre. And *Lipſius* himſelfe calls it, *Geniorum, non hominum inventum*, an invention of ſpirits and not of men. Such is the force of theſe moderne *Engines*, that they not onely deſtroy men, but caſt downe wals, rampiers, towers, caſtles, cities, and ſhake the talleſt ſhippes into ſhivers, there being nothing that comes within their reach that can ſtand againſt them. It was a peece of almoſt incredible bigneſſe which by *Mahomets* command was imployed againſt *Conſtantinople, ad quam trahendam adhibebantur ſeptuaginta juga boum, & bis mille viri*, as witneſſeth *Chalcondilas* in his eight booke *de rebus Turcicis*, for the drawing of which was imployed ſeaventy yoke of oxen, and two thouſand men. It is true that there is nothing more miſchievous to beſieged cities, and ſo is there nothing that helpes them more for the chaſing away of the beſiegers, it being ſo for the moſt part in all things, which either the Art or wit of man, or *God* & *Nature* hath framed, that the more helpefull they are being well vſed; the more hurtfull are they being abuſed: then fire and water there is nothing more commodious to the life of man, yet is the *Proverbe* true, that when they are once inraged, & paſſe their bounds they become merciles: The tongue is ſaid by

De regno lib. 7. tit. 6.

Method. hiſt. c. 7.

De Machinis dialogo. 11.

Æſope

Æsope to be both the beſt & the worſt meate that comes to the market: for with it wee both *bleſſe God* and *curſe men*, ſayth S. *Iames*. And *yron* by *Pliny* is rightly tearmed, *optimum, peſſimumq; vitæ inſtrumentum*, the beſt & worſt inſtrument belonging to man. But ſure it ſeemes that *God* in his providence had reſerved this Engine for theſe times, that by the cruell force and terrible roaring of it, men might the rather be deterred from aſſaulting one another in hoſtile and warlike manner; And I verily beleeue that ſince the invention and vſe thereof, fewer haue beene ſlaine in the warres then before. Neither doth it ſeeme, (as is commonly objected,) to make men cowards, but rather hardens them. For hee that dares preſent himſelfe to the mouth of a *Cannon*, cannot feare the face of death in what ſhape ſoever it preſents it ſelfe.

Howſoever ſome haue not beene wanting, who would beare vs in hand that this invention is not of *latter times*, but *ancient*; among whom Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is one, who in his *Hiſtory of the World*, referres not onely the Invention of *Printing*, but of *Gunnes* too, and *Ordinance* of battery to the *Indians*, grounding himſelfe heerein vpon the report of the *Portugals*: And hereby, ſaith hee, wee are now made to vnderſtand, that the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonij Tianei*, is no fable, though expreſt in fabulous words, when he ſayth, that the wiſemen which dwell betweene *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges* vſe not themſelues to goe forth to battle, but that they driue away their enemies with *thunder* and *lightning*. But hereof I can ſay nothing, chooſing with *Camerarius*, *potius credere quàm cum moleſtia experiri*, rather to beleeue it, then to endure the hazard and trouble to make tryall of it Others referre it to *Salmoneus*, as witneſſeth *Levinus Lemnius*, induced therevnto by thoſe verſes of *Virgill*

Lib. 1. c. 7 ſect. 4

Lib. 2. c. 14.

Meditat. biſtor. centur. 2. 28.

De occult. rerum miraculis lib. 3. cap. 4.

Ænead. l. 5.

Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,
Dum flammas Iovis & ſonitus imitatur Olympi,
Quatuor hic invectus equis ac lampada quaſſans
Per Graium populos mediæque per Elidis vrbem
Ibat ovans, Divûmque ſibi poſcebat honores;
Demens qui nimbos & non imitabile fulmen,
Ære & cornipedum curſu ſimulabat equorum

I ſaw *Salmoneus* there endure
Moſt cruel paines and great,
For that he dar'd the flames of *Ioue*,
And thunder counterfeit.
In Chariot drawne with horſes foure,
Shaking a fiery brand,
Through mids of *Elis* towne he rode,
And through all *Grecian* land
Tryumphing wiſe: and to himſelfe
Audaciouſly did take
Honours divine. Mad franticke man
That did not inlie quake:
With horn-foote horſes, and braſſe wheeles,
Ioues ſtormes to emulate,
And lightning impoſſible

For man to imitate.

But *Servius* in his Commentaries conceiues, that this imitation of *thunder* was by driving his Chariot over a braſen bridge: And if hee vſed any *Engine*, it ſeemes to haue beene rather for *rattling* and terrour, then for any *reall* effect: and whereas great *Ordinance* exceede thunder, this was ſuch that it came farre ſhort of it. And therefore as *Rota* hath well obſerved, the Poet calls it,

--Non imitabile fulmen.

De remed utriuſque fort. dial. 99. *De re Militar.*

But this I leaue as a very vncertaine ground for the ancient inventi-on of this *Engine*. *Petrarch* and *Valturius* vpon better ſhew of reaſon (as they conceiue) referre it to *Archimede*, found out (as they pretend) by him for the overthrow of *Marcellus* his ſhippes at the ſiege of *Syracuſe*. But it were ſtrange that both *Plutarch* & *Livie*, who haue written large-ly of his admirable wit & wonderfull *Engines*, and particularly of the ſiege of that citie, ſhould among the reſt forget this *rare invention*; and yet more ſtrange that the *Romanes* vpon the taking of the citie ſhould

Miſcel. l. 1. c. 1. not take it vp and make vſe of it: Nay, as *Magius* (who hath written a chapter of purpoſe, to refute them who referre this invention to the *An-cients*) hath obſerued; neither *Heron*, nor *Pappus*, nor *Athenæus*, nor *Biton* in their manuſcripts of the *Mechannickes*, (for printed they are not) haue

De regimine Principium l. 3. parte 3. c. 18. deſcribed any ſuch *Engine*: nor *Ægidius Romanus*, (who liued and wrote in the raigne of *Philip* the *faire* King of *France* about the yeare 1285.) where hee treates purpoſely of *warlike Engines* and *inſtruments*, remembers any ſuch thing. *Brightman* in his expoſition on the *Revelation* of S. *Iohn*, tels vs that by the *fire*, and *ſmoake*, and *brimſtone* which in that place are ſaid to haue iſſued out of the mouth of the horſes, are to be vnderſtood our *powder* and *gunnes* now in vſe, and that of them S. *Iohn* propheſied, but how theſe can be ſaid to iſſue out of the *mouthes* of *horſes*, he doth not well expreſſe, nor I thinke well vnderſtood.

The common opinion then is, that this deviſe was firſt found out by a *Monke* of *Germanie*, whoſe name many writers affirme to be deſer-vedly loſt. But *Forcatulus* in his fourth booke of the *Empire* and *Philoſo-phy* of *France*, names him *Berthold Swarts* of *Cullen*; and *Salmuth*, *Conſtan-tine Anklitzen* of *Friburg*: Howſoever they all agree that he was a *German Monke*, and that by chance a ſparke of fire falling into a pot of *Niter*, which he had prepared for *Phyſicke* or *Alchimy*, and cauſing it to fly vp, hee therevpon made a compoſition of powder, with an inſtrument of braſſe and yron, and putting fire to it, found the concluſion to anſwere his expectation. The firſt publique vſe of *Gunnes* that wee reade of, was thought to be about the yeare 1380 as *Magius*, or 400 as *Ramus* in a battle betwixt the *Venetians* and the *Genowayes* fought at *Clodia-Foſſa*, in which the *Venetians* having from this *Monke* belike, gotten the vſe of *Gunnes*, ſo galled their enimies, that they ſaw themſelues wounded and ſlaine, and yet knew not by what meanes, or how to prevent it, as wit-neſſeth *Platina* in the life of *Vrbane* the ſixth. And *Laurentius Valla* in

Nova Reperta, tit. 11.

Lib. 2. c. 14. the ſecond booke and 34 Chapter of his *Elegancies*, (which as himſelfe teſtifies, hee wrote in the yeare 1438) affirmes that the *Gunne* grew in vſe not long before his time. His words are, *Nuper inventa eſt machina*

quam

quam Bombardum vocant, the Engine which they call the Gunne was lately found out. And *Petrarch* who liued ſomewhat before him to like purpoſe in his 99 dialogue of the *Remedies of both fortunes*, though therein I confeſſe he ſeemes to croſſe himſelfe, *Erat hæc peſtis nuper rara, vt cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur:* This peſtilent deviſe was lately ſo rare, that it was beheld with marveilous great aſtoniſhment. Yet I haue ſeene the copie of a record, that *great Ordinance* were brought by the *French* to the batterie of a Caſtle or fort called *Outhwyke*, neere to *Callis*, and then in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, the firſt yeare of *Richard* the ſecond; of which fort, one *William Weſton* was Captaine, and being queſtioned in Parliament for yeelding vp the fort, he doth in his excuſe alleage, that the enemies brought to the batterie thereof nine peeces *de groſſes Canons par les quelles les mures & les meaſons du dit Chaſtel furent rentes & percuſſez en pluſiears lieux*, of great Canons, by meanes whereof the walls and houſes of the ſayd Caſtle were in diverſe places rent in ſunder and ſorely battered; and in another place, hee tearmes them *huge*, moſt *grievous*, and *admirable Ordinance*: nay more then ſo, I am credibly informed, that a commiſſion is to be ſeene for the making of *Saltpeter* in *Edward* the thirds time, and another record of Ordinance vſed in that time ſome twenty yeares before his death: by all which it ſhould appeare, that either the *invention* of *Gunnes* was ſooner then is commonly conceived, or that our *Nation* and the *French* had the vſe of it with the firſt, howſoever it is moſt cleare, that at leaſt-wiſe in theſe parts of the world this invention was not knowne till in latter ages in compariſon of the worlds duration.

SECT 4.

Of the vſe and invention of the Marriners Compaſſe *or Sea-card, as alſo of another excellent invention ſaid to be lately found out vpon the* Load-ſtone, *together with a concluſion of this compariſon touching Arts & Wits, with a ſaying of* Bodins, *and another very notable one of* Lactantius.

TO theſe inventions of *Printing* and *Gunnes*, may be added in the laſt place that of the *Marriners Compaſſe*, of which *Bodin* thus confidently ſpeakes, *Cum magnete nihil ſit admirabilius in tota rerum natura, vſum tamen ejus plane divinum Antiqui ignorarunt:* Though there be nothing more admirable then the Load-ſtone in the whole courſe of Nature, yet of the Divine vſe thereof were the Ancients ignorant: And *Blondus*, *Certum eſt id navigandi auxilium Priſcis omnino fuiſſe incognitum:* It is certaine that helpe of ſayling was altogether vnknown to the Ancients. And *Cardan*, a man much verſed in the Rarities of *Nature*, *inter cætera rerum inventa admiratione primum digna eſt ratio Nauticæ pyxidis.* Among other rare inventions, that of the Marriners Compaſſe is moſt worthy of admiration. By meanes of it, was *Navigation* perfected, the liues and goods of many thouſand haue bin, and daily are preſerved: It findes out a way thorow the vaſt Ocean, in the greateſt ſtormes and darkeſt nights, where is neither path to follow, nor inha-

Methodo hiſt. cap. 7.

Italia Illuſtrata regione 13. De ſubtilit. 17.

bitant or paſſinger to inquire; It points out the way to the skilfull Marriner when all other helpes faile him, and that more certainely though it be without reaſon, ſenſe, and life, then without the helpe thereof all the Wiſards & learned Clearkes in the world, vſing the vnited ſtrength of their wits and cunning can poſſibly doe: By meanes of it are the commodities of all countries diſcovered, trade, and trafique, and humane ſocietie maintained, their ſeverall formes of government and religion obſerved, and the whole world made as it were one *Commonwealth*, and the moſt diſtant *Nations fellow citizens* of the ſame body politique.

This wonderfull inſtrument wee haue amply diſcribed by *Cieze* in his ſecond tome and ninth chapter, *de Rebus Indicis*, and *Bellonus* in his ſecond booke and ſixteenth chapter *de Singularitatibus*: But for the reaſon thereof, I ſay with *Acoſta*, *Cauſas hujus tanti prodigij alij rimentur, & Sympathiam neſcio quam conentur inducere, ego ſummi Opificis potentiam providentiamque quoties intueor, & vehementer admiror & jucundiſſimè celebro.* Let others ſearch out the cauſes of this ſo wonderfull an inſtrument, & pretend therein I know not what Sympathy, I for my part as oft as I looke vpon it, cannot but exceedingly admire, and moſt willingly praiſe the power and providence of *God*.

De Natura novi orbis. l. 1.

Whether it were knowne to the *Ancients* or no, ſome doubt is moved, as of all things elſe there is. But herein in my judgement, without any ſufficient reaſon. For can we conceiue that ſo rare a deviſe; and of ſo ſingular vſe could be knowne to *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, *Pliny*, *Dioſcorides*, *Gallen*, and that wee ſhould no where in any of their workes finde the leaſt mention thereof? Surely, I for my part ſhall never beleeue it, neither can I be perſwaded that ſo pretious and vſefull an invention could poſſibly be entertained and commonly practiſed, and yet loſt againe out of the world as if it had never beene. But that indeede it was not practiſed appeares by this, that the *Ancients*, when by reaſon of a ſtorme or myſt they had loſt the ſight of the lights of heaven, they had no remedie to flie vnto; *Nullum cælo nubibus obſcurato à magnete aut alio inſtrumento petebatur auxilium*, when the heaven was darkened with clouds, they had no aſſiſtance from the *Load-ſtone* or any other inſtrument.

Blondus Italia illuſtrat. Regione 13.

---Clavumque affixus & hærens
Nunquam amittebat oculoſque ſub aſtra tenebat.

Ænead. 5.

The helme he held and never it forſooke
But on the ſtarres his eyes did ever looke.

Saith the *Poet*, as long as the ſtarres appeared; but when they were bemiſted, they then wandred they knew not whither.

Tres adeo incertos cæca caligine ſoles,
Erramus pelago, totidem ſine ſidere noctes.

Ænead. 3.

On Sea we rou'd three dayes as darke as night,
Three nights likewiſe not ſeing ſtarrie light.

And *Ovid*,

Verum vbi ſit neſcit tanta vertigine pontus
Fervet, et inducta piceis è nubibus vmbra
Omne latet Cœlum.

Metam. 11. 10.

He

He knew not where he was, the ſea ſo wrought
And all the skie with pitchie clouds was fraught.

And in S. *Pauls* coaſting voyage by ſea, when they had loſt the ſight of the *Sunne* and *Starres* all hope that they ſhould be ſaued was then taken away. Act. 27. 20.

Some notwithſtanding haue beene found, who haue thought this invention ancient. *Levinus Lemnius* in his third booke and fourth chapter *de Occultis naturæ miraculis* ſeemes to doubt of it. *An hoc inſtrumentum Nauticum ſuperioribus ſeculis extitit, an noſtro id ævo excogitatum, non auſim certo pronunciare*: whether this inſtrument of *Navigation* were in being in former ages, or found out in latter times, I cannot certainly define. Now that which chiefely cauſes him to make a doubt thereof, is thoſe words of *Plautus*, *Hic ventus nunc ſecundus eſt, cape modo verſoriam*: where by *verſoriam*, *Lemnius* would haue vs vnderſtand the *Marriners compaſſe*. and then addes, *Quanquam vt opinor hæc pixidicula noſtro jam tempore magis exculta ſit, elimata, expolita, omniaque exactius demonſtret*, as in the ſame chapter he ſpeakes of Printing: Yet I beleeue that this inſtrument was in latter ages brought to exact perfection. But for *Plautus* I dare ſay hee was never guilty of ſuch a meaning: *Turnebus* by *Verſoriam* vnderſtanding the rope with which they ſayle, others the rudder, with which the ſhip is turned. Neither of which are impertinent or improper, ſo as there is no neceſſity of applying it to the Marriners Compaſſe. *Stephen Paſquier* in his 4 booke & 23 chapter of his *Recherches* of *France*, brings it vp as high as the times of S. *Lewis* by the verſes of one *Hugh de Bercy*, who liued in his raigne, and as he pretends plainely deſcribes it: but whether the words be ſo plaine as he makes them, or whether they were publiſhed by ſome other ſince *Bercy*, but in his name, is very vncertaine, ſpecially ſince no *Poet* or *Hiſtoriographer* contemporary with him, or more ancient then hee, are found to make mention thereof: and yet S. *Lewis* died not much aboue 300 yeares ſince. *Pineda* for the more commodious placing of *Tharſhis* in *Spaine*, is confident that it was in vſe in *Solomons* time, making his vniverſall wiſedome, and deepe inſight in the nature of all things, the principall ground of his opinion: But *Solomons* wiſedome though it were vniverſall, and deepe, beyond all the children of the *Eaſt*, in as much as *God* gaue him *latitudinem cordis*, a large heart as the ſand of the ſea ſhore, yet was it finite and limited as well in things naturall as ſupernaturall. I doubt not but *Adam* in the ſtate of integrity knew more them *Solomon*, and yet I dare not pronounce him *omniſcious*, that being an *attribute*, (as is likewiſe *Omnipotencie*, *vbiquity* & *eternity*) individually proper to the *Godhead*, & incommunicable to any created ſubſtance, though meerely incorporeall, whether they be the damned or the bleſſed ſpirits. If then the holy *Angels*, if *Adam* in Paradice knew not all things, nay if the Sonne of *God* himſelfe, as hee was man confeſſe himſelfe to be ignorant in ſome things, why ſhould wee thinke it ſtrange to affirme, that *Solomon* knew not all things. If there be ſuch a ſecret as the artificiall tranſmutation of other mettals into gold, (which by the experiments of many is confidently avouched) it is more then probable he was ignorant of it: for had he knowne it, he needed

In Mercatore Scena 5.

Lib. 20. adverſ. cap. 4.

Enſaibible guyot.

Lib. 4. de rebus Solomonis c. 4.

ded not to haue ſent his Navy to *Ophir* or *Tharſhis* for gold; as likewiſe had he knowne this ſecret of the *Load-ſtone*, it needed not to haue ſpent three yeares in going and comming, neither ſhould his Marriners haue needed to craue the aſſiſtance of the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, as *Pilots* for the better conducting of thē into their voyage. I conclude then that either *Solomon* knew not this ſecret, or if he knew it, hee put it not in practiſe, or if hee put it in practiſe, it was ſince loſt and recovered againe, which to mee ſeemeth the moſt vnlikely of all.

Now to the authority of theſe *three*, who plead for the antiquity of this invention, may be oppoſed *thirteene*, and thoſe in learning nothing inferiour who plead againſt it, maintaining it to haue beene an Invention of *latter ages* vnknowne to the *Ancients*, as *Acoſta lib. 1. hiſtor. Ind. cap. 17. Mariana lib. 1. de rebus Hiſpaniæ cap. 22. Maluenda lib. 3. de Antichriſto cap. 24. Gomara tomo 1. Indicæ Hiſtoriæ cap. 10. Turnebus lib. 20. adverſ. cap. 4. Pancirollus* in his *Nova reperta tit. 11. Salmuth* in his Commentaries on that place. *Philander* in his Comment. vpon *Vitruvius lib. 10. cap. 14. Lilius Giraldus lib. de Navig. cap. 1. Cardan de ſubtilitate lib. 17. Bozius de ſignis Eccleſiæ lib. 2. Bodin* in his methode of Hiſtorie *cap. 7. Ramus in Schol. Mathemat. lib. 2.* And to thoſe may be added many more, were I ambitious in muſtering vp of names, or did the cauſe require it. Since the writing hereof I finde that our *Fuller Miſcell. 4. 19.* thinkes it likewiſe very probable, that the *Tyrians* anciently had the vſe of the *Compaſſe*, and that *Solomon* might be the Inventor thereof, but againſt him may be produced the *reaſons* before preſſed againſt *Pineda*, and not only the *authorities* already alleaged, but vnto them wee may farther adde that of *Gaſpar Varrerius* in his Commentary *De Ophyra Regione, Cujus vim nativamque lapidis in Arctos ſemper reſpectantis antiquis ignotam fuiſſe manifeſtum eſt.* It is cleere that the natiue propertie of this ſtone of turning alwayes to the *North*, was to the ancients vnknowne

But a greater doubt preſents it ſelfe about the *time* and *Author* of this Invention, when and by whom it ſhould firſt be found out and ſet on foote. Doctor *Gilbert* our Country-man (who hath written in Latine a large and learned diſcourſe of the properties of this ſtone) ſeemes to be of opinion that *Paulus Venetus* brought the invention of the vſe thereof from the *Chineſes*. *Oſorius* in his diſcourſe of the acts of King *Emanuel*, referres it to *Gama* and his Country-men the *Portugals* who as he pretends tooke it from certaine barbarous Pirats roaving vpon the Sea about the *Cape of good hope*. *Goropius Becanus* likewiſe thinkes he hath great reaſon to intitle it vpon his Countrymen the *Germans*, in as much as the 32. points of the winde vpon the *Compaſſe* borrow the name from the *Dutch* in all *Languages*. But *Blondus* who is therein followed by *Pancirollus*, both *Italians*, will not haue *Italy* looſe the praiſe thereof, telling vs that about 300 yeares agoe it was found out at *Malphis* or *Melphis* a Citty in the Kingdome of *Naples* in the *Province* of *Campania*, now called *Terra di Lovorador*. But for the Author of it, the one names him not, and the other aſſures vs, he is not knowne: yet *Salmuth* out of *Ciezus* & *Gomara* confidently chriſtens him with the name of *Flavius*, & ſo doth *Du Bartas* in whoſe excellent verſes of his touching this ſubject.

Hiſpaniæorum l. 3. Italia illuſtrata Regione 13.

W'are

W'are not to *Ceres* ſo much bound for bread,
Neither to *Bacchus* for his cluſters red,
As Signior *Flavio* to thy witty tryall,
For firſt inventing of the Sea-mans dyall,
Th'vſe of the needle turning in the ſame,
Divine device, O admirable frame!
Whereby thorow th'Ocean in the darkeſt night
Our hugeſt Carrackes are conducted right,
Whereby w'are ſtor'd with trouch-man, guide & Lampe,
To ſearch all corners of the watery Campe.
Whereby a ſhip that ſtormy heav'ns haue whorld
Neere in one night into another world
Knowes where ſhe is, and in the Card diſcries
What degrees thence the Æquinoctiall lies.

It may well be then that *Flavius* the *Melvitan* was the firſt inventor of guiding the ſhip of the turning by the needle to the *North*: but ſome *German* afterwards added to the *Compaſſe* the 32 points of the winde in his owne language, whence other Nations haue ſince borrowed it. But ſurely a pitty it is that the Authour of ſuch an Invention is not both more certainely known and honourably eſteemed: He better deſerving in my judgement to be inrolled and ranked among the *great benefactours of the world*, then many who for their ſuppoſed merits, of *mankinde* were *deified* among the *Heathen*.

Another excellent and ſecret concluſion vpon this ſtone, pretended to be found out in theſe latter times, is, that by touching two needles with the ſame ſtone, they being ſeverally ſet ſo as they may turne vpon two round tables, having on their borders the *Alphabet* written circle-wiſe, if two friends agreeing vpon the time, the one in *Paris*, the other in *London*, (having each of them their table thus equally fitted) be diſpoſed vpon certaine dayes and at certaine times to conferre, it is to be done by turning the needle in one of the tables to the *Alphabet*, and the other by *Sympathie* will turne it ſelfe in the ſame manner in the other table, though never ſo farre diſtant: which concluſion if infallibly true, may likewiſe prooue of good and great conſequence: howſoever I will ſet it downe as I finde it deſcribed by *Famianus Strada* in imitation of the ſtile and vaine of *Lucretius*.

Lib. 2. Proluſione 6.

Magneſi genus eſt lapidis mirabile, cuì ſi
Corpora ferri plura ſtyloſve admoveris, inde
Non modo vim motumque trahent quo ſemper ad vrſam
Quæ lucet vicina polo ſe vertere tentent,
Verum etiam mira inter ſe ratione, modoque
Quotquot eam lapidem tetigere ſtyli, ſimul omnes
Conſpirare ſitum motumque videbis in vnum.
Vt ſi fortè ex his aliquis Romæ moveatur
Alter ad hunc motum quamvis ſit diſſitus longè
Arcano ſe naturæi fœdere vertat.
Ergo age ſi quid ſcire voles qui diſtat amicum
Ad quem nulla accedere poſſit epiſtola, ſume

Planum

Planum orbem patulumque notas, elamentaq; prima,
Ordine quo diſcunt pueri, deſcribe per oras
Extremas orbis, medioque repone jacentem
Qui tetigit magneta ſtylum, vt verſatilis inde
Litterulam quamcunque velis contingere poſſit.
Hujus ad exemplum ſimili fabricaveris orbem
Margine deſcriptum, munitumque indice ferri,
Ferri quod motum Magnete accepit ab illo,
Hunc orbem diſſeſſurus ſibi portet amicus;
Conueniatque prius quo tempore, queiſve diebus
Exploret ſtylus an trepidet quidve indice ſignes.
His ita compoſitis ſi clam cupis alloqui amicum
Quem procul à Te Te terrai diſtinet ora
Orbi adjunge manum, ferrum verſatile tracta,
Hic diſpoſta vides elementa in margine toto
Queis opus eſt ad uerba notis hunc dirige ferrum,
Litterulaſque modo hanc modo & illam cuſpide tange
Dum ferrum per eas iterumq; iterumque rotando
Componas ſigillatim ſenſa omnia mentis.
Mira fides! longe qui diſtat cernit amicus
Nullius impulſu trepidare volubile ferrum
Nunc huc, nunc illuc diſcurrere conſcius hæret
Obſervatque ſtyli ductum ſequiturque legendo
Hinc atque hinc elementa, quibus in verba coactis
Quid ſit opus ſentit ferroque interprete diſcit.
Quinetiam cum ſtare ſtylum videt, ipſe viciſſim
Si quæ reſpondenda putat ſimili ratione
Litterulis varie tactis reſcribit amico:
O vtinam hæc ratio ſcribendi prodeat vſu
Cautior & citior properaret epiſtola, nullas
Latronum verita inſidias fluvioſque morantes,
Ipſe ſuis princeps manibus conficeret rem
Nos ſoboles ſcribarum emerſi ex æquore nigro
Conſecraremus calamum Magnetis ad aras.

The Loade aboue all other ſtones hath this ſtrange propertie,
If ſundry ſteeles thereto, or needles yee apply,
Such force and motion thence they draw, that they incline
To turne them to the beare which neere the Pole doth ſhine.
Nay more, as many ſteeles as touch that vertuous ſtone,
In ſtrange and wondrous ſort conſpiring all in one,
Together moue themſelues, and ſituate together:
As if one of thoſe ſteeles at *Rome* be ſtir'd, the other
The ſelfe-ſame way will ſtirre though they farre diſtant be,
And all through Natures force and ſecret Sympathie:
Well then if you of ought would faine adviſe your friend
That dwells farre off, to whom no letter you can ſend;
A large ſmoth round table make, write downe the Chriſtcroſſe
In order on the verge thereof, and then beſtow (row

The

The needle in the mid'ſt which toucht the Load, that ſo
What note ſoe're you liſt it ſtraight may turne vnto:
Then frame another orbe in all reſpects like this,
Deſcribe the edge, and lay the ſteele thereon likewiſe,
The ſteele which from the ſelfe-ſame *Magnes* motion drew;
This orbe ſend with thy friend what time he bids adieu:
But on the dayes agree firſt, when you meane to proue,
If the ſteele ſtir, and to what letter it doth moue.
This done, if with thy friend thou cloſely would'ſt adviſe,
Who in a country off farre diſtant from thee lies,
Take thou the orbe and ſteele which on the orbe was ſet,
The chriſtcroſſe on the edge thou ſeeſt in order writ,
What notes will frame thy words to them direct thy ſteele,
And it ſometimes to this, ſometimes to that note wheele,
Turning it round about ſo often till you finde
You haue compounded all the meaning of your minde.
Thy friend that dwells far off, ô ſtrange! doth plainely ſee
The ſteele to ſtirre though it by no man ſtirred bee,
Running now heere now there: He conſcious of the plot
As the ſteele guides purſues, and reades from note to note;
Then gathering into words thoſe notes, he clearely ſees
What's needefull to be done, the needle truchman is.
Now when the ſteele doth ceaſe its motion; if thy friend
Thinke it convenient anſwere backe to ſend,
The ſame courſe he may take, and with his needle write
Touching the ſeverall notes what ſo he liſt indite.
Would God men would be pleaſ'd to put this courſe in vre,
Their letters would arriue more ſpeedy and more ſure,
Nor Rivers would them ſtoppe, nor theues them intercept;
Princes with their owne hands their buſineſſe might effect:
WeScribes from blacke ſea ſcaped, at length with harty wils
At th'altar of the Loade would conſecrate our quils.

Of this deviſe, how two abſent friends might confer at great diſtance, *Viginerius* in his *Annotations* vpon *T. Livius*, ſpeaketh ſomewhat in the 1316 colume of his firſt volume; as namely that a letter might be read through a ſtone wall of three foote thicke, by guiding and moving the needle of a *Compaſſe* over the letters of the *Alphabet*, written in the circumference. but the certainty of this concluſion, I leaue to the experiment of ſuch as liſt to make tryall of it, and ſo conclude this compariſon touching *Wits* & *Arts* with the words of *Bodin*: *Non minùs peccant qui à veteribus aiunt omnia comprehenſa, quàm qui illos de veteri multarum artium poſſeſſione deturbant, habet Natura ſcientiarum theſauros innumerabiles qui nullis ætatibus exhauriri poſſunt:* They are no leſſe to blame who affirme all things to haue bin found out by the *Ancients*, then they who would thruſt them out of the poſſeſſion of many *Artes* found out by them: For the Nature of ſciences includes in it infinite treaſure which can never be exhauſted. Or rather with thoſe of *Lactantius* worthy to be written in letters of gold, as being no leſſe true and pertinent, then

Method. hiſt. cap. 4.

Lib. 2. c. 8. Divin. Inſt.

then witty and elegant: *Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione ſapientiam, vt & inaudita inveſtigari poſſent, & audita perpendere; nec quia nos illi temporibus anteceſſerunt, ſapientiâ quoque anteceſſerunt, quæ ſi omnibus æqualiter datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non poteſt. Illibabilis eſt tanquam lux & claritas Solis, quia vt ſol oculorum, ſic ſapientia lumen eſt cordis humani. Quare cum ſapere, id eſt veritatem quærere omnibus ſit innatum, ſapientiam ſibi adimunt qui ſine vllo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab alijs pecudum more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit quod Majorum nomine poſito non putant fieri poſſe, vt aut ipſi plus ſapiant quia Minores vocantur, aut illi deſipuerint quia Majores nominantur.* God hath giuen wiſedome vnto all according to a competent meaſure, that they might both finde out things vnheard of before, and weigh things already found out: Neither becauſe they had the ſtart of vs in time, doth it likewiſe follow that they haue it alſo in wiſdome, which if it be indifferently granted to all, it cannot be foreſtalled by them which went before. It is vnimpareable like the light and brightneſſe of the ſunne, it being the light of mans heart as the ſunne is of his eyes. Sithence then to be wiſe, that is, to ſearch the truth, is a diſpoſition imbred in every man, they debarre themſelues of wiſdome, who without any examination approue the inventions of their Anceſtours, and like vnreaſonable creatures, are wholy led by others. But this is it which deceiues them, the name of *Anceſtours* being once ſet in the front, they thinke it cannot be, that either themſelues ſhould be wiſer, becauſe they are called *Punies*, or the others ſhould in any thing be miſtaken, becauſe they are called their *Anceſtours*. And thus haue wee ſeene that there is in *mankinde* no ſuch *vniverſall* and *perpetuall decay* in regard of *age* and *life*, of *ſtrength* and *ſtature*, of *arts* and *wits*, as is commonly pretended: it now remaines that in the laſt place we examine their *manners* and *conditions*, *vertues* and *vices*, whether it be ſo that men alwayes grow *worſe* and *worſe*, as it is likewiſe generally and confidently both held and beleeued.

LIB. IV.

LIB. IV.

Of the pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large proofe of the future consummation of the world, from the testimonies of the Gentiles, *and the vses which we are to draw from the consideration thereof.*

CAP. 1.

That there is no such vniversall & perpetuall decay in the manners of men as is pretended, which is first proved in generall, and then from Religion the ground of manners.

SECT. 1.

That there is a vicissitude and Revolution in vertues and vices, as there is in Arts and Sciences.

SVch is the neere affinitie and mutuall connexion betwixt these foure, *Age, Strength, Wit,* & *Manners*, that as the *three* former ordinarily follow the temper & complexion of the body, so for the most part doth the *fourth* too; though I must confesse that by the freedome of the will in *morall* matters, we are more masters of the *fourth*, then of the other *three*, which are more naturall, & consequently lesse in our power to alter or command; as *strength* then is the comfort of *age*, and *wit* the grace of *strength*, & *vertue*, the guid of *wit*: so *age* without *strength* is tedious; *strength* without *wit* dangerous, *wit* without *vertue* hurtfull and pernicious. If then hauing matched men of *latter ages* with those of the *former* in regard of *age*, *strength*, and *wit*, they should not likewise proue matchable in regard of *vertue*, it were a blemish rather then an ornament, a discommendation then a prayse.

Now though it be true that *vice* at this day so abounds thorow the world, as it commonly doth, and well may breed a doubt euen in the best, whether these *last times* be not indeed the *worst*, and as it were the lees & dregs of all ages; yet when I consider that in these *latter ages*, (if we compare them with the precedent since the *Creation*) a great part of the knowne world hath beene converted to the *Christian* doctrine, and that the *Authour* of it hath told vs, *By their fruits yee shall knowe them*; mee thinkes I should wrong both him and it, if I should yeeld that the *world* hath not thereby beene bettered, euen in regard of *civill vertue* & *morall goodnes*: *Deus vt parens diligentissimus appropinquante vltimo tempore nuncium misit, qui vetus illud seculum fugatamque Iusticiã reduceret, ne humanum genus maximis & perpetuis agitaretur erroribus*; *Redijt ergo species illius aurei temporis*, saith *Lactantius*. God as a most tender father, the *Lib. 5. Instit. c. 7*

end now drawing on, ſent his Meſſenger, who ſhould reduce that old age and baniſhed juſtice, leaſt mankinde alwayes ſhould be toſſed vp & downe with infinite & continuall errours, ſo as now we haue brought backe againe vnto vs a repreſentation of thoſe golden times.

But as I cannot eaſily grant, that men alwayes, and in all places waxe worſe and worſe, ſo I doe not belieue that alwayes, & in all places they waxe better and better, or that they ſtand at a ſtay: But as in the *Arts* & *Sciences*, ſo likewiſe in matter of *manners*, there is a *viciſſitude*, *an alternation* & *revolution*, as before hath beene touched in part. The world is ſometimes better & ſometimes worſe, according to the times of warre or peace, the conditions of Princes and Lawes, and the execution of them. Sometimes *vertue* increaſeth in one kingdome, and decreaſeth in another; and againe in the ſame kingdome *one vice* growes vp, and another withers, at leaſt wiſe for a time. This *circulation* of *vertue* and *vice* hath beene obſerved, and the obſervation thereof commended to poſterity by the ſoundeſt and ſageſt writers in *Antiquity*: *Niſi fortè in rebus cunctis ineſt quidam velut orbis, & quemadmodum temporum vices ita morum vertantur, nec omnia apud priores meliora, ſed noſtra quoque ætas mul-*
Annal. l. 3. c. 55. *ta laudis & artium imitanda poſteris tulit*, ſaith *Tacitus*. Vnleſſe perchance there be in all things a certaine circular change, & as there is by turnes an entercourſe of times, ſo alſo of Cuſtomes and Manners. Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, but our age hath likewiſe left to poſterity many things worthy praiſe and imitation. And a-
Cerealis apud Tacitum, hiſt. l. 4. gaine, *vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur*. Vices there will be as long as men are, but theſe laſt not alwayes, and they are often recompenſed by the interventing of
De benef. l. 1. c. 10. better times. And with him accords the graue *Seneca*: *Hoc majores noſtri queſti ſunt, hoc nos querimur, hoc poſteri noſtri querentur, everſos eſſe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas & in omne nefas labi: at iſta ſtant loco eodem, ſtabuntque paululum duntaxat vltra aut citra mota, vt fluctus quos æſtus accedens longius extulit, recedens majore littorum veſtigio tenuit, nunc in adulterio magis quam in alio peccabitur, abrumpetque frenos pudicitiæ, nunc conviviorum vigebit furor, & fœdiſſimum patrimoniorum exitium culina, nunc cultus corporum nimius, & formæ cura, præ ſe ferens animi deformitatem; nunc in petulantiam & audaciam erumpet malè diſpenſata libertas, nunc in crudelitatem privatam ac publicam ibitur, bellorumque civilium inſaniam, qua omne ſanctum ac ſacrum profanetur, habebitur aliquando ebrietati honor, & plurimum meri cepiſſe virtus erit. Non expectant vno loco vitia, ſed mobilia & inter ſe diſſentientia, tumultuantur invicē fuganturque. Cæterum idem ſemper de nobis pronunciare debebimus, malos eſſe nos, malos fuiſſe, invitus adjiciam, & futuros eſſe*. This our Anceſtours complained of, this we complaine of, this our poſterity will complaine of, that manners are corrupted, that wickednes reignes, that humane affaires grow worſe & worſe, but theſe ſtand where they were, and ſo ſhall remaine, being onely at times a little removed; ſometimes this way, ſometimes that way, as the waues which the tide flowing carries farther in, but ebbing leaues farther off. Sometimes Adultery ſpreads it ſelfe more then any other ſinne, and immodeſtly will endure no bridle: and ſometimes

times againe the madnes of feasting is in a fashion and the kitching the baseſt kinde of consuming a mans patrimony: And then againe the immoderate decking of our bodies and care of preseruing our beautie, which too much discouers the deformitie of the minde, sometimes liberty dispensed with breaketh out into desperate boldnes, sometimes into cruelty publique & private, and the rage of civill warres, whereby all holy things and places come to be profaned, and the time will come when drunkennes shall be had in honour, and it shall be held a vertue to swill downe much wine. Vices rest not in any one state or place, but shifting hither and thither, and fighting one against another, they both assault and put one another to flight. But however it goe, it shall alwayes be truly said of vs, that wee are naught, naught wee haue beene, (and which I vnwillingly adde) we shall still be naught. And the same *Authour* hauing related a storie out of *Asclepiodorus*, how *Phillip* of *Macedon* sent men downe into an old mine to search what store was left in it, and whether the *Couetousnes* of *former ages* had not drawne it dry, *cum magna hæc voluptate legi*, saith he, *intellexi enim sæculum nostrum non novis vitijs sed jam antiquitùs traditis laborare, nec nostra ætate primùm avaritiam venas terrarum lapidumque rimatam in tenebris malè abstrusa quæsisse: Illi quoq; Majores nostri quos celebramus laudibus, quibus dissimiles querimur nos esse, spe ducti montes ceciderunt & supra lucrum sub ruina steterunt.* This I read with marveilous great content: for thereby I vnderstood, that our age was not burdened with new vices, but such as were *anciently* practised, nor that *Auarice* now first searched into the veines of the earth & stones, seeking out those things which Nature hath buried in darkenes. Euen those our Ancestours, whom we so highly extoll, to whome we complaine that our selues are vnlike, in hope of lucre cut thorow mountains, and vnder danger of ruine stood vpon their gaine.

Natural. Quæst. l. 5. c. 15.

It cannot be denied, but that a wicked Governour hath many times a good successour, and a graceleſse father a godly aud vertuous sonne:

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:

A worthles sire begets a worthy sonne:

Thus *Constantine* succeeded to *Diocleſian*, *Iouinian* to *Iulian*, *Alexander Severus* to *Heliogabalus*, *Hezekias* to *Ahaz*, & *Iosias* to *Ammon*. And doubtles were the son alwayes worse then the father, the successour then the predecessour, and succeeding ages then the preceeding, villany had long ere this stretched it selfe to the vtmost period, & that complaint which the *satyrist* vttered by way of *Poeticall* aggravation had long before this time beene verified in truth and in deede:

Non habet vlterius quod nostris moribus addat
Posteritas.

Nought hath posterity
Which to our manners may yet further added be.

SECT. 2.

The former Section confirmed by the teſtimonies of Prudentius, Caſtilio *and* Machiavell.

THat there is ſuch a viciſſitude in vertues and vices as in the foregoing chapter hath beene touched, and that former ages did not alwayes in matter of manners excell the latter, and theſe preſent times, we haue it no leſſe copiouſly then learnedly confirmed vnto vs by the teſtimonies of three famous men in their ſeuerall kindes, that in the mouth of three ſuch witneſſes the truth may ſtand; of which number *Prudentius* ſhall firſt bring in his evidence who writing againſt *Symmachus* a *Romane* Senatour in defence of the *Chriſtian* religion, and in his ſecond booke anſwering an objection framed by *Symmachus*, which by the *Romaniſts* at this day is made againſt vs: *Sequendi ſunt nobis parentes qui fæliciter ſequuti ſunt ſuos*, we are to follow our predeceſſours as they happily followed theirs; ſhapes this reply therevnto,

Si quicquid rudibus mundi naſcentis in annis
Mos habuit, ſanctè colere, ac ſeruare neceſſe eſt,
Omne revolvamus ſua per veſtigia ſeclûm
Vſque ad principium, placeat damnare gradatim
Quicquid poſterius ſucceſſor reperit vſus.
Orbe novo nulli ſubigebant arva coloni,
Quid ſibi aratra volunt? quid cura ſuperflua raſtri?
Ilignis melius ſaturatur glandibus alvus.
Primi homines cuneis ſcindebant fiſſile lignum,
Decoquat in maſſam feruens ſtrictura ſecures
Rurſus, & ad proprium reſtillet vena metallum.
Induvias cæſæ pecudes, & frigida paruas
Præbebat ſpelunca domos; redeamus ad antra,
Pellibus inſutis hirtos ſumamus amictus.
Immanes quondam populi, feritate ſubacta
Edomiti jam triſtè fremant: iterumque ferinos
In mores redeant, atq; ad ſua priſca recurrant.
Præcipitet Scythica iuvenis pietate vietum
Votivo de ponte patrem, ſic mos fuit olim.
Cædibus infantum fument Saturnia ſacra,
Flebilibuſq; truces reſonent vagitibus aræ.
Ipſa caſas fragili texat gens Romula culmo,
Sic tradunt habitaſſe Rhemum, regalia fœno
Fulcra ſuperſternant, aut pelle Lybiſtidis vrſæ
Compoſitam clamydem villoſo corpore geſtent.
Talia Trinacrius Ductor, vel Thuſcus habebat,
Roma antiqua ſibi non conſtat, verſa per ævum,
Et mutata ſacris, ornatu, legibus, armis,
Multa colit, quæ non coluit ſub Rege Quirino,
Inſtituit quædam meliùs, nonnulla refugit.
Et morem variare ſuum non deſtitit, et quæ
Rridem condiderat jura, in contraria vertit.

Quid

Quid mihi tu ritus ſolitos Romane Senator
Obiectas? quum ſcita Patrum, populique frequenter
Inſtabilis placiti ſententia flexa novarit?
Nunc etiam quoties ſolitis decedere prodeſt,
Præteritoſque habitus cultu damnare recenti
Gaudemus compertum aliquid, tandemque retectum
Quod latuit, tardis ſemper proceſſibus aucta
Creſcit vita hominis, & longo proficit vſu.
Sic ævi mortalis habet ſe nobilis ordo,
Sic variat natura vices, infantia repit,
Infirmus titubat pueri greſſuſque animuſque,
Sanguine præcalido fervet nervoſa juventa,
Mox ſtabilita venit maturi roboris ætas.
Vltima conſilijs melior, ſed viribus ægra
Corpore ſuccumbit mentem purgata ſenectus.
His genus humanum per diſſona tempora duxit
Curriculis ævum mutabile, ſic hebes inter
Primitias, merſumque ſolo titubavit, & inſtar
Quadrupedis pueri lactantia viſcera traxit.
Mox tenerum docili ingenio, jamque artibus aptum
Noſcendis, varia rerum novitate politum eſt.
Inde tumens vitijs, calidos adolevit in annos,
Donec decocto ſolidaret robore vires.
Tempus adeſt, vt jam ſapiat divina ſerenæ
Mentis conſilio, vivaciùs abdita ſolers
Quærere, & æternæ tandem invigilare ſaluti.

If we muſt ſtill embrace, and ne're refuſe,
What th' infant world in ruder times did vſe:
Let vs each age then, ſtep by ſtep recall,
And damne in order even to th' originall
What after by ſucceeding vſe was found.
In the firſt world no Ruſticks ear'd the ground,
What meane the ploughs then? what the needleſſe care
Of harrowes? akornes yeeld ſufficient fare.
Peece-meale with wedges men did firſt wood rend:
Let axes then by th' forge againe deſcend
Into their maſſe, backe to their mettall drop.
Slaine beaſts cloathing did yeeld, and the coole grotte
A ſlender lodging: let's to our caues againe,
And of patcht skinnes rough garments entertaine.
People once wilde, then tame (nature ſubdu'd)
Harſhly againe let grumble, and renew'd
In ſavage manners, to their wont retire.
With Scythicke piety their aged Sier
Let ſtriplings tumble from the voting bridge:
Such once the cuſtome was.
With ſlaughtred babes let Saturnes fanes abound,

His cruell altars with ſad vagits ſounde.
Let Romans thetch them cottages of reede,
For ſo dwelt Rhemus: and let hay be-ſpread
The royall bed, or ſpoyles of Lybian Beare:
Of hairy pelts their caſſocks let them weare:
Sicilian Captaines, Tuſcans, ſuch did beare.
Old Rome is not the ſame, chang'd every age
In habits, rites, lawes, and armes equipage.
Much now ſh'obſerues not knowne in Quirins raigne,
Some things reform'd ſhe hath, ſome daſht againe.
Nor ever ceaſt her cuſtomes for to vary,
And lawes which earſt ſhe made, turne quite contrary.
Your cuſtomary Rites why preſſe you ſo in plea
O Romane Senatours? ſith that many a day
Decrees of Fathers, and th' vnſtable Commons
Haue chang'd them in their weake opinions.
And now to quit things vſ'd, vpon occaſion
Fitly preſented or for ſome new faſhion
To blame the old; w' are glad that ſomething ſpi'd
And brought to light at laſt, which earſt lay hid.
Mans life by ſlow proceedings growes in ſence,
And profiteth by long experience;
Such is the moving order of mans race,
So varieth Nature in her courſes pace.
Infancie creepes: then childhoods feeble gate,
And reaſon ſtaggers: next the ſynowy ſtate
Of youth boyles in it's hot bloud: then an age
Setled in full ſtrength: laſt vpon the ſtage
Appeares declyning eld, for counſell better,
Clearer in judgement, but in body weaker.
Thus humane kinde by differing ſeaſons ranne
His changing courſe throughout: dull firſt beganne
And clogg'd with earth, ſo crawl'd, and like a childe
On all foure did his milkefed bowells weild.
Next tender, docile natur'd, and for arts
Now fit became, adorn'd with various parts.
Thence ſwolne in vice, to fervent yeares increaſed
Till by decocted ſtrength growne firme he ceaſed.
And now with clearer judgement ti's high time
He know and ſavour things that are divine.
His thoughts in ſearch of ſecrets wiſely bend,
And now at length eternall life attend.

The next evidence ſhall bee that of *Caſtilio* in the very entrance of his ſecond booke of the *Courtier*, elegantly tranſlated by our *Clerke* out of *Italian* into *Latine*. *Non ſine ſumma admiratione altiùs apud me agere ſoleo, vnde hæc tam craſſa ſenum hallucinatio: quæ quoniam per omnium animos ingraveſcente jam ætate propagatur: propria & illorum hominum ferè naturalis videri poteſt. Nam cùm illis vbi primùm ſermonem inieris elapſa jam olim*

olim tempora ſummis laudibus proſequuntur, præſentia verò omnibus diris devovent. Nihil noſtrarum actionum aut morum, nihil quod ipſi juvenes non egerint, alicujus momenti æſtimant: deniq; omnes omnium conſuetudines, omnes vivendi rationes, nunc demùm inclinare et in deterius vergere. Res mehercule non indigna admiratione, provectam jam ætatem quæ reliquis in rebus vſu atq; experientia animi judicium confirmare ſolet, hac vna in re adeò ſibi ludificari, planè vt non perſpiciat in pejus homines quotidiè, necnè, labantur. Quod ſi ea nunc eſſet rerum conditio, ſi patres filijs meliores ſemper extitiſſent, adeò in extremo jam tandem res ſita eſſet, vt deterius ne cogitari quidem poſſet. Verùm hoc quaſi peculiare quoddam in ſenio vitium, non noſtra ſolum ætas, ſed antiquiſſimi etiam Authores apud prius ſæculum deprehenderunt: Comici præſertim illi, qui humanam vitam cæteris omnibus aptiùs & acutiùs expreſſerunt. Iſtius igitur tam inanis ſententiæ hanc ego cauſam exiſtimo: Annos nimirum ſenſim & pedetentim labentes vitales ſecum Spiritus, & naturalem ſanguinis calorẽ veriſimile eſt ſubducere: quod cum vniverſã corporis conſtitutionẽ paulatim immutaverit, arteriæ, nervi, reliquaq; animi organa, atq; inſtrumenta fatali hoc morbo languent atque debilitantur. Vnde in illis demum temporibus ſuaviſſimi delitiarum noſtrarum floſculi haud aliter quàm arboribus Autumno folia decidunt: & dulciſſimarum cogitationum vice, frontis rugæ, ac nubeculæ, mentis triſtitia ac mœrores, vitæ calamitates & miſeriæ ſubeunt: adeò vt non corpus ſolùm, verùmetiam animus (qui ferè ſequitur diſpoſitionem corporis) malè ac moleſtè ſe habeat: nec quicquam præteritarum voluptatum retinet, præter vnam eamque tenacem iuventutis memoriam. Quæ quamdiu ſuperfuit, cæleſtia terrenaque omnia juvenilibus occulis arridere videbantur, jucundiſimæ quæque affectiones ex animis noſtris, tanquam ex hortulo amæniſſimo Vere jam tum exiſtente indies excreverunt. Quocirca cùm vitæ noſtræ ſol atque lumen verſus occaſum volvere occœperit, operæ pretium fortaſſè fuerit nihil eorum quæ præterita ſunt reminiſci: quin potiùs (vt inquit Themiſtocles) oblivionis artem ediſcere. Ita enim ſenſus noſtri fallaces ſunt, vt animi quoque judicium nonnunquam fallant. Senes itaque illis hominibus perſimiles mihi videri ſolent, qui cùm è portu in altum ſolverint, retro in terram oculos contorquent: quam dum ſeriò intuentur, littus illis ſecedere, navis verò conſiſtere videtur: cum reipſa nec portus nec terra, nedum anteriores noſtræ delitiæ aut voluptates moveantur, ſed nos huic mortalitatis puppi inſidẽtes alij alios per mare turbulentum eouſque inſequimur, dum vel ſcopulis ijſdem illiſi naufragium patiamur, vel vndarum gurgitibus oppreſſi ad portum denuò rediere fruſtrà & incaſſùm contendamus. Animus proindè ſenilis, cum nulla ſubjecti proportione, nulla apta harmonia voluptates haurire ac percipere poſſit, febricitantium ſimilis fit, quibus cum palatum guſtandique organa craſſiſſimis vaporibus obſtipentur; ſuaviſſima quæque acerba, atque inſipida exiſtimare ſolent: Ita hominibus ſenio confectis, cum voluptatũ deſiderio aliquo teneantur ad eaſdem tamen malè diſpoſiti et penitùs inepti ſint, omnes jucunditates ſuperiorũ temporum delicijs pejores multò & frigidiores putant: cum iſtæ tamen eædem ſint, ipſi verò à ſeipſis longè alieniſſimi. Quibus oblectamentis, cùm jam ſeſe orbatos intelligant: præſentia tempora tanquam omnium iniquiſſima deteſtantur, nullam in ſeipſis rerum viciſſitudinem agnoſcentes. Cum verò præteritas jampridem voluptates in memoriam revocent, illius quoque ætatis meminerunt, in qua illæ contigerant: eamque propterea ſummis laudibus afficiunt,

quia illarum delectationum quasi quendam odorem illius recordatio vna adferre solet. Denique, sic sunt affectiones nostræ, vt illa omnia quæ dolores nostros comitantur, cum odio quodam repetamus: quæ verò simul cum voluptatibus nostris communicata sunt, eadem summa benevolentia complectamur. Vnde illud evenire solet, vt amantium oculis fenestra sæpenumerò aliqua (etiamsi occlusa fuerit) mirum in modum grata sit, quoniam in illa amatam mulierculam jam antea conspexerint. Nonnunquam etiam annulum, epistolam, hortos, cæterosque locos, tanquam amœnissimarum delectationum conscios amplexamur. Contrà verò cubiculum omnibus ornamentis refertissimum, exosum semper esse solet, sicubi in eo vel vincti & religati fuerimus, vel cujusvis præterea doloris acerbitatem perpessi. Nostrâ certè memoriâ, nonnullos ipsi vidimus, qui non solum ab ijs scyphis, sed eorum etiam similibus abhorrebant in quibus ægroti medicamentum imbiberant. Quemadmodum enim superioribus illis, fenestra, annulus, atque literæ, grata quadam recordatione in voluptatis parte habebantur: ita omninò istis posterioribus cubiculum altera custodia, cyathus verò novus morbus videbatur. Idem est in hominibus ætate provectis dum elapsa vel laudant, vel instantia vituperant. Not without the greateſt admiration, am I wont to reaſon the matter with my ſelfe, from whence ſhould ſpring that groſſe miſtake of old men, which becauſe it ſpreads it ſelfe through the mindes of all as they grow in yeares, may ſeeme in a manner to bee to them proper and naturall: for no ſooner ſhall you enter conference with them, but inſtantly they extoll to the skies, the times paſt, damning the preſent downe to hell, they eſteeme not worth a ruſh any of our actions or manners or any thing which themſelues in their youth did not; alwayes complaining that all cuſtome and faſhions of all kinde of men decline and grow worſe and worſe: a matter truly not vndeſervedly to be wondred at, that old age which in other things by long vſe and experience is wont to confirme the judgment, ſhould in this one thing ſo gull it ſelfe, as not to perceiue whether mankinde daily grow worſe or no. But if ſuch were indeed the ſtate of things, if Fathers had alwayes beene better then their Sonnes, the World long ere this had doubtleſſe beene ſo naught, as worſe could not haue beene imagined: yet this errour peculiar in a manner to old men, not our age alone, but the moſt ancient authours in former times haue obſerued, ſpecially the Comicall Poets, who haue expreſſed the ſeverall humours of men more wittily then any others. Now of this ſo vaine an opinion, this doe I conceaue to be the cauſe, for that age inſenſibly and by degrees ſteales away the vitall Spirits and the natiue heat of the bloud, and ſo by little and little changes the whole conſtitution of the body till the arteries, the nerues, and the other inſtruments of the ſoule, by this fatall diſeaſe, are weakened and languiſh, from whence it comes to paſſe that thoſe ſweete flowers of our delights fall from vs, like leaues from the trees in Autumne, and inſteed of our pleaſant conceits, wrinkles in the forehead, cloudie & ſad thoughts in the minde, calamities and miſeries in the courſe of our life preſent themſelues, ſo that not the bodie only but the minde too (which commonly followes the temper of the bodie) is ſickiſh and indiſpoſ'd, nor retaines any thing of pleaſures paſt, but only a firme and faſt memo-

rie

rie of youth, which whiles it laſted,heauen and earth with favorable aſpect ſeemed to ſmile vpon vs, and delightfull thoughts to ariſe from our mindes as from the pleaſant garden in the ſpring, wherefore when the ſunne and light of our life once begins to decline to the Weſt, it were not amiſſe to forget all that is paſt, and with *Themiſtocles* to learne the art of oblivion, ſo deceitful are our ſenſes that they often betray the diſcourſe of reaſon, in which regard old men to me ſeeme like to thoſe who hauing lanched forth into the deepe, caſt their eyes back to the land, which whiles they earneſtly behold,the ſhoare to them ſeemes to goe backward,and the ſhipp to ſtand ſtill, when as in truth neither the haven nor the land nor yet our former delights are at all moued, but we our ſelues ſitting in the veſſell of mortalitie, ſo farre follow one another through the ſtormie Sea of this world, vntill either by ſuffering ſhipwracke vpon the rockes, or by being ouerwhelmed in the ſurges, at length in vaine we ſtriue to recouer the port from whence wee ſet ſayle: The minde of old men in this caſe being not by any equall proportion or harmonie inabled to receiue the ſweetneſſe of pleaſure, becomes like thoſe that are ſicke of an ague, to whom,their palate and inſtruments of taſting being much diſtempered with clammie humors, the moſt ſweete things ſeeme to be ſharpe or altogether vnſauory; ſo to men farre ſtricken in age, who are ſtill poſſeſſed with a longing deſire of ſenſuall pleaſures, & yet are indiſpoſed for the vſe thereof,all kindes of delight which the preſent times can poſſibly afford, appeare more flat and dull then thoſe of former ages, whereas notwithſtanding the delights ſtill remaine the ſame, but the men are changed and become moſt vnlike themſelues; yet finding themſelues depriued of all ſenſe and reliſh of pleaſure, they blame the times as of all other the worſt, either not obſeruing, or not acknowledging in themſelues any kinde of alteration; as on the other ſide when they call to minde the pleaſures they long ſince inioyed,at the ſame inſtant they likewiſe recall thoſe times in which they inioyed them, and therefore ſet forth their commendations in the higheſt ſtraine, becauſe the very remembrance of them together with themſelues, preſent a freſh ſent of thoſe delights which moſt affected them: to conclude,all thoſe things which waite vpon our griefe,we recoũt with deteſtation, but thoſe which are mixed with our pleaſures we chearefully imbrace; from whence it comes to paſſe, that the light of a windowe is many times acceptable to vs, though ſhut, becauſe from thence we formerly beheld our beloued Miſtreſſe, many times alſo we willingly entertaine a ring,a letter, a garden,or other places as being witneſſes of our pleaſing delight; and contrariwiſe wee extremely hate a chamber, though apparelled with all kinde of rich furniture, in caſe we haue beene bound or ſuffered any kinde of ſharpe paine in it: we our ſelues in our memorie haue knowne ſome who abhorred the ſight not only of thoſe cupps, but of the like to them,out of which being ſicke they dranke ſome loathſome potion: for as to thoſe former the window, the ring, the letter, by reaſon of their acceptable remembrance,were a part of their pleaſure;ſo to theſe latter the chamber ſeemes another priſon, and the cuppe a new diſeaſe. And truly

truly euen ſuch is the condition of old men, whiles they either praiſe the times paſt, or diſpraiſe the preſent. My third and laſt evidence ſhall be that of *Machiavell*, who in his diſputations or diſcourſes *de Republica*, thus begins his preface to his ſecond booke: *Laudant homines antiquitatem ſemper: præſentia tempora accuſant: at non vbique juſtis de cauſis, vti mihi quidem videtur. Vſque adeò enim rerum antiquarum ſtudioſi ſunt, vt non ſolùm, eas res, quæ literarum monumentis celebrantur, ſed illas quoq; laudibus efferant, quas ipſi jam ſenes, olim in iuventute viderunt. Ego verò hanc illorum opinionem perſæpè falſam eſſe exiſtimo: varijſque de cauſis adduci eos, vt ita ſentiant. Primùm enim abſolutam rerum vetuſtarum cognitionem aſſequi nequimus. Nam plerùmque fit in rebus enarrandis, vt quæ turpitudinis quicquam continent ſilentio prætereantur: quæ cum virtute conjuncta ſunt & laudem merentur, ea & diligenter enarrantur & ampliſicantur. Vſque adeò enim multum attribuere ſolent fortunæ Victorum Hiſtorici, vt augendæ illorum laudis gratia, non ſolùm res ab ipſis præclarè geſtas ampliſicent, ſed hoſtium quoque facta tantoperè illuſtrent, vt poſteri deinde ea è longinquo intuentes, cauſam habeant antiqua illa tempora, & hominum, qui tunc vixerunt, virtutem admirandi atque amandi. Hiſce accedit quòd cum timore aut invidia alienam virtutem odio proſequi ſoleamus: & neutrum horum in rebus antiquitùs geſtis officere quicquam poſſit: duæ ſummæ cauſæ deeſſe videntur, in vetuſtate quicquam reprehendendi: cum neque amplius nocere poſſint: neque invidiæ cujuſquam obnoxiæ ſint. Contrario modo ſe habent res præſentes: nam hæ quales ſint vniverſæ, cognoſcuntur: nec quicquam habent ſive boni ſive mali quod latere poſſit. Itaque accidit, vt quoniam vna cum virtute præſtantiaque rerum quæ nunc geruntur, vitia etiam videmus: cogimur quodammodo eas antiquis illis quarum ſola virtus apparet, vitia latent, poſtponere; quamvis perſæpè præſtantiores ſint.* Men alwayes commend the ancient and condemne the preſent times, but (as to me it ſeemes) not alwayes vpon juſt and warrantable grounds: for ſo ſtudious they are of antiquitie, that not only things anciently committed to writing, but euen thoſe which themſelues in their younger yeares haue ſeene, they mightily extoll; but for mine owne part I beleeue this their opinion to be often erroneous, and theſe to be the cauſes of their miſtake: firſt for that we cannot attaine vnto an abſolute knowledge of ancient affaires, in as much as for the moſt part in the narration of thoſe paſſages, ſhamefull and diſhoneſt acts are paſſed ouer in ſilence, whereas the vertuous and praiſeworthy are diligently deſcribed and amplified: for ſo much doe Hiſtoriographers commonly attribute to the good fortune of Conquerours, that they doe not only amplifie noble atchiuements of them performed, but ſet forth to the vtmoſt, the facts of their enemies: from whence it comes to paſſe, that poſteritie taking a view of thoſe affaires at ſo great a diſtance, finde cauſe of admiring and louing thoſe times and thoſe men that then liued; wherevnto we may adde, that ſithence our ordinary wont is to proſecute the vertue we ſee in others, either with feare or envy; and neither of theſe can take hold vpon things anciently done, two of the waightieſt motiues for the blaming of antiquitie ſeeme to be wanting, conſidering it is now not able to hurt, nor can bee liable to the ſtroke of envy. But the condition of things preſent

is quite contrary for theſe are throughly knowne and lay open in euery part, neither can any thing that is either good or bad in them be well concealed, the conſequent whereof muſt needs be this, that becauſe together with the vertue and excellencie of things now done, their defects and blemiſhes are likewiſe diſcerned, we are in a manner forced to preferre the ancient before them, whoſe vertues we only diſcerne and not their defects, though the latter be in themſelues more commendable then the former.

SECT. 3.

The extreame follie of the ancients, in adoring and invocating images.

IN this compariſon of *manners*, I will firſt begin with the *Religion* of the *Ancients*, which ouer-ſpred almoſt the whole world, becauſe from their foule errours in matters of the *firſt Table* we ſhall eaſily gueſſe at their groſſe irregularities in thoſe of the *ſecond*, the duties of the latter depending vpon the obſeruation of the former: And beſides in the very choice & exerciſe of their *Religion* will appeare much *inhumanitie* & *brutiſh ſtupiditie*; Their *Idols* of gold, and ſiluer, and ſtone, and wood were to the inſpired pen-men of *holy writ* ſo ridiculous, that every where they inveigh againſt them as moſt *ſottiſh vanities*, and the worſhippers of them, as men void of *common Reaſon*, ſhewing themſelues more blockiſh then the very blockes they adored, in that being themſelues made according to *Gods image*, they worſhipped *images* made with their owne *hands*, and beſtowed vpon their owne workes the *Deitie* of him, from whom they receiued *breath* and *beeing*. *Their Idols are ſilver and gold*, ſaith the *Prophet David*, *euen the workes of mens hands, they haue a mouth and ſpeake not, eyes haue they and ſee not, they haue eares and heare not, noſes haue they and ſmell not, they haue hands and touch not, feete haue they and walke not, they that make them are like vnto them, and ſo are all they that put their truſt in them.* And the *Prophet Eſay* hauing Pſ.115. 4. Cap.44 9.&c.

'ſhewed how a man plants a tree, & when it is growne vp cuts it down,
'with part thereof he baketh his bread, with part he roſteth his meate
'& warmeth himſelfe, and with the reſidue thereof he maketh *his God*,
'euen his *Idoll*: The Carpenter ſtretcheth out a line, he faſhioneth it
'with a red thread, he planeth and he pourtraieth it with the compaſſe,
'and maketh it after the figure of a man, and according to the beauty
'of a man, that it may remaine in an houſe; then boweth he and wor-
'ſhippeth, and prayeth vnto it, and ſaith, Deliuer me for thou art my
'God: And therevpon inferres, they haue not knowne nor vnderſtood,
'for God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee, and their hearts, that
'they cannot vnderſtand. And the *Prophet Ieremy* much to like purpoſe, Ier.9.3.&c.
'one cutteth a tree out of the Forreſt with an axe, and another decketh
'it with ſiluer and with gold, they faſten it with nayles and hammers,
'that it fall not, the Idoles ſtand vp as a palme tree, but they ſpeake
'not: They are borne becauſe they cannot goe: Aand then concludes,
'They dote and are fooliſh, for the ſtock is a doctrine of vanity. But
moſt liuely and elegantly, yet with ſcorne and deriſion haue wee this

blockiſh

Cap. 13. 10. *&c.* 'blockiſh vanity deſcribed in the booke of *Wiſedome*. Miſerable are 'they, and among the dead is their hope, that call them Gods which 'are the workes of mens hands, gold and ſiluer, and the thing that is in- 'vented by Art, & the ſimilitude of beaſts, or any vaine ſtone that hath 'beene made by the hand of antiquity. Or as when a Carpenter cutteth 'downe a tree meete for the worke, and pareth off all the barke thereof 'cunningly, & by Art maketh a veſſell profitable for the vſe of life, and 'the things that are cut off from his worke he beſtoweth to dreſſe his 'meate to fill himſelfe, & that which is left of theſe things which is pro- 'fitable for nothing, (for it is a crooked peece of wood, & full of knobs) 'he carueth it diligently at his leiſure, and according as hee is expert in 'cunning, he giueth it a proportion, & faſhioneth it after the ſimilitude 'of a man, or maketh it like ſome vile beaſt, and ſtraketh it ouer with 'vermilion, & painteth and couereth euery ſpot that is in it; And when 'he hath made a convenient Tabernacle for it, he ſetteth it in a wall, & 'maketh it faſt with iron, providing ſo for it leſt it fall: for hee know- 'eth that it cannot helpe it ſelfe, becauſe it is an image that hath 'needе of helpe: Then he prayeth for his goods, and for his marriage, 'and for his children, he is not aſhamed to ſpeake vnto it that hath 'no life, hee calleth on him that is weake, for health, hee prayeth 'vnto him that is dead for life, he requireth helpe of him that hath no 'experience at all, & for his journey him that is not able to goe, and for 'gaine and ſucceſſe in his affaires, asketh ability to doe of him that is 'moſt vnable to doe any thing.

This childiſh foppery the *Primitiue Chriſtians* alſo ſcoffed and laugh- ed at, *Quæ amentia eſt, aut ea fingere quæ ipſi poſtmodum timeant, aut timere quæ finxerunt?* ſaith *Lactantius*: What a madneſſe is it either to make things which themſelues feare, or to feare thoſe things which them- ſelues haue made? *Nec intelligunt homines ineptiſſimi quod ſi ſentire ſimu- lacra & movere poſſent, vltrò adoratura homines fuiſſent à quibus ſunt expoli- ta.* Neither doe theſe fooliſh men vnderſtand that the images they a- dore, had they but ſenſe & motion, would adore them who framed & formed them. *Sed hæc nemo conſiderat, ac mentes eorum penitus ſuccum ſtul- titiæ perbiberunt: adorant ergo inſenſibilia qui ſentiunt, irrationalia qui ſapi- unt, exanima qui viuunt, terrena qui oriuntur è cœlo. Iuvat ergo velut in ali- qua ſublimi ſpecula conſtitutum vnde vniverſi exaudire poſſint* Perſianum *il- lud proclamare,*

O curas hominum! ô quantum eſt in rebus inane!
O curvæ in terris animæ & cœleſtium inanes!

But theſe things none conſidereth, their minds being thoroughly dren- ched with the liquor of fooliſhnes: They which haue ſenſe adore things without ſenſe, which haue life things without life, which are from heauen things earthly. It were good then from ſome high tower that all might heare it, to proclaime alowd that of *Perſius*,

O cares of men! O world all fraught
With vanities! O mindes inclined
Towards earth, all voide of heau'nly thought!

And *Sedulius* an ancient *Chriſtian* Poet, by Nation a *Scot*, hath excel- lently

lently deſcribed this palpable folly,

Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro
Religioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulacra, ſuumque
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecêre verentur,
Quis furor eſt quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt Volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque draconem,
Semihominemq; canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wreched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker God on high deſpiſe,
And feare the workes of their owne hands and Art!
What fury, what great madneſſe doth beguile
Mens mindes? that man ſhould vgly ſhapes adore
Of birds, or buls, or dragons, or the vile
Halfe dog halfe man on knees for aid implore.

To theſe vgly ſhapes doth *Seneca* allude: *Numina vocant, quæ ſi accepto ſpiritu occurrerent, monſtra haberentur.* Divine powers they call thoſe, which if they ſhould meete having life put into them, would be held monſters. And one of their owne Poets ſeemes to jeſt at their groſſeneſſe herein.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus inutile lignum,
Quem Faber incertus ſcamnum faceretne, Priapum Horatius.
Maluit eſſe Deum.

Even now I was the ſtocke of an old figge tree,
The workeman doubting what I then ſhould bee,
A bench or God, at laſt a God made mee.

It is indeed true, that the *Romanes* for a time were altogether without Images for any religious vſe, but afterward they receiued into their City thoſe of all other Nations by them conquered, ſo as they who were *Lords* of the whole world, became *ſlaues* to the *Idols* of all the World: Which *bables*, as witneſſeth S. *Auguſtine*, that learned *Varro* both bewailed and vtterly condemned in expreſſe words: *Qui primi ſimulacra Deorum populis poſuerunt, ij & civitatibus ſuis timorem adimerunt, & errorem addiderunt:* They who firſt erected *Idols* for the peoples vſe, thereby both aboliſhed all feare of the *Deity* and introduced *errour*. But the wiſe *Seneca* thus derides them, *Simulacra Deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant genu poſito, illa adorant, & cum hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt*: the Images of the Gods they worſhippe, thoſe they pray vnto with bended knees, thoſe they adore, and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemne the Artificers that made them. De civit. Dei l. 4. c. 31.

SECT 4.

Their groſſe and ridiculous blockiſhneſſe in the infinite multitude of their Gods.

THeir ſtrange *infatuation* will yet appeare farther vnto vs if wee riſe a little higher, from the *Images* to the *Gods* which they repreſented, and ſurely whether their *practice* about their *images*, or their *opinion* touching their *Gods* were more groſſe and ridiculous, it is hard to define: Whether wee regard their *number* or their *condition*, or their *manner of ſervice*. For their *number* he that reades *Boccace* his books *de Genealogia Deorum*, will eaſily finde them almoſt numberleſſe; ſo as the *Apoſtle* might well ſay, *There be Gods many, and Lords many.* *Crinitus* out of *Heſiodus* makes them *thirty thouſand* ſtrong: and the *Iupiters* alone out of *Varro* no leſſe then *three hundred.* There were *Dij majorum gentium*, which were worſhipped generally throughout the greateſt part of the world; and *Dij Tutelares*, gods of ſeverall Nations and provinces, choſen to be their patrons and guardians, which may be gathered by thoſe *high places* which *Solomon* built for his *Idolatrous wiues*, wherein they worſhipped the ſeverall Gods of their ſeverall Nations, *Aſhtoreth* the Goddeſſe of the *Sidonians*, and *Milcom* the God of the *Ammorites*, *Chemoſh* the God of the *Moabites*, and *Molech* the God of the *Ammonites*: ſo likewiſe for all the reſt of his outlandiſh wiues, which burnt incenſe and offered vnto their Gods, whereby it appeareth, that every Nation had a God of his owne, and yet farther may it be ſeene by the practice of thoſe Nations which *Salmanezer* tranſplanted into the *Samaritan* Cities of whom it is recorded, that though *they feared the Lord*, yet they worſhipped every one his owne *peculiar God*, of whom there is a Catalogue in the ſame place ſet downe, The *Babylonians*, *Succoth Benoth*, the *Cuthites Nergall*, the *Hammathites Aſhima*, the *Avites Nibhaz*, and *Tartak*, the *Sepharvites Adramelech*, & *Anamelek*. And as ſeverall Nations & Provinces choſe to themſelues their Gods, ſo did likewiſe the Cities, as we may partly ſee by that rabble of them muſtered vp by *Rabſhaketh* in his Oration to King *Hezekiah*, where is the God of *Hamah* and *Arpad*, where is the God of *Sepher-vaim*, *Hevah*, and *Iuah*: and in imitation of the *Gentiles* did the men of *Iudah* multiply their Gods according to the number of their cities. Neither did *Nations*, *Provinces*, and *Cities* onely affect to haue every one vnto themſelues their owne peculiar and ſeverall *Gods*, as their Patrons and defenders, but the ſame was likewiſe followed by all their ſeverall *families*, who ſtill had their *Lares* and *Deos Penates*, that is, their houſhold Gods, as the Protectours of their families, whom becauſe they adored in the ſecret and inward parts of their houſes, the *Poets* vſe to call *Deos Penetrales*: yea and as *Pliny* reporteth, not onely ſeverall *families* had their ſeverall Gods, but alſo every ſeverall *perſon* would adopt a ſeverall God of his owne; inſomuch that hee thought the number of *Gods* to be multiplied aboue the number of men. *Major Cœlitum populus etiam quàm hominum intelligi poteſt, cùm ſinguli*

1 Cor. 8. 5.

De honeſta diſciplina. 3. 14.

1. Kings. 11.

2. Kings 17.

Cap. 18.

Ier. 2. 28. 11. 13

Lib. 2. cap. 7.

ſinguli quoque ex ſemetipſis ſingulos Deos faciant, Iunones Genioſque adoptando ſibi. Wee may well conceiue greater multitudes of Gods then of men, ſeeing every man adopteth as he pleaſeth both greater and ſmaller gods to himſelfe. All which conſidered, *otioſum eſt per omnia Deorum nomina percurrere qui colerentur à veteribus*, ſaith *Tertullian*. It were an idle thing to attempt to runne through the names of all the Gods which the Ancients worſhipped, they had ſo many *old Gods* and *new Gods*, *hee Gods* and *ſhee Gods*, *citty Gods* and *country Gods*, *common Gods*, and *proper Gods*, *land Gods* and *ſea Gods*. And with *Tertullian* herein accords S. *Auguſtine*, *Quando autem poſſint vno loco libri hujus commemorari omnia nomina Deorum aut Dearum, quæ illi grandibus voluminibus vix comprehendere potuerunt ſingulis rebus propria diſpertientes officia Numinum?* How can all the names of their Gods and Goddeſſes be recounted in one chapter of this booke, which themſelues could not range within the compaſſe of many great volumes, appointing a particular God to waite on every particular thing? nay for ſome thing, ſayth hee, they had many Gods, as namely for *corne* they had *Segetia* for the ſowing of it, while it lay vnder the earth *Tutelina*, when it ſprang vp *Proſerpina*, *Nodotus* when it ſhut into a blade, when it ſpired *Volutina*, when the eare opened *Patilena*, when it brake forth *Hoſtelina*, when it bloſſomed *Flora*, when it kerned *Lactutia*, when it grew ripe *Matuta*, when it was reaped *Runcina*. His concluſion is, which alſo ſhall be mine for this point, *Nec omnia commemoro quia me piget quod illos non pudet*: neither do I name all, for that it griueth mee to write what they were not aſhamed to act.

De Civ. Dei l. 4. c. 8.

SECT. 5.

The moſt ſhamefull and baſe condition of their gods.

THe *quality* & condition of their *Gods* was doubtleſſe much more ſhamefull then their multitude. The common opinion touching their great god *Iupiter* was, that he was intombed in *Creete*, and his monument was there to be ſeene. Wherevpon *Lactantius* wittily demaunds, *Quomodo poteſt Deus eſſe alibi vivus alibi mortuus, alibi habere templum, alibi ſepulchrum?* Tell me I beſeech you, how can the ſame god be aliue in one place, and dead in another, haue a temple dedicated to him in one place, and a tombe erected in another. Nay *Callimachus* himſelfe in his hymne on *Iupiter*, calleth the *Cretians* lyars in this very reſpect, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται &c. which part of his hymne is thus tranſlated into Latine by *Bonaventura Vulcanius*.

Lib. 1. c. 11.

At certè mendax eſt Creta, ſepulchrum
Quæ poſuit tibi qui haud moreris, nam ſemper es idem.

The *Cretians* alwayes lyars are, who raiſ'd vnto thy name
A *ſepulcher*, that never dyeſt, but ever art the ſame.

Moreover, they gaue divine honour to notorious common ſtrumpets, as vnto *Goddeſſes*, to *Venus*, or *Faula*, to *Lupa* the nurſe of *Romulus*, ſo called among the ſheepheardes for the common proſtitution of her body, and to *Flora*, who having gained much by her meretricious

Lactantius l. 1. c. 20.

trade; she made by her will the people of *Rome* her heire, & left a summe of money, by the vse whereof, her birth-day was yearely to be celebrated, with the setting forth of games, which in memory of her they called *Floralia*. Nay, their great Goddesse *Iuno*, they make both the wife and the sister of *Iupiter*, and *Iupiter* himselfe with the other Gods, no better then *Adulterers, Sodomites, murtherers, theeues:* Neither were these things concealed or whispered in private, but published to the world; they were liuely described by their *Painters* in their tables, by their *Poets* in their verses, and acted by their *Players* vpon their stages.

Lactant. l. 5. c. 21. *Quanta majestas putanda est, quæ adoratur in templis, illuditur in theatris?* What great majesty call yee me that, which is adored in the temples, & prophaned in the *Theaters?* And so farre were the worshippers of these goodly gods from punishing or censuring them therein, that they were highly applauded and approued by the people, and rewarded by the state: Neither were these things written or spoken by *Lucian*, or such as scoffed at *Religion*, but by those who professedly vndertooke the praise of their *Gods*, *Non enim ista Lucilius narrat aut Lucianus qui Dijs & hominibus non pepercit, sed hi potissimum qui Deorum laudes canebant; & quibus credimus si fidem laudantibus non habemus?* These things are not reported by *Lucilius* or *Lucianus*, who neither spared God nor man, but specially by them who sung the praises of the Gods; and to whom I pray you in such cases should wee giue credit, if not to them, who purposely seeke to commend?

Besides they worshipped *ridiculous gods*, as *Fortunam, Fornacem, Mutam*, the *passions of the minde*, and the *diseases of the body*, *Timorem, Pallorem, Febrem*, nay *Vices, Priapum, Cupidinem, non nomina colendorum sed crimina colentium*, not names fit for Divine powers to be worshipped, being nothing but the vices of the worshippers. Heerevnto it may be added their *filthy gods, Crepitus ventris, Cloacina, Sterquilinium*, well deserving that reproach which is cast vpon them by *Aristophanes*, that they were *Dij Merdivori*, and so *Moses* calleth them in expresse tearmes, *dirty dung-hill gods*, as the originall is rendred by *Iunius* and *Tremelius*.

Deos stercoreos, Deut. 29. 17.

Foure whole dayes, saith *Tacitus, Cremona* ministred matter to sacke and to burne, and all things beside both holy & prophaine being consumed into ashes, the temple of *Mephitis* without the wals remained vntouched, either because it stood out of the way, or by reason of some divine vertue of the *goddesse*: Now would you know what this goodly Lady was, surely none other then the *Goddesse* of ill fauours: and these kinde of *Gods* and *Goddesses Lactantius* deservedly wisheth to be ever present with their worshipers: Yet not content with this, they worshipped the *Devils* themselues, *they sacrificed vnto devils not vnto God*, sayth *Moses*: And I say saith the *Apostle*, *that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice vnto devils and not vnto God.*

Hist. l. 3. c. 6.

Sir *H. Savill* in his marginall notes on that place.

Deut. 32. 13.

1. Cor. 10. 20.

What should I speake of the *Thebans* worshipping a *weazell*, the *Trojans* a *mouse*, the *Egyptians* an *onion* or a *leeke*, and such like contemptible things? which notorious folly, *Iuvenall*, who liued a while amongst them, thus wittily derides,

Porrum & cæpe nefas violare & frangere morsu:

Satyr. 15.

O san-

O ſanctas Gentes quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis
Numina!
A leeke, an onyon ô 'tis wickedneſſe,
Theſe once to violate and to eate no leſſe,
Sweete Saints they are, and holy ones I trow,
To whom their gods do in their gardens grow.

And diverſe ſuch abſurd Gods they worſhipped, which would make a modeſt man even to bluſh to name, as *Sybilla* hath truly noted.

--Hæc adoratis
Et multa alia vana quæ ſanè turpe fuerit prædicare,
Sunt enim Dij hominum deceptores ſtultorum:
Theſe fooliſh Gods and many more
Like vaine, they worſhip and adore:
Which filthy were to name in Schooles,
Such filthy gods deceiue but fooles.

SECT 6.

Their barbarous and moſt vnnaturall cruelty, in ſacrificing their children to their Gods.

NOw if from the *multitude* and *quality* of their *Gods* we proceede yet a little farther, to ſearch into the *manner of their ſervice*, wee ſhall eaſily finde that more *frantike* and *vnreaſonable*, then either of the two former. Which madneſſe of theirs is well ſet forth by *Seneca*, *Si intueri vacet quæ faciunt, quæque patiuntur ſuperſtitioſi, inveniet tam indecora honeſtis, tam indigna liberis, tam diſſimilia ſanis, vt nemo fuerit dubitaturus, furere eos ſi cum paucioribus furerent, nunc ſanitatis patrocinium eſt inſanientium turba:* If a man had but the leaſure to looke into thoſe things, which men led with ſuperſtition both do and ſuffer, he ſhall find them ſo vnbefitting honeſt, ſo vnworthy of ingenuous, ſo vnlike ſound & ſober mindes, as no man would doubt but they were ſtarke madde, were but the number of them fewer that thus goe a madding, whereas now the only plea for themſelues that they are in their right wits, is the number of madde men. *In fragmentis*

Alexander ab Alexandro hath of ſet purpoſe compoſed an intire chapter touching this point, where the maine matter hee inſiſts vpon, that made the ſacrifices of the *Heathen* moſt odious, was the effuſion of humaine blood in the ſervice of their Gods; yet had this barbarous vnnaturall practice ſpread it ſelfe well neere over the knowne world: It was in vſe among the *Trojans*, as it ſhould ſeeme by that of *Virgill*, touching *Æneas*: *Dierum Geniallium, l. 6. c. 26.*

Vinxerat & poſt terga manus quos mitteret vmbris
Inferias, cæſo ſparſurus ſanguine flammas. *Ænead. 11.*
Their hands behind their backes he bound whom he had deſtined
A ſacrifice vnto the ghoſts, and on whoſe flames to ſhed
Their blood he purpoſed.

And againe in another place,

---Sulmone creatos

Ænead. 10. *Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem quos educat Vfens*
Viventes rapit, infernis quos immolet vmbris
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammas.

Sulmos foure sonnes aliue he tooke, *Vfens* foure sonnes likewise,
Whom to the ghosts he purposed eftsoones to sacrifice,
And in those burning piles of wood to spill their captiue blood.

Lib. 5 c. 10. Wherevpon *Lactantius* cries out, *quid potest esse hac pietate dementius, quàm mortuis humanas victimas immolare, & ignem cruore hominum tanquam oleo pascere?* What can be more franticke then this kinde of piety, which sacrificeth liuing men for the ease of the dead, and feedes the fire of the Altar with humaine blood, as it were with oyle? The Grecians in like manner were infected with this bloody and deadly disease.

Ænead l. 2. *Sanguine placastis Divos & Virgine cæsa,*
Cum primum Iliacas Danai venistis ad oras,
Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandum
Argolica.

With blood and offring of a maid the Gods were pacifide,
When first to Troy-ward yee were bound, with blood yee must a-
Seeke your returne, with Grecian soule they must be satisfide. (gaine

The *Virgine* he meanes was *Iphigenia*, who was sacrificed in the sight of her father *Agamemnon*, which gaue occasion to that of *Lucretius*,

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum?

Such, so much wickednesse Religion could perswade?

This wicked custome was likewise taken vp by the *Carthaginians*, as appeares by *Silius Italicus*:

Lib. 4. *Mos fuit in populis quos condidit advena Dido*
Poscere cæde Deos veniam; ac flagrantibus aris
(Infandum dictu) parvos imponere natos,
Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus.

The ancient custome of that state, Queene *Dido* stablished,
Was this, with humane sacrifice the Gods they worshipped;
On burning Altars (out alas) their children young they slew,
An yearely lot these cruelties did solemnely renew.

Lib. 1. c. 21. And *Lactantius* reports out of *Pescenius Festus*, that the *Carthaginians* having for a time intermitted that kind of sacrifice, and being overthrown in a battle by *Agathocles* King of *Sicill*, for the pacifying of their God *Saturne*, whom by their losse they conceiued to be displeased with them; they sacrificed at once vnto him *two hundred children*, sons to the chiefe *Nobility* of the city; whereby perchance, saith he, they gaue themselues a greater blow, then *Agathocles* their professed enemy had done. The *Gaules* also our next neighbours were guilty of this *deviliſh* kinde of worship, if we may credit *Lucan*:

Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensq; feris altaribus Hæsus
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

And they that vse with curst blood their *Idoll Gods* to please
Teutates fierce, & *Hesus* grimme whom nought else may appease,

But

But sacrifice of humaine flesh; and *Taranis* likewise
Worshipt as curst *Diana* is just after *Scythike* wise.

Neither were the *Moabites* free from this horrible sin, as may be seene in the 2 of *Kings* and the 3, where the King of *Moab* tooke his owne son, as some thinke, or as others the King of *Edomes* son, and offered him for a burnt offering vpon the wall. And generally it was practised by the Inhabitants of the land of *Canaan, Their sons and their daughters they burnt in the fire to their Gods. The parents killed with their owne hands soules destitute of helpe. Good God!* that the candle of reason should be so farre dimmed, and the image of God defaced in man, as to thinke that an acceptable sacrifice, which was in truth an horrible and sacrilegious impiety, as if religion did extinguish naturall affection, or that were lawfull at the *Altar* or in the *Temple*, which in the *market place* was most vnlawfull, and punishable in an high degree: *Nonne satius esset pecudum more vivere*, sayth *Lactantius?* Were it not better to liue as beasts without all sense of religion, then to exercise it in such savage manner? Yet was not this so strange in the barbarous nations, their religion being herein sutable to their manners, as in the *Romans*, the professed *Masters* forsooth of *Morality* and *Civility*: Yet came this damnable practice to be long in vse among them too, vntill it was to be abolisht by decree of *Senate*, during the Consulship of *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Licinius Crassus*: Which makes mee the more to wonder that *Virgill* held amongst them, as the world then went, an honest vnderstanding man, should after the publishing of this decree, commend it in *Æneas* as an act of piety, and not rather censure it as a most abominable impiety.

V. 27. Deut. 12. 31. Wisdome 12. 6.

Hæc culpa non illius fuit qui literas fortasse non didicerat, sed tua qui cum esses eruditus, ignorasti tamen quid esset pietas, & illud ipsum quod nefarie, quod detestabiliter fecit, pietatis esse officium credidisti, saith *Lactantius*. This was not so much *Æneas* his fault, who was perchance altogether vnlearned, as thine, who beingendued with knowledge, yet wast ignorant what was piety, and beleeuest that to be a pious act, which he most wickedly and detestably committed. *Lib* 5 c. 10.

But that which I most admire, is, that it should creepe in among the *Iewes*, the peculiar people of the *true God*, as himselfe complaines by the Prophet *Ieremy*: *And they haue built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the sonne of Hinnon, to burne their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart*; By the Prophet *Ezekiell, when they had slaine their children to their Idolls, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to prophaine it*; And by the Prophet *David*, *They were mingled among the Heathen, and learned their workes, and they served their Idols which were a snare vnto them; yea they sacrificed their sons and their daughters vnto Devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed vnto the Idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood.* Thus *Ahaz* made *molten images* for *Baalim*, and burnt his children for sacrifice before the *Idoll Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man like a brasen body bearing the head of a calfe, set vp not far from *Hierusalem*, in a valley shadowed with wood, called *Gehinnon* or *Tophet*, from whence is the word *Gehenna* vsed for *hell*;

Ier. 7. 31. Ezek. 23. 39. Psal. 106. 35. 36. 37. 38. 2. Kings 16. 3. 2. Chron. 28. 3. *Selden de Dis Syris.*

hell. The children offered were incloſed within the carkaſſe of this *Idoll*, and as the fire increaſed ſo the ſacrificers with a noiſe of Cymbals and other inſtruments filled the aire, to the end, the horrible cries of the children might not be heard; and hence the place borrowd the name of *Tophet*, from *Top*, which ſignifies a *timbrell*; of which moſt deteſtable impiety, able to make a mans haire ſtand an end, and his heart tremble even at the relation thereof: *Paulus Fagius* hath written at large in his Commentary vpon the *Chalde Paraphraſe*, and before him S. *Hierome* vpon the tenth of S. *Matthew*, and ſince him *Wolphius* in his *Expoſitions* on the ſecond booke of *Kings*, added for ſupplement of *Peter Martyrs*, thus ſharpely but juſtly cenſures it; *Fuit autem hæc pluſquam bellua immanitas; quæ enim feræ ſuos catulos non potius ament, amplectantur, foveant, nutriant, quàm occidant, ne dum crudeliter excruciatos necent?* This monſtrous inhumanity was more then brutiſh: for what wilde beaſts do not rather loue, imbrace, nouriſh, and cheriſh their yong ones, then kill them and cruelly torment them to death?

In Leviticum.

SECT. 7.

Their monſtrous beaſtlineſſe in their worſhip of Priapus and Berecynthia, as alſo of their doting follie in their divinations, together with a touch vpon the childiſh fables of the Iewiſh Rabbines, the abſurd opinions and horrible practiſes of ancient Heretickes in the Primitiue Chriſtian Church, and the incredible ignorance and ſuperſtition of the Romiſh.

I Cannot tell whether their *cruelty* were greater in the worſhip of *Moloch*, or their *beaſtlineſſe* in the worſhip of *Priapus*, deſcribed by *Gyraldus* at large, in his *hiſtory of the Gods*: And *Toſtatus* in his 50 *queſtion* vpon the 20 of *Exodus*. It was ſo obſcene, as the very mention of it, cannot but offend chaſt eares; *Hic morbus, hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa ſacra profeſsionem, quod in vitioſis hominum moribus vix habet inter tormenta confeſsionem.* They *profeſſe* in the holding of thoſe ſacrifices, that beaſtly crime, which the moſt vitious men will hardly *confeſſe* vpon the racke. I will therefore skip over it as cleanely as I may, as men commonly do over bogs and quagmires. The ſhape in which this God was repreſented, was ſuch as nature hath taught vs to hide: The geſtures of the Prieſts in ſerving him, ſuch as I wonder their Matrones and *Virgines*, in whom were any ſparke of modeſty, could behold it with patience: and for the people who came to worſhippe, the ſacrifice being ended, they all ſtepped aſide into a thicket, which was alwayes planted neere the *Altar* of this God, and there like bruite beaſts promiſcuouſly ſatisfied their luſt, thereby as they conceiued beſt pleaſing their God; which was the cauſe, as it ſeemes, that the true God commanded, that no *Groues* ſhould be planted neere the place of his worſhip, and if any were, they ſhould be cut downe. This *Priapus*, as S. *Hierome* and *Iſidore* are of opinion, was the ſame with that *Baal-peor*, or *Beelphegor*, whom the *Moabites* and *Madianites* adored, and the *Iſraelites* themſelues for the loue of the *Madianitiſh* women: and the ſame S. *Hierome* makes

Syntagm. 8.

Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, l. 6. cap. 8.

Nos pudore pulſo ſtamus ſub ſove cœlis apertis.

Lib. 1. contra Iouinianum, c. 12. Originum, c. 8. Numb. 25. 5.

makes *Maacha* the mother of *Asa*, guilty of the same villany, in his commentaries vpon the fourth of *Hosea*, where he thus translates part of the fifteenth chapter of the first booke of *Kings*: *Insuper & Maacham matrem suam amovit, ne esset princeps in sacris Priapi, & in loco ejus*: Moreover hee deposed *Maacha* his mother, that shee might not be chiefe in the sacrifices of *Priapus* and his groues.

Of much like condition to this worship of *Priapus*, was that of *Berecynthia*, the mother of the gods, as wee finde described by S. *Augustine*, out of his owne experience; his words are these. *Ante ejus Lectisternium die solenni lavationis ejus, talia per publicum cantitabantur, à nequissimis scenicis qualia non dico matrem Deorum, sed matrem qualiumcunque Senatorum vel quorumlibet honestorum virorum, imò verò qualia nec matrem ipsorum Scenicorum deceret audire*: Such filthy stuffe was by loose lewd varlets sung before her charet on the solemne day of her *lavation*, as was vtterly vnfit, I will not say for the mother of the Gods, but of any Senatour, nay of any honest man, nay of the singers themselues to heare: and perchance, sayth he, they would haue blushed to haue spoken that before their owne mothers at home, which before the mother of the gods in the sight and hearing of innumerable multitudes of both sexes they boldly sang, and therevpon breakes out into this exclamation, *Quæ sunt sacrilegia, si illa erant sacra? quæ inquinatio, si illa lavatio?* what should wee call sacriledge, if this were sacrificing? what pollution, if this lavation? and if this be sacriledge, then surely the worshiping of God by blasphemies and cursings, as did the *Lyndians*, is a degree beyond sacriledge, who notwithstanding proceeded so farre in this devillish mad custome, *vt ea sacra pro violatis haberentur, si quando inter solennes ritus vel imprudenti alicui excideret bonum verbum*, as witnesseth *Lactantius*, that they held it a violation of their sacrifice, if during their solemne Ceremonies, but a good word chanced to slippe from any man though vnawares. Now what a lamentable case is this, to consider that the *cõmon enemy* of *mankinde* should so far prevaile in blinding their vnderstandings, as to conceiue that the *Author* of life should be worshipped with the effusion of humane and innocent blood, the *fountaine* of holinesse with brutish impurity, the *father* of blessings with execrable cursings?

De Civit Dei lib. 2. c. 4.

Lib. 1. c. 21.

Herevnto may be added the *vaine divinations* which the *Romans* made vpon the entralls of *Beasts*, vpon the flying, the feeding, the singing, the chirping of *birds*: but the sage *Cato* and those of the wiser sort well saw the doting folly of these *lying vanities*, *Potest Augur Augurem videre & non ridere?* Can one diviner looke vpon another & not smile? And the same *Cato*, as S. *Augustine* reports it, when one asked counsell of him in sober earnest, what harme he thought aboded him because Rats had gnawne his hose, he answered with a jest, *that it was a strange thing to see that, but it had beene much more strange if his hose had devoured the Rats*. *Tully* likewise in his disputations touching such arguments, when one to inforce the verity of *divination* had sayd, that a victory, which fell to the *Thebanes*, was foreshewed by an extraordinary *crowing of cockes*, he could reply vpon that with a very smooth & quicke put off, that *it was no miracle cockes should crow, but if fishes had so done, that had bin wonder-*

Cicero de divinatione, l. 2.

De doctr. Christiana. l. 2. c. 21.

De divinatione, lib. 2.

wonderfull indeede.

Dierum Genialium.

I will conclude this point, as *Alexander ab Alexandro* doth his laſt booke: *Quantum debemus Chriſto Domino Regi & Doctori noſtro, quem verum Deum veneramur & ſcimus, quo præmonſtrante exploſa monſtroſa ferarum Gentium doctrinâ rituque immani & barbaro, veram religionem edocti, humanitatem & verum Deum colimus, evictiſque erroribus & infandis ineptijs quas Priſci coluere, quid quemq; deceat & quibus ſacris, quaq; mente, Deum colere oporteat noſcitamus?* How much do wee owe to Chriſt our King and Maſter, whom wee acknowledge and worſhip as true God, by whoſe guidance and direction, the monſtrous doctrine and barbarous rites of thoſe ſavage nations being chaſed away, and wee being taught true Religion, imbrace civility and the true God; and the errours & vnſpeakeable follies which the Ancients had in honour and reverence, being brought to light, we know what our duty is, with what ceremonies, and with what minde God is to be worſhipped; which is in effect the ſame with that of the Apoſtle, *Thankes be to God who hath delivered vs from the power of darkeneſſe, and tranſlated vs into the kingdome of his deere ſonne.*

Coloſſ. 1, 13.

If I were diſpoſed to inlarge this diſcourſe, heere might eaſily be remembred the vnſavory tales, the *childiſh fancies*, and fables of the *Iewiſh Rabbins* in their *Talmud* and *Caball*, the moſt *abſurd opinions* and *horrible practiſes* of *Ancient Heretiques* in the *Primitiue Church*, the *incredible ignorance* and *ſuperſtition* among thoſe who for the ſpace of many ages were commonly accounted the *beſt*, nay the *onely Chriſtians?* but each of theſe would require a large volume, and are already fully diſcovered by others. The firſt by *Galatinus de arcanis Catholicæ veritatis*, and *Buxdorfius* in his *Synagoga Iudaica*; the ſecond by *Irenæus*, *Philaſtrius*, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, *Prateolus*, *Alphonſus à Caſtro* and others; the third by the writers of the *reformed Churches*, who haue ſet themſelues to oppoſe the corruptions and abuſes of the *Church*, or rather the *court of Rome:* And howbeit the *Romaniſts* in requitall hereof would proue their Adverſaries doctrine to open a gappe to diſobedience and licentiouſneſſe, yet I doubt not but the more ſober minded among them, finde that to proceede, rather out of eagerneſſe and heat of diſputation, then from any ſolide reaſon or ſettled judgement; ſince it is certaine, that ſince *Luther* awakened the world, the manners even of the *Romiſh Clergy* themſelues are not a little reformed.

CAP. 2.

Touching the Lawes of the Ancient Grecians and Saxons, whereof ſome were wicked and impious, others moſt abſurd and ridiculous.

SECT 1.

The vniuſt and abſurd Lawes of Solon *the Athenian Lawgiver.*

AS *Religion* is the hinge vpon which the government of the *Politicall* ſtate depends and moues, ſo next after it good and wholeſone *Lawes* ſerue much for the bettering of a *Commonwealth* in matter

matter of *manners*. *Law* being therefore defined by *Plato* to be a *reaſonable Rule leading and directing men to their due end for a publique good, ordaining penalties for them that tranſgreſſe, & reward for them that obey*. And by *Cicero* to be the *higheſt and chiefe reaſon grafted in nature, commanding thoſe things which are to be done, & forbidding the contrary*. But by the *Civilians* moſt briefely and properly, *Lex eſt ſanctio ſancta, jubens honeſta, prohibens contraria*, Law is an holy decree, (that is, a decree not to be violated) commanding honeſt things and forbidding the contrary. Now as the ancient *Paynims* were defectiue in points of true *Religion*: ſo were they likewiſe in making *juſt Lawes*, ſometimes commanding where they ſhould forbidde, and againe, forbidding where they ſhould command, rewarding where they ſhould puniſh, and puniſhing where they ſhould reward. I will inſtance only in ſome particular Lawes of the *Grecians*, and of our Predeceſſours the *Saxons*.

De Legibus.

Lib. 1 de Legibus.

See Fitz Herbert in his Treatiſe of Policie and Religion part. 1 c. 7

Among the *Grecians* foure Law-makers were moſt renowned, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Plato*, and *Ariſtotle*, two of which actually founded Commonweales, the one the *Athenians*, the other the *Lacedemonians*. The other two onely framed them in *Idea* or ſpeculation, yet all provided Lawes for them, ſuch as they were. I will begin with *Solon*, accounted one of the ſeaven *Sages* in *Greece*, highly commended for his great wiſdome in making lawes both by *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, who propoſeth him and *Lycurgus* as patternes for all ſuch as ſhall inſtitute *Commonwealths*, and deviſe *Lawes* for them. *Solon* then reſolving for the releeving of the poore to make a *Law* for the aboliſhing and cancelling all contracts and obligations of debts paſt, & imparting his minde therein to ſome of his intire friends, they ſeing his reſolution borrowed great ſtore of money, and imployed it in the purchaſe of land, whereupon it followed that when *Solon* publiſhed his *new Lawe*, they remained exceedingly inriched, their Creditors defrauded, and he much ſuſpected for deceipt, as to haue had ſecret intelligence with them, and part of their gaine. And although it ſeemed that therein he had wrong, for hee loſt by his owne *Law*, as ſome write, 15 *talents* which were owing him, yet in *two things* he cannot be excuſed, the one in that he cauſed not his friends to reſtore the money which they had guilefully borrowed, and the other that without examination of the particular cauſes and reaſons of every mans debt, he ordained a generall abolition of all debts both good and bad, whereby as well thoſe which were able to pay, as the vnable were diſcharged and all Creditors without difference defrauded, contrary to all equity and juſtice, which as *Cicero* ſayth ſpeaking of the like caſe, requireth aboue all things that every man haue his owne, & that equall regard be had to the rich as well as to the poore; (which ſayth he) is no way obſerved, *cùm locupletes ſuum perdunt, & debitores lucrentur alienum*, when rich men looſe their owne, and debters gaine that which belongeth to other men.

Plutarch. in Solone.

Offic. Lib. 2

Another of *Solons* abſurd Lawes was, that whoſoever in any publique ſedition ſhould be *nutrall* and take neither part, ſhould remaine ever after infamous: his reaſon was for that hee thought it not conuenient that any man ſhould ſo much loue his owne eaſe, as not to partici-

pate

pate of the trouble of the *Common-wealth* whereof hee was a member, which reaſon of his together with the *Law* it ſelfe, *Plutarch* wiſely and worthily rejecteth, for that it would be an aſſured meanes to put (as it were) fire to gun-powder, and to ſet all the Common-wealth on a flame without helpe of any internall remedy. For (ſayth he) as in a ſicke body all the hope of helpe within it ſelfe is to be expected from the parts that are ſound, and therefore when the body is wholly corrupted, there is no helpe of remedy but from abroad, even ſo in a *politique body* ſicke with ſedition, all the internall remedie is to come from the whole ſound parts thereof, that is to ſay, ſuch as are *Neutralls*, who may labour with the one ſide, and with the other to compound the quarrell: for otherwiſe where all is in tumult, no eremdie can be expected, except it come from abroad, and therefore *Plutarch* holdeth it for the higheſt & principall point of *Politique Science* in any governour, to know how either to prevent ſeditions that they never grow, or elſe quickly to appeaſe them when they are growne, be they never ſo little. For as the leaſt ſparke that is, may fall into ſuch matter, that it may ſet an whole houſe on fire: ſo the leaſt civill ſedition may fall among ſuch perſons and in ſuch times, that it may put a whole *Common-wealth* in combuſtion, and vtterly ruine it.

SECT. 2.

The vnreaſonable and irreligious Lawes of Lycurgus *the Lacedemonian Lawgiuer.*

NOw for *Lycurgus* if wee examine his *Common wealth* and the *Lawes* thereof, we ſhall finde that he likewiſe failed both in *true prudence* and in *morall vertue*. For whereas a good *Lawmaker* ought to frame his Common-wealth no leſſe to *religion*, *juſtice*, *temperance*, then to *fortitude*, that it may ſtand and flouriſh as well in time of *peace*, as in time of *warre*: his *Lawes* tended principally to make the people *valiant* and *warlike*, wherevpon it followed that the *Lacedemonians* flouriſhed ſo long as they had warres, and when they came to injoy peace, they fell to decay within a while, as *Ariſtotle* noteth. Whereby the weakeneſſe of the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* evidently appeared. For as *peace* is not ordained for *warre*, but *warre* for *peace*, as motion and labour is ordained for reſt: ſo in like manner a *Common-wealth* is rather to be framed and ordained for *peace* then for *warre*: and yet ſo for both, that it may ſtand by both: But in the *Common-wealth* of the *Lacedemonians* this was no way performed. For the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* tending onely to make them ſtrong, laborious & valiant, could not make them religious, juſt and truly temperate. Which for *civill diſcipline* and peaceable government is moſt requiſite. For as for *Lawes* tending to religion, wee finde none made by *Lycurgus*, nor any religious act of his but onely one, more ridiculous then religious, as that he dedicated an *Image* to *laughter*, which hee made a *God*, or at leaſt would haue to be worſhipped for a *God*, to make the people merry at their publique feaſts and meetings; &

Vol. 2. 7.

beſides

beſides he opened a great gappe to *injuſtice* and to all coſenage and deceit: for hee ordained that it ſhould bee lawfull for any man to ſteale any kinde of meate, ſo that he were not taken or diſcouered in the doing of it, and that boyes & children ſhould haue ſo little allowed them to eate, as they ſhould be forced to ſharke and proole for their better proviſion to make them thereby more induſtrious, nimble and quick of ſpirit, and others more wary and watchfull to keepe well that which they had. Inſomuch that who could ſteale moſt cunningly was moſt commended; But who ſeeth not that this was the next way to fill the Common-wealth with *Theeues*. For is it likely that thoſe who from their infancy are brought vp in pilfering trifles, will afterwards, when they haue got the habit and ability thereof, forbeare to ſteale things of great importance? Or can theeues practiſe their occupation with more ſafety any way to become in the end moſt expert, and thereby pernicious to the Common wealth, then with the warrant and vnder the protection of the law? ſeeing the penalty which was ordained for them that were taken with the manner, was not inflicted for the injuſtice of the fact, but for their lacke of skill and dexterity in the performance, which muſt needes make euery man labour to excell in the act of theevery. Finally, when the *law* not onely permitteth, but induceth men to deceiue ſometimes, and in ſome things, doth it not alſo diſpoſe, and as it were direct them to deceiue as oft and howſoeuer they may. Therefore good and wiſe *Law-makers* ſeeke to prevent evils, & and to cut off occaſions of vice, and not to miniſter matter therevnto, which in our corrupt natures needeth a bridle to reſtraine it, and not a ſpurre to pricke it forward.

This may alſo be ſaid in reſpect of another Law of *Lycurgus*, inducing to *intemperancie* and all kinde of *incontinencie*. For although hee ordained ſome things notably for the education of youth, tending as it ſeemed to the repreſſion of concupiſcence and diſſolute life, as a very ſpare and homely diet, hard bedding of reedes, or (as ſome write) no bedding at all, continuall labour and exerciſe, one onely garment for the whole yeare, and ſuch like; yet it apeareth that his meaning was none other therein, but only the better to inable them to indure the labour and the toyle of warre. For he ordained other lawes ſo much in favour & furtherance of *luſt* & all carnality, yea in the worſt kinde, that it might juſtly be ſaid, he made his whole common-wealth worſe then a *Burdell*. For he inſtituted certaine wreſtlings, & dances, & other exerciſes of boyes & wenches naked, to be done in publique at diuers times of the yeare, in the preſence both of young and old men, which what effect it might worke in the mindes and manners of their citizens, any man may eaſily judge, eſpecially ſeeing that both their lawes and cuſtomes, permitted that men ſhould be *inamored of boyes*, which was held for laudable, and neceſſary for their good education, it being preſumed that their louers would carefully inſtruct them in vertue. *Iuſtin. l. 3.*

Furthermore *adultery* which was puniſhed with death, not only by the law of *Moſes*, but alſo by the lawes of other nations, as a thing pernicious to the common-wealth, was not only permitted, but alſo ap-

proved by *Lycurgus* his law, ordaining, that if an old man married a young wife, ſhe might with her husbands licence, make choyce of any young man that ſhee liked, to haue a childe by him, which her husband brought vp as his owne: And if a valiant or vertuous man, as good ſouldiers were there termed, liked well of another mans wife, he might demand leaue of her husband to haue iſſue by her: which was not denyed, but thought convenient for their common-weaith, to maintaine a good race and breede of valiant men; as *Plutarch* ſignifieth in defence of the *law* of *Lycurgus*.

This then being ſo, what marvell is it that all ſinne of the fleſh, and beaſtlineſſe, reigned more in *Lacedemonie*, then any where elſe in *Greece*, as *Ariſtotle* witneſſeth? Nay, what wonder is it that *Almighty God* of his juſt judgement plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable overthrow in the plaine of *Leuctra?* where they loſt the dominion of *Greece*, by the occaſion, and for the puniſhment of an *horrible rape* committed by two of their Citizens.

Polit. l. 2. c. 7.

Diodor. Siculus. l. 15 c. 14.

SECT. 3.

The impious and diſhoneſt Lawes of Plato.

TO *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, wee may adde *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who though they founded no common-weales, as did the other two, yet they framed in writing either of them one, in which they laboured to ſhew both the excellencie of their owne wits, & perfection of humane policie; wherein nevertheleſſe they evidently ſhewed the imbecillity and imperfection of both: For what can be more *abſurd* or more *impious*, then the *community* which *Plato* ordained in his common-wealth, not onely of goods & poſſeſſions, but alſo of women? to the end that no man ſhould haue any thing proper or peculiar to himſelfe: in ſo much, that Fathers & Mothers ſhould not know their owne children, neither yet any childe know his owne parents; whereby he thought to eſtabliſh in the cõmon-wealth ſuch a perfect vnity, that no man ſhould be able to ſay, that is thine, or this is mine: But every one haue a generall care of all; whereas if that law were in practice, the vtter overthrow of the common-wealth, and of all humane ſociety muſt needes follow thereon. For matrimony being taken away, and ſuch a promiſcuous and beaſtly procreation introduced, the naturall loue betwixt parents and their children, brethren, kinsfolke, and allyes, and all conſanguinity, kinred, and affinity would be quite aboliſhed: horrible inceſt betweene kinsfolke, brethren and ſiſters, father & daughter, mother & ſon which all nations abhorre, would ordinarily be committed: And by occaſion of quarrells, which ſometimes could not be avoyded; one brother would kill another, the father the ſonne, and the ſonne the father, for lacke of knowledge one of another: Beſides many other great inconveniences, declared very particularly and at large by *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond booke of his *Politiques*; And *Lactantius* in the third of his *Divine Inſtitutions*, where he proveth this imaginary *community* of *Plato*, to

Cap. 1. 2. 3. & 4.

Cap. 21. 22.

to take away frugality, abſtinence, ſhamefaſtnes, modeſty, and juſtice it ſelfe, the mother of all other vertues. *Sic honeſta & legitima eſſe incipiunt quæ ſolent flagitioſa & turpia judicari*, in as much as thereby thoſe things are held honeſt and lawfull, which are commonly accounted foule and wicked. *Sic virtutem dum vult omnibus dare, omnibus ademit*, & by this meanes, while hee pretended to make all vertuous, hee made all vitious. *Nam rerum proprietas & vitiorum & virtutum materiam continet, communitas autem nihil aliud quam vitiorum licentiam:* For a propriety in things, containes in it the ſubiect matter as well for vertue as for vice to worke vpon, but community hath nothing in it beſides the liberty of vice. *Qui ergo vult homines adæquare, non matrimonia, non opes ſubtrahere debet, ſed arrogantiam, ſuperbiam, tumorem, vt illi potentes & elati pares ſe eſſe mendiciſſimis ſciant; detracta enim divitibus inſolentia & iniquitate, nihil intererit vtrumne alij divites alij pauperes ſint, cum animi pares ſint, quod efficere nulla res alia præter religionem Dei poteſt. Putavit ergo ſe juſtitiam inveniſſe cum eam prorſus everterit, quia non rerum fragilium ſed mentium debet eſſe communitas.* Hee then that would bring in an equality among men, muſt not take away weddings and wealth, but arrogancy, pride, and ſwelling, that thoſe, who by reaſon of their great power, are puffed vp, may know themſelues to be peeres to the pooreſt beggars. For remoue inſolencie, injuſtice, and vncharitablenes from the rich, and there will no inconvenience follow from hauing ſome poore, & others rich; their minides being equall, which nothing but true religion can poſſiblely effect. *Plato* thought then he had found juſtice, when indeed he ouerthrew it, in as much as there ought not to be a community of things, but of mindes. And farther, both *Ariſtotle* & *Lactantius*, though vpon different reaſons, ſhew, that the vnity which *Plato* ſought by this meanes to eſtabliſh in his common-wealth, would not follow therevpon: *Non invenit concordiam quam quærebat, quia non videbat vnde oriatur*, hee found not that concord he ſought for, becauſe hee ſaw not from whence it ſprang. Whereby appeareth his double errour, the one that he found not that vertue he ſought to plant, the other that he found that vice he ſought to prevent; And ſo I paſſe to another moſt diſhoneſt and vnreaſonable law of his, which was this.

Hauing ordained that young men ſhould for increaſe of their ſtrength & agility of body, exerciſe themſelues naked at certaine times & in certaine places appointed for that purpoſe, called *Gymnaſia*; commanded alſo not as *Lycurgus* did in *Lacedemonia*, that young girles and wenches ſhould dance naked amongſt boyes; but farre more abſurdly, that women in the flower of their youth ſhould dance, runne, wraſtle, ride, and doe all exerciſes with young men naked as well as they, which, ſaith he, whoſoeuer miſliketh, vnderſtandeth not how profitable it is for the *common-wealth*. But who could imagine that the *Prince of Phyloſophers*, (for ſo was *Plato* eſteemed) could ſo farre forget himſelfe, as hauing inſtituted and framed his common-wealth to all kinde of vertue, as the only meanes to arrive to perfect felicity, who, I ſay, conſidering this, could imagine, that this great Profeſſour, Maſter, & Teacher of vertue, would not only permit, but alſo ordaine a thing ſo contrary to his owne

profeſſion, to the end of his *common-wealth*, and to his owne lawes, precepts, and counſels, as the laſcivious aſpect of naked women, whereby the fire of concupiſcenee being kindled in men, and the bridle of naturall modeſty taken from women, what elſe could follow thereon, but all beaſtly diſſolutenes & carnality of life, as well in the one as in the other? For precepts are giuen, and *lawes* ordained in vaine againſt incontinencie, when the occaſions, provocations, & nouriſhments thereof are permitted, which whoſoeuer vſeth to admit, plaieth with the flame, as doth the fly, and commonly is burned thereby.

SECT. 4.

The vnnaturall and vnchaſt lawes of Ariſtotle.

BVt perhaps ſome may thinke that *Ariſtotle*, *Platoes* ſcholler, who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and vndertooke to cenſure and ſyndicate both his Maſter, and all other *Law-makers* before him, ſaw clearer in matter of *lawes* for the reformation of manners and the good of the common-wealth, then he. Let vs then examine him a little, and we ſhall finde that he erred more abſurdly then any of them: This may appeare by two of his *lawes*; whereof the one was, that if a man had any *deformed* or lame childe, he ſhould *caſt it out* like a whelpe, and expoſe it to periſh: And the other was, that if a man had aboue a certaine number of children, which number hee would haue to bee determined according to euery mans ability, his wife ſhould deſtroy the fruite in her wombe, when ſhe found that ſhe had conceiued; wherein he ſhewed himſelfe more *vnnaturall* and *inhumane* then the very bruite beaſts. For, as *Cicero* ſayth very well, theſe two things cannot agree together, to wit, that nature would haue procreation, and that it would not haue the creature when it is borne to be beloued and conſerued; the which appeareth, ſaith he, evidently in bruite beaſts, whoſe labour and care in the conſervation of that which is borne of them is ſuch, that we acknowledge the force and voice of *Nature* therein. What then can be more diſſonant from *Reaſon* and *Nature*, then that a man who is borne and naturally inclined to clemency, humanity and piety, ſhould ſhew himſelfe vnkinde and inhumane not towards beaſts, but towards men, not towards ſtrangers or ſeruants, but towards his owne off-ſpring, and that not for any fault of theirs, but for ſome defect or deformity of body, which they could not either prevent or remedy, and ought rather to moue a man to compaſſion and pitty, then to cruelty? *Expectet aliquis vt alieno ſanguini parcant, qui non parcunt ſuo? non poſſunt innocentes exiſtimari, qui viſcera ſua in prædam canibus obiiciunt, & quantum in ipſis eſt crudeliùs necant, quàm ſi ſtrangulaſſent*, ſaith *Lactantius*. Can any man expect they ſhould ſpare other mens blood, that ſpare not their owne? innocent they cannot be held, who expoſe their owne bowels for a prey to dogges, and as much as in them is, kill more cruelly then if they had ſtrangled them.

Polit. 7. c. 16.

Lib. 3. de Finibus.

Lib. 6. cap. 20.

Beſides, ſuch corporall defects doe not alwayes, nor often hinder the operation

operation of the minde and vnderſtanding, and therefore it may very well happen by the execution of this inhumane Law of *Ariſtotle*, not onely that a Father ſhall be deprived of a ſonne, but alſo the Common-wealth of a ſerviceable and notablemember. For as *Seneca* ſaith, *ex caſa vir magnus exire poteſt, & ex deformi humilique corpuſculo formoſus animus & magnus*, A worthy man may come out of a baſe cottage, and a beautifull high ſpirit out of a low deformed body.

The like may be ſaid of the other law of *Ariſtotle* concerning *abortion* or the deſtruction of a Childe in the mothers wombe, being a thing puniſhed ſeverely by all good Lawes as injurious not onely to nature, but alſo to the Common-wealth, which thereby is deprived of a *deſigned Citizen*, as *Cicero* tearmes it, ſpeaking of a woman of *Miletum* in *Aſia*, who having procured *abortion* of her childe a little before her time of travell was condemned to death: *neque injuria*, ſaith he, *quia deſignatum reipub. civem ſuſtuliſſet*, and very juſtly for that ſhee had made away one that was deſigned to be a Citizen of the Common-wealth: In which reſpect, the *Civill* and *Common Law* doe grievouſly puniſh all wilfull abortion after conception, and the *Canoniſts* teach it to be a *mortall* ſinne. *Cic. pro. A. Cluentio.*

And here I cannot forbeare to ſay ſomewhat of another *Conſtitution* of *Ariſtotles*, which I know not whether it were more abſurd or ridiculous: for whereas he forbade in his Common-wealth the vſe of laſcivious pictures and images, leſt young men, and ſpecially children might be corrupted by the ſight thereof, neverthleſſe in the ſame Law he excepteth the *Images* and *pictures* of *certaine Gods*, *in whom*, ſaith he, *the cuſtome alloweth laſciviouſneſſe*, meaning no doubt the painted tables and graven ſtories of the adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, and other *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, ſet forth every where among the *Paynims*, as well in private houſes as in their Temples and other publique places. Wherein may be obſerved the *ridiculous abſurdity* of this great *Philoſopher*, for what could it availe to take away all other wanton pictures and repreſentations that might corrupt the mindes of youth, when he expreſly alloweth the vſe of the laſcivious pictures of the Gods, which muſt needs corrupt them much more? and as it were inſtill into them vitious affections & deſires together with their religion, yea by the example of their Gods; by the imitation of whō they could not but hope to attaine as well to perfection of vertue, as to eternall felicity, beleeving as they did, that they were *true Gods*. For how could any man be perſwaded that adultery deſerved puniſhment, or was not a great, yea a divine vertue, ſeeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Venus*, or *Iupiter* ſtealing away *Europa* in the ſhape of a bull, violating *Leda* in the forme of a ſwan, and entring into the houſe of *Danae* by the lover like a golden ſhowre; would not any man that ſhould be religiouſly devoted to theſe Gods, be animated by the ſight thereof to doe the like? yea and children learning their religion, and not onely hearing, but ſeeing every-where by pictures and images that ſuch acts were committed by their *Gods*, could they imagine that the ſame were evill and not to be imitated? This is very well declared by *Lucian* of his owne experience, who in his Dialogues ma- *Pol. 7. 17.*

'keth *Menippus* ſay thus, when I was yet but a boy, ſaith he, and heard 'out of *Homer* and *Heſiod* of the Adulteries, fornications, rapes and ſe- 'ditions of the Gods, truly I thought that thoſe things were very ex- 'cellent, and began euen then to be greatly affected towards them: for 'I could not imagine that the Gods themſelues would euer haue com- 'mitted adultery if they had not eſteemed the ſame lawfull and good.

In Eunuch. And the like ſignifieth alſo *Cherea* in *Terence*, who beholding a table wherein it was painted, how *Iupiter* deceiued *Danae* when hee came in at the top of the houſe, ſaith, that he was greatly incouraged to defloure a young maide by the example of ſo great a God: *at quem Deum?* ſaith he, *qui templa cæli ſumma ſonitu concutit; ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego verò illud ita feci & lubens.* But what God was this trow you? marry hee who ſhakes the higheſt Temples of Heauen with thunder; and therefore might not I who am but a ſilly wretch doe the like? yes truly I did it and that with all my heart. And it is doubtleſſe moſt true which S. *Auguſtine* hath obſerued to this purpoſe, *magis intuentur quid fecerit Iupiter, quàm quid docuerint Plato vel cenſuerit Cato*: they rather conſidered what *Iupiter* did, then what *Plato* taught, or *Cato* thought: Yet were theſe villanies of their Gods and Goddeſſes euery where ſo rife, that the names almoſt of all riuers, countreyes, cities, woods, nay of the very lights & conſtellations of heauen, ſerued as ſo many charecters and enſignes thereof, in which regard, it was truly a pious worke begunne by *Bayerus*, and ſince finiſhed by *Schillerus*, wherein he indeauours to deface thoſe ancient names of the aſteriſmes impoſed by the paynims, & to ſubſtitute in ſteed thereof *Chriſtian* appellations, thereby the better to minde vs of the vertues and duties implied in them, which worke of his he therefore intitles: *Cælum ſtellatum Chriſtianum.*

SECT. 5.

The barbarous and vncivill lawes of the Gaules *and the* Saxons *our Predeceſſours.*

NOw theſe Lawes of the *Grecians* were not more diſhoneſt and vnmorrall then were thoſe of the *Gaules* and *Saxons* our Predeceſſours vncivill and barbarous; I meane their *ordeall Lawes* which they vſed in doubtfull caſes, when cleere and manifeſt proofes wanted to try and finde out whether the accuſed were guilty or guiltleſſe. Theſe are of foure ſorts, as *Æneas Sylvius*, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Iohannes Pomarius*, *Cornelius Killianus*, and others in their Hiſtories and Chronicles report. The firſt was by *Camp-fight* or *Combate*, the ſecond by *yron* made red hot, the third was by *hote water*, and the fourth by *cold water*.

Verſteg. c. 3. Paſq. 4. l. 2.

For their tryall by *Camp-fight*, the Accuſer was with the perill of his owne body to proue the accuſed guilty, and by offering him his gloue or gantlet to challenge him to this tryall: which the other muſt either accept of, or acknowledge himſelfe culpable of the crime whereof hee was accuſed. If it were a crime deſeruing death, then was the *Campe-*

fight

fight for life and death, and that either on horſebacke or on foote: if the offence deſerued impriſonment and not death, then was the *Campe-fight* accompliſhed when the one had ſubdued the other by making him to yeeld, or vnable to defend himſelfe, and ſo be taken priſoner: the accuſed had the liberty to chooſe another in his ſteed, but the accuſer muſt performe it in his owne perſon, and with equality of weapons. No women were admitted to behold it, nor men children vnder the age of thirteene yeares; the Prieſts and people did ſilently pray, that the victory might fall to the guiltleſſe. And if the fight were for life & death, a Beere ſtood ready to carry away the body of him that ſhould be ſlaine. None of the people might crie, skreeke, make any noiſe, or giue any ſigne whatſoeuer. And herevnto at *Hall* in *Suevia* (a place appointed for *Camp-fight*) was ſo great regard taken, that the Executioner ſtood beſide the Iudges with an axe ready to cut off the right hand and left foot of the partie ſo offending. He that being wounded did yeeld himſelfe, was at the mercy of the other to be killed or let to liue: if hee were ſlaine, then was he carried away and honourably buried, and hee that ſlew him reputed more *honorable* then before: But if being ouercome he were left aliue, then was he by ſentence of the Indges declared vtterly voide of all honeſt reputation, and neuer to ride on horſbacke, nor to carry armes. *Munſter l. 3.*

The tryall by *red hot iron*, called *Fire-Ordeall* was vſed vpon accuſations without manifeſt proofe, though not without ſuſpition, that the accuſed might be faulty; the party accuſed and denying the offence, was adjudged to take red hot iron, & to hold it in his bare hand, which after many prayers and invocations that the truth might be manifeſt, hee muſt either adventure to doe, or yeeld himſelfe guilty, and ſo receiue the puniſhment that the Law according to the offence committed ſhould award him. Some were adjudged to goe blinde-folded with their bare feete ouer certaine plow-ſhares, which were made red hot & laid a little diſtance one from another, and if the party in paſſing thorow them did chance not to tread vpon them, or treading vpon them receiued no harme, then by the Indge he was declared innocent: And this kind of *tryall* was alſo practiſed here in *England*, (as was likewiſe the *Camp-fight* for a while) vpon *Emma* the mother of *K. Edward* the Confeſſour, who was accuſed of diſhoneſty of her body with *Allwin* B. of *Wincheſter*, and being led blinde-folded to the place were nine hot *Culters* were laid, went forward with her bare feete, and ſo paſſed ouer them, and being paſt them all & not knowing it, good Lord, ſaith ſhee, when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation, then hauing her eyes vncouered & ſeeing her ſelfe to haue paſſed them, ſhe kneeling downe gaue God thankes for manifeſting her innocencie in her preſervation, & in memoriall thereof gaue *nine Lordſhips* to the *Church* of *Wincheſter*, and King *Edward* her ſonne repenting he had ſo wrongfully brought his Mothers name into queſtion, beſtowed likewiſe vpon the ſame *Church* the *Ile* of *Portland* with other revenewes. A much like *tryall* vnto this is recorded of *Kunigund*, wife to the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond, who being falſely accuſed of adultery, to ſhow her innocency did *Aventin. l. 4.* *Camden in Dorcet.*

in a great & honourable aſſembly take *ſeaven glowen irons* one after another in her bare hands and had thereby no harme.

The tryall called *Hot water Ordeall*, was in caſes of accuſation as is afore ſayd, the party accuſed being appointed by the Iudge to thruſt his armes vp to his elbowes in ſeething hot water, which after ſundry prayers and invocations he did, and was by the effect that followed judged faulty or faultles.

Laſtly, *cold water Ordeall* was the tryall, which was ordinarily vſed for the common ſort of people, who hauing a cord tied about them vnder their armes, were caſt into ſome riuer, & if they ſunke downe to the bottome thereof vntill they were drawne vp, (which was within a very ſhort limited ſpace) then were they held guiltleſſe, but ſuch as did remaine vpon the water were held culpable, being, as they ſaid, of the water rejected and caſt vp. Theſe kindes of *impious & vnjuſt lawes*, the *Saxons* for a while after their *Chriſtianity* continued, but were at laſt by a decree of *Pope Stephen* the ſecond vtterly aboliſhed, as being a preſumptuous tempting of *God* without any grounded reaſon or ſufficient warrant, and an expoſing many times of the innocent to manifeſt hazard.

CAP. 3.

Touching the inſufficiencie of the precepts of the Ancient Phyloſophers for the planting of vertue, or the rooting out of vice, as alſo of the common errour touching the golden age.

SECT. 1.

Touching the inſufficiencie of the Ancient Phyloſophers for the planting of vertue, and the rooting out of vice; as alſo of the manners of the Ancients, obſerued by Cælius ſecundus Curio, *out of* Iuvenall *and* Tacitus.

TO theſe lawes of the *Grecians* and *Germans*, may be added the *opinion & precepts* of the *Ancient Phyloſophers*, touching vertue and vice, finall happineſſe, and the ſtate of the ſoule after this life; which were as diverſe one to another as they were all erronious and oppoſite to the truth, the growth of vertue, or ſuppreſſing of vice. What could poſſiblely more hinder the courſe of vertue, then the doctrine of the *Epicureans*, that ſoveraigne happineſſe conſiſted in pleaſure? or more ſtrengthen the current of vice, then that of the *Stoicks*, that all ſins were equall? The *Epicureans* though they granted a God, yet they denyed his *providence*, which ſhould ſerue as a ſpurre to vertue, and a bridle to vice. The *Stoickes*, though they granted a divine providence, yet withall they ſtiffely maintained ſuch a fatall *Neceſſity*, not only in the events of humane actions, but in the actions themſelues, as thereby they blunted the edge of all vertuous endeavours, and made an excuſe for vicious courſes. Againe, the *Epicurean* gaue too much way to irregular affections,

ctions; and on the other ſide, the *Stoicke* was too profeſſed an enemy to them, though regulated by reaſon; but both of them doubted, if not denied the *immortality of the ſoule*, whereby they opened a wide gappe to all licentiouſneſſe, not cenſurable by the lawes of man, or which the executioners thereof either thorow ignorance could not, or thorow feare or favour would not take notice of. Which hath often made mee wonder, that the common-wealth of the *Iewes* would ſuffer ſuch a peſtilent ſect in the bowels of it, as the *Sadduces*, who flatly denyed, not only the reſurrection of the body, but the immortality of the ſoule. Since then the *Chriſtian* religion, and that alone teacheth both, as fundamentall articles of our beleife, and withall a *particular providence of God*, extending to the very thoughts, and a particular judgement after this life, rewarding every man according to that he hath done in the fleſh, whether it be good or euill; and beſides, requires a *reformation of the heart* & inward man, the fountaine and ſource of all outward actions & ſpeeches; it is moſt evident, that howſoever our *liues* bee, yet our *rules* tend more to vertue and honeſty then did thoſe, either of the *Gentiles*, or of the *Iewes*; who although they were not all infected with the foule leproſie of the *Sadduces*, yet it is certaine, that theſe doctrines and rules were not in the law of *Moſes* and the *Prophets* ſo clearely deliuered, as now they are by *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* in the *Goſpell*; nay the *Law* it ſelfe permitted vnto thē ſuch a divorce, though for the hardnes of their hearts, as is not now allowed. And though the Law allowed not *Poligamie*, yet in regard of their frequent practice, we haue great reaſon to conceiue, that they ſcarce held it to be a ſinne. And the *Phariſes*, though of all other ſects they pretended, and ſeemed to be the moſt zealous & ſtrict obſeruers of the *Law*; yet teaching others & themſelues practiſing, the obſervation thereof as they did, only in regard of *outward conformity*, thereby perhaps made their Diſciples *formall Inſticiaries*, but withall *damnable hypocrites*, boyling in malice, & luſt, & covetouſnes while they ſet a faire face on it, and made a goodly ſemblance of holynes, piety, and devotion. And if it ſo fared with the *Iewes*, no marvell that the *Gentiles*, (their naturall inclination carrying them headlong to wickednes, and withall, their religion, their lawes, the doctrine and examples of their Teachers, being as ſo many provocations to draw them onward) proved ſuch indeede as the *Apoſtle* deſcribes them to be, in the 1 of the *Romanes*, *full of all vnrighteouſnes fornication, wickedneſſe, covetouſnes, maliciouſnes, full of enuy, of murther, of debate, of deceit, taking all things in evill part, whiſperers, backbiters, haters of God, doers of wrong, proud, boaſters, inventers of evill things, diſobedient to Parents, without vnderſtanding, covenant breakers, without naturall affection, ſuch as never can be appeaſed, mercileſſe, which men though they know the Law of God, how that they which commit ſuch things are worthy of death, yet not only doe the ſame, but favour them that doe them.* And ſo I paſſe from the roote to the fruite, from the cauſes to the effects, from their *lawes* & *precepts* touching *manners*, to their *practice*, & *cuſtomes*, & *manners* themſelues. And heere I muſt freely profeſſe my ſelfe to accord with *Sidonius Appollinaris*, *veneror antiquos, non ita tamen vt aquæ verum meorum virtutes & merita poſtponam:*

Act. 23. 8.

Mat. 19. 8.

Mat. 5.

Lib. 3. Ep. 8.

ponam: I haue the Ancients in ſuch due reſpect and veneration as they deſerue, yet ſo as I would not willingly diſeſteeme or vndervalue the vertues and merits of thoſe who haue liued ſince, or now liue in the ſame age with mee. The *Ancients* I know well, had many great vertues, and wee no leſſe vices, yet let no man be ſo vnwiſe or vnjuſt, to ſurmiſe that either the former ages were free from *notorious vices*, or the latter voide of *ſingular* vertues. And ſurely, he that ſhall reade *Bohemus* of the manners of the *Gentiles*, or the booke of *Iudges*, the *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, the *Prophets*, and *Ioſephus* of the *manners* of the *Iewes*, will eaſily acknowledge the former: Wherevnto wee may adde the teſtimony of *Cœlius Secundus Curio*, a witty and learned man of this age, in his Epiſtle prefixed to his commentary vpon *Iuvenall*, where he tels vs, that meeting with thoſe verſes of *Horace*.

Damnoſa quid non imminuit dies?
Ætas parentum peior avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitioſiorem.

Lib. 3. carm. Od. 6.

What doth not waſtfull time impaire?
Our Fathers worſe then Granſires are,
We worſe then they, our progenie
More vitious then our ſelues will be.

Hee began to doubt of the truth of them, and therevpon fell to a ſerious inquirie thereinto, & for his better proceeding in that ſearch, made ſpeciall choice of two Authours, *Tacitus* and *Iuvenall*, the one held as vnpartiall in *hiſtory* as the other in *Satyres*, to make report what they found in matter of *manners* in their times, and hauing thorowly conſulted with them both, but chiefely with the latter; from them he makes this relation, *Quibus auditis*, ſaith he, *& noſtri ſeculi cum illa facta contentione, deprehendi longè ab illa noſtram ætatem vitijs, illam à noſtra multis & magnis virtutibus ſuperari:* Vpon the hearing of them, and the comparing of this preſent age with that, I found that ours was much ſurpaſſed by that in vice, and that againe by ours in many and great vertues. Yet long before *Horace* did *Aratus* in *Phœnomenis* take vp the ſame complaint:

Aurea degenerem pepererunt ſæcula prolem,
Vos peiorem illis ſobolem generabitis.--

Thoſe golden ſires a baſer race begat:
Your race ſhall be yet more degenerate.

But *Heſiod* in his ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, is more adviſed and moderate, hoping, it ſeemes, for better times then himſelfe ſaw.

O vtinam quinto hoc minimè mihi viuere ſæclo,
Sed fas vel poſt naſci, aut ante perire fuiſſet.

Would God this fift age I had neuer ſeene,
But or had died before, or after beene.

For with *Ovid* I can ſcarce hope that any ſhould accord and profeſſe,

Priſca iuvent alios, ego nunc me deniq; natum
Gratulor.

Let

Let others like old times, but I am glad
That in this latter age my birth I had.

SECT. 2.

Touching the idle tale of the golden age, first forged by Poets, and since taken vp by Hiſtorians.

THat which hath deceiued many in this point, is that *idle tale* and *vaine fancie* forged by *Poets*, & taken vp by ſome *Hiſtorians*, & beleeued by the *vulgar* of the *foure ages of the world*. The firſt of *gold*, the ſecond of *ſilver*, the third of *braſſe*, & the fourth of *yron*. Thus elegantly deſcribed by the wittieſt of Poets. Macrob: lib. 2. de ſom: Scip. c. 18. Fabius Pictor de aureo ſæculo.

Aurea prima ſata eſt ætas, quæ vindice nullo Ouid. Met.
Sponte ſua ſine lege fidem rectumque colebat,
Pœna metuſq; aberant, nec vincla minantia collo
Ære ligabantur, nec ſupplex turba timebat
Iudicis ora ſui, ſed erant ſine judice tuti, &c.
Poſtea Saturno tenebroſa in Tartara miſſo
Sub Iove mundus erat, ſubijtque argentea proles,
Auro deterior fulvo, pretioſior ære, &c.
Tertia poſt illam ſucceſſit ahenea proles,
Sævior ingenijs, & ad horrida promptior arma,
Non ſcelerata tamen. De duro eſt vltima ferro,
Protinus erupit venæ pejoris in ævum
Omne nefas, fugêre pudor, verumq; fideſq;
In quorum ſubiere locum fraudeſque, dolique,
Inſidiæque, & vis, & amor ſceleratus habendi.

The golden age was firſt, which vncompell'd,
And without rule in faith and truth excell'd:
As then there was no puniſhment nor feare,
Nor threatning Lawes in braſſe preſcribed were,
Nor ſuppliant crouching priſoners ſhooke to ſee
Their angry Iudge, but all was ſafe and free, &c.
But after *Saturne* was throwne downe to Hell,
Iove rul'd, and then the ſilver age befell,
More baſe then gold, & yet then braſſe more pure, &c.
Next vnto this ſucceedes the brazen age,
Worſe natur'd, prompt to horride warre and rage,
But yet not wicked ſtubbone. Yr'n the laſt,
Then bluſhleſſe crimes which all degrees ſurpaſt
The world ſurround, ſhame, faith and truth depart,
Fraud enters, ignorant in no bad Art,
Force, treaſon, and the wicked loue of gaine, &c.

And from hence it ſeemes was that of *Boetius* borrowed

Fælix nimium prior ætas Lib. 2. Metr. 5.
Contenta fidelibus arvis.
Nec inerti perdita luxu,

Facili

Facili quæ ſera ſolebat
Ieiunia ſolvere glande,
Nec Bacchica munera norat
Liquido confundere melle,
Nec lucida vellera ſerum
Tyrio miſcere veneno.
Tunc claſſica ſæva tacebant,
Odÿs neq; fuſius acerbis
Cruor horrida tinxerat arma.
Vtinam modo noſtra redirent
In mores tempora priſcos.

Thrice happy former age, well pleaſ'd
With faithfull fields, from riot free,
Whoſe hunger readily was eaſ'd
With akornes gathered from the tree,
They skill'd not with *Lyæus* juyce,
The liquid honey to compound,
Nor knew that twice the *Serian* fleece
In *Tyrian* die was to be drown'd.
Alarmes of warre were ſilent then,
And horrid armes all ſmear'd with blood
Through malice ſhed of cruell men
Were yet vnſeene. O would to God
Theſe times ſo much degenerate
Might turne againe to th' ancient ſtate.

The *Satyriſt* alluding to this golden age, and the degenerating of the world by degrees from it; tells vs, that euen in his time the *Iron* age was paſt, and that nature it ſelfe could not finde out any kinde of mettall, for the height of villanie in all kindes, matchable therevnto:

Iuvenal. Sat. 13. *Nunc ætas agitur, pejoraque ſæcula ferri*
Temporibus: quorum ſceleri non invenit ipſa
Nomen, & à nullo poſuit natura metallo.

And if humane affaires haue ſtill ſince that time (as is pretended) growne worſe and worſe, ſurely at this preſent, the world ſhould be much more to ſeeke of any mettall, anſwerable to the manners thereof. But that all this adoe about the golden age is but an empty rattle & *frivolous conceipt*, like *Apuleius* his tale of a *golden aſſe*, *Bodin* is ſo confident, that he breakes forth into this aſſertion, *Ætas illa quam auream vocant, ſi ad hanc noſtram conferatur, ferrea videri poſſit.* That which they call the *Golden age* being compared with ours, may well ſeeme but *iron.* And in truth he may boldly affirme it, if that be true which *Cicero* writes of it: *Fuit quoddam tempus cùm in agris homines paſſim beſtiarum more vagabantur, & ſibi victu ferino vitam propagabant, nec ratione animi quicquam, ſed pleraque viribus corporis adminiſtrabant. Nondum divinæ religionis, non humani officÿ ratio colebatur, nemo legitimas viderat nuptias, non certos quiſquam inſpexerat liberos, non jus æquabile quid vtilitatis haberet, acceperant.* Time was when men like beaſts wandered in the fields, and maintained their life by the food of beaſts, neither did they adminiſter their

Method. Hiſt. 7.

Cicero de inven. lib. 1. Rhetor.

their affaires by juſtice, but by bodily ſtrength: There was no heed given either to Religion or *Reaſon*, no man enjoyed lawfull marriage, nor with aſſurance beheld his owne iſſue, neither were they acquainted with the commodity which vpright Lawes bring with them. During this golden age flouriſhed *Cameſis* and *Saturne*, and there is no doubt but by *Cameſis* is vnderſtood *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, and by *Saturne Nimrod*, whoſe ſon *Iupiter Belus* (famous for the depoſition of his father, inceſt with his ſiſter, and many other villaines) ſaw the laſt of this age. Now how vertuous theſe men and times were, appeares by the ſtory of *Moſes*. *Cham* like a moſt vngratious *childe* diſcovers and derides the nakedneſſe of his aged and worthy Father, and was therefore deſervedly accurſed to be a *ſervant of ſervants*. *Nimrod* grandchilde to *Cham*, as his name ſignifies, was a notorious Rebell, *Robuſtus venator coram Domino*, a great *Oppreſſour*, a Robber, as *Ariſtotle* numbers *robberie* among the ſeverall kindes of hunting: And beſides hee is thought to haue beene the ring leader in that out-ragious attempt of building the *towre of Babel*. And ſuch kinde of men are thoſe *Gyants* ſuppoſed to baue beene, who before this are called *Mighty men, men of renowne*; In as much as *Moſes* preſently addes. *And God ſaw that the wickedneſſe of man was great in the earth*, and that *every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was onely evill continually: And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.* *Quibus verbis intelligit*, ſaith *Caſſanion*, *tantas ea tempeſtate fuiſſe morum corruptelas, vt omne vitioſitatis, nequitiæque genus vbique regnaret. Cùm autem ex robore & potentia qua iſti pollebant nominis celebritatem adepti ſint, in eo animadvertere licet qualis fuerit prima mundi nobilitas æſtimata, non quæ pietatis, juſtitiæ, aliuſve cujuſdam virtutis ſpecie, & pulchritudine illuſtris appareret, ſed quæ ſolius potentiæ, fortitudiniſque titulo ſeſe venditabat: Nam qui tum cæteris valentiores, robuſtioreſque erant, ij vim alijs audacter inferentes, nobiliores, præſtantioreſque cenſebantur. Vnde fortaſſis illud invaluit, vt gentilitia quorundam inſignia non niſi crudelium belluarum, rapacium que ferarum & volucrium habeant imaginem.* By which words hee vnderſtands, that ſuch and ſo great was the vniverſall corruption of manners in thoſe times, as all kinde of vice and wickedneſſe every-where raigned. And in that the men of that age are ſaid to haue gotten renowne by meanes of their exceeding great might, from thence wee may gather how the firſt Nobility of the world was valued, not ſuch as was conſpicuous by the beauty and luſtre of pietie, juſtice, or any other vertue, but ſuch onely as gloried and contented it ſelfe with the title of ſtrength & power. For thoſe who then were more mighty and powerfull then others, and were thereby imboldned to oppreſſe others, were commonly held the moſt noble and worthy. And happily from hence it was that ſome families carry in their Scutchions the repreſentation of wilde beaſts or birds of prey. Which the Poet hath well expreſſed of theſe firſt times in termes not much different;

Gen. 9. 22.

Cap. 10. v. 9.

Cap. 11. 4.

Gen. 6. 4.

V. 5. 6.

De Gigant. c. 1.

---Sed & illa propago
Centemptrix ſuperum, Sævaque avidiſſima cædis
Et violenta fuit.

Ovid. met. 1.

That lawleſſe race contemn'd the powers divine
Swilling downe blood as greedily as wine.

Howſoever we are ſure that vpon this vniverſall invndation of ſin, followed the vniverſall deluge of water, waſhing and cleanſing the earth from that abominable filthineſſe which had generally infected and polluted it. And as about this time ſin was ripened, ſo in the very infancy of the world it grew vp ſo faſt, that the ſecond man in the world wilfully murthered the third, being then his onely brother. And another of the ſame race ſoone after was the founder of *Polygamy*, and a while after it is added, *Then men began to call vpon the name of the Lord*, as if till then they had not done it, at leaſt-wiſe in publique aſſemblies. And in that *Enoch* not long after this, is ſaid to haue *walked with God*, *Iunius* giues this note vpon it, *id eſt, non eſt ſequutus malitiam ſui ſeculi*, that is, hee followed not the wicked courſes of the age wherein he liued, and therefore was hee *tranſlated*, *leſt wickedneſſe ſhould alter his vnderſtanding, or deceit beguile his minde*. *Hæc eſt illa aurea ætas quæ talia monſtra nobis educavit*, this is forſooth that goodly golden age, which hath brought into the world and bred ſuch foule monſters. Wee all make complaint of the iniquity of our times not vnjuſtly, for the dayes are evill (ſayth learned *Hooker*) But compare them with thoſe times wherein there were no civill ſocieties, with thoſe times wherein there was as yet no manner of publique regiment eſtabliſhed, with thoſe wherein there were not aboue 8 perſons righteous liuing vpon the face of the earth: and wee haue ſurely good cauſe to thinke that God hath bleſſed vs exceedingly, and hath made vs behold moſt happy dayes. And Sr *Walter Rawleigh* to a purpoſe not much vnlike: if we vnderſtand by that age (which was called *Golden*) the ancient ſimplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name (ſayth he) may then truly be caſt vpon thoſe elder times: but if it be taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may be attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none elſe) it may be doubted. for good & *golden* Kings make good and *golden* ages: and all times haue brought forth of both ſorts. After this the world was peſtered with anũber of intollerable *Tyrants*, whom *Hercules* ſubdued, & yet was himſelfe accounted by many but a Captaine of *Pyrates*. And certaine it is, he was moſt foule, & yet I know not whether more foule, or ſtrong in matter of luſt, & both *Theſeus* and *Pirithous* (whom hee admitted into his ſociety) were of a ſtraine much alike. But becauſe theſe things happily may ſeeme fabulous, let vs liſten to *Thucydides*, one of the ancienteſt & trueſt fathers of *hiſtory*. Hee then hath left vpon record, that a little before his time, in *Greece* it ſelfe ſo great was the wildneſſe & barbarouſnes thereof, that both by ſea and land robberies were commonly practiſed, and that without any touch of diſgrace; it was vſually demanded of paſſengers, whether they were *Theeues* or *Pyrates*. And *Cæſar* in a manner reports the ſame of *Germans*, *Latrocinia nullam habent apud Germanos infamiam quæ extra fines cujuſq; civitatis fiunt, atq; ea juventutis exercendæ atq; deſidiæ minuendæ cauſa fieri prædicãt*. It is no diſcredit among the *Germans* to robbe, ſo it be without the bounds of the cities, and this they allow for the exerciſe of their youth and the ſhunning of idleneſſe. But parti-

Gen. 4. 8.

Gen. 4. 26.

Gen. 5. 22.

Wiſedome 4. 11

Bodin. loco ci-

Eccleſ pol. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Hiſtory of the World *lib. 1. c. 9. Sect. 3.*

particulars are infinite, wherefore I will content my ſelfe with one *Nation*, and three or foure *notorious vices* of that *Nation*. The *Nation* ſhall be that of the *ancient Romanes*, I meane before their receiuing of *Chriſtianity*, becauſe they were commonly reputed the moſt civill and beſt diſciplined of the *whole world*. The *ſpeciall vices* I will inſtance in, ſhall be their *cruelty*, their *covetouſneſſe*, their *luxury*, their *vaine-glory* and *ambition*; their *flattery* and *ingratitude*: and in theſe will I ſhew their wonderfull exceſſe beyond latter ages, concluding with a demonſtration, that the moſt eminent and renowned vertues of the *Romanes*, as their *wiſdome* and *courage*, haue likewiſe beene at leaſt matched by ſome of latter ages, and that in ſome other vertues, as namely in *modeſty* and *humility*, they haue beene much exceeded.

CAP. 4.

Of the exceſſiue cruelty of the Romans towards the Iewes, the Chriſtians, other Nations, one another and vpon themſelues.

SECT 1.

Of the Romans cruelty towards the Iewes.

THe ſauage and barbarous inhumanity of the *Romans* appeares, partly in their cruell handling of the *Iewes* and *Chriſtians*, & partly of other *Nations*: But chiefely in their *vnnaturall diſpoſition* one towards another and vpon themſelues: Firſt then for the *Iewes*, it is indeede true, that by putting to death the *Lord of life*, and crying alowd, *His blood be vpon vs and vpon our children*, they wilfully drew vpon themſelues the *Divine vengeance* and that dreadfull threate: *Loe the dayes ſhall come when they ſhall ſay, happy are the barren and the wombes that haue not borne children, and the paps that haue not giuen ſucke.* Yet were the *Romanes*, though greater enemies to *Chriſtian Religion* then the *Iewes*, appointed by *divine providence*, as the Executioners of that vengeance, which they performed in a moſt vnmercifull manner: and in regard of themſelues, an vndue and vnjuſt meaſure. For to let paſſe all other bloody maſſacres of them in diverſe townes and cities thorow the *Romane Empire*, after the paſſion of our *Saviour*, and before the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*; ſurely their cruelty acted in the ſiedge of that city, recorded by *Ioſephus*, was ſuch as were able even to reſolue an heart of ſteele into teares of blood. It was on every ſide ſo ſtrongly begirt, that the beſiedged by extremitie of famine, were forced to eate, not onely horſes, aſſes, dogs, rats, and mice, and the leather that covered their ſhields and bucklers, but alſo the very dung out of their ſtables; yea and a Noble woman was knowne to eate her owne child that ſuckt vpon her breaſt, wherein no doubt was fullfilled the propheſie of our Saviour, *happy are the barren*. Such as were taken by the *Romanes*, were by the commandement of *Titus*, crucified before the wals of the city, to the number of fiue hundred every day, vntill at length (as *Ioſephus* reporteth) *there wanted*

De bello Iudaico l. 6, & 7.

both crosses for the bodyes and place for the crosses. Also great numbers of them, who being forced with famine, sought to saue their liues, by yeelding themselues to their enemies, were nevertheless killed by the mercilesse souldiers, & their bowels ripped vp, in hope to finde gold therein, vpon a report, or at least a conceite, that the *Iewes* did swallow their gold to convey it out of the citty by that meanes. Finally, the number of those which were slaine and died during the siege, was, as witnesseth *Iosephus*, *a million and an hundred thousand*, and of the *Captiues* nine hundred and seaventy thousand, whereof *Iosephus* himselfe was one, and of those, some were condemned to the publique workes, others of the stronger and handsomer sort carried in triumph, and such as were vnder the age of seventeene yeares, were sold for little or nothing, & those which remained in their countrey, were loaden with such grievous impositions and tributes, that they liued in a continuall misery and slavery worse then death. Yet the cruelty of the *Romans* towards these miserable *Iewes* ceased not here, but in the next age, in the time of *Traiane* the *Emperour*, within lesse then fifty yeares after the subversion of *Ierusalem*, *infinita eorum millia*, sayth *Eusebius*, infinite thousands of them were killed in *Egypt*, and *Mesopotamia*, in *Macedonia* they were vtterly extinguished, and in *Cyprus* they were all either put to the sword or banished; and a law made, that it should be death for any *Iewe* to arriue there, though he were driven thither by tempest against his will. And in a few yeares after, *Iulius Severus*, being called out of *Brittaine* by the *Emperour Adrian*, and sent into *Iudea*, destroyed almost all the countrey. For as *Dyon* writeth, hee dismantled fifty strong forts, and razed or burnt nine hundred eighty fiue townes or villages, and killed aboue fifty thousand *Iewes* in battle, besides an infinite number of others that dyed either by fire, famine, or pestilence, or were sold for slaues. Shortly after *Adrians* time, they were also miserably afflicted by the *Emperour Antoninus Pius*, and after him by *Marcus Aurelius*, and againe some yeares after that by the Emperour *Severus*, who renewed the decrees of *Adrian* for their exclusion from the sight of their countrey, and triumphed for his great victories against them. Now though it be true, that the wickednesse of the *Iewish* Nation was such, as they well deserved to be thus severely punished, yet cannot the *Romans* be excused from vnreasonable cruelty in dealing thus vnmercifully with them, as if they had beene beasts rather then men.

Lib. 7. c. 17.

Lib. 4. c. 2.

SECT. 2.

Their cruelty towards the Christians, first in regard of the insatiable malice of their persecutors.

THeir dealing with the *Christians*, (whom they likewise named *Iewes*, because our *Saviours Apostles* and first Disciples, were all of that nation) was yet more mercilesse, because more vnjust, They pretended the frequent rebellions of the *Iewes*, to be the reason of their great severity towards them: but the *Christians* they deadly hated and most

Tacitus Annal. 15. 10.

moſt cruely perſecuted onely for their religion, whereas they ſuffered all religions ſaue the *Chriſtian*, to be quietly exerciſed thorow their dominions. *Nomen in nobis tantummodo damnatur non aliquod crimen*, ſayth *Tertullian*, it is the name onely that is condemned in vs, not any crime: which was indeede verified by the example of *Attalus* the martyr, who being led about the Amphitheater at *Lions*, there was carried before him a table with this inſcription *Hic eſt Attalus Chriſtianus*, this is *Attalus* the Chriſtian: and *Polycarpus* being brought forth to ſuffer in *Aſia*, the cryer by command from the governour proclaimed: *Polycarpus Chriſtianum eſſe confeſſus eſt*, *Polycarpus* hath confeſſed himſelfe to be a Chriſtian. Now the cuſtome of thoſe times was (as *Franciſcus Balduinus* in his booke *de Edictis contra Chriſtianos* hath well obſerved) to make known to the people the cauſe why any man was condemned, either by the voice of the cryer, or in the table which was carried before the condemned perſon, from whence it clearely appeares, that the *Chriſtians* indeed ſuffered at the hands of the *Romans* for none other cauſe, but becauſe they were *Chriſtians*.

Euſeb. 4. 15.

Lib. 4. cap. 7.

Now their cruelty towards the poore *Chriſtians* appeared in the *inſatiable malice of their perſecutors, the incredible number of thoſe that ſuffered as Martyrs or Confeſſors, and the exquiſite variety of their tortures.* S. *Auguſtine* and his ſcholler *Oroſius* compare the *tenne perſecutions* of the *Primitiue Chriſtians*, (which as ſo many raging waues came tumbling one vpon the necke of another,) to the *tenne plagues* of *Egypt*; the firſt of which was vnder *Nero*, whoſe cruelty or luxury was of the two more monſtrous & vnnaturall, cannot eaſily be determined. He cauſed *Rome* to be ſet on fire, that he might the better conceiue the flames of *Troy*, ſinging vnto it *Homers* verſes. His father and brother he poyſoned, murthered his maſter, wife, & mother, taking an exact view of her dead bodie, commending the proportion of ſome parts & diſcommending others. Beſides, hee made away whoſoever was valiant or vertuous in Senate, in city, in Province without any difference of ſexe or age. No marvell then, that being of a diſpoſition ſo bloody, hee fell as a bitter ſtorme vpon the *Chriſtians*, and his cruelty be by S. *Paul* compared to the *mouth* of a *Lyon*. Nay by reaſon of that violent perſecution, which vnder him the *Chriſtians* endured; hee was, as witneſſeth S. *Auguſtine* commonly reputed *Anti-Chriſt*: but certaine it is, that *Rome* being by his command ſet on fire, he falſely accuſed and puniſhed moſt greevouſly the innocent *Chriſtians* for it. The ſecond perſecution was vnder *Domitian*, whom *Tertullian* calls *Neronis portionem*, *Euſebius*, *hæredem*, the one, a part, the other the heire of *Nero*. And *Tacitus* puts onely this difference betweene them, that *Nero* indeed commanded cruell murthers, but *Domitian* not onely commanded them, but beheld them himſelfe. What the world was to expect from him, appeared in his very entrance to the *Empire*, retyring himſelfe every day into a private cloſet, where he paſſed his time in killing of flies with a ſharpe bodkin, inſomuch that one demanding, who was within with the *Emperour*, *Vibius Criſpus* made anſwer, *ne muſca quidem*, not ſo much as a flye: But from the blood of flies hee proceeded on to the ſhedding of the

De civ. Dei lib. 18. c. 52.

Sueton. c. 7.

2. Tim. 4. 17.

De Civit. Dei, l. 20. c. 19.

Tac. Annal.

In vita Iulij; Agricola

Sueton. c. 3.

blood of men, ſo farre, and in ſo fierce a manner,

Iuvenal. Satyr. 3 *---Vt timeas ne*
Vomer deficiat, ne marræ & ſarcula deſint.
Well might yee doubt
Leaſt culters, mattockes, ſpades, yee ſoone ſhould be without.

The Authour of the laſt and moſt grievous *perſecution*, was *Diocleſian*, whoſe raging cruelty towards the *Chriſtians*, *Lactantius* ſets forth in liuely colours. *Lib. 5. c. 11.* *Nemo hujus tantæ belluæ immanitatem poteſt pro merito deſcribere, quæ vno loco recubans, tamen per totum orbem dentibus ferreis ſævit, & non tantum artus hominum diſſipat, ſed & oſſa ipſa comminuit, & in cineres furit, ne quis extet ſepulturæ locus. Quænam illa feritas, quæ rabies, quæ inſaniâ eſt, lucem vivis, terram mortuis denegaſſe?* No man can ſufficiently deſcribe the cruelty of this ſo vnreaſonable a beaſt, which lying in one place, yet rageth with his iron teeth thorow the world, and doth not only ſcatter the members, but breakes the bones of men; yea ſhewes his fury vpon their very aſhes, leaſt there ſhould be found any place for their buriall: what rage what madneſſe, what barbarous cruelty is this, to deny both the light to the living, and the earth to the dead? Where *Lactantius* ſeemes to allude to that fourth nameleſſe beaſt of *Daniell*, *Daniel. 7. 7.* which was *fearefull and terrible, and very ſtrong, it had great yron teeth, it devoured, and brake in peeces, and ſtamped the reſidue vnder his feete.* And though I haue inſtanced onely in theſe three, yet it is certaine, that the Authours and Inſtruments of theſe perſecutions were all of a diſpoſition much alike: Of whom the ſame *Lactantius* affirmes, that they haue borrowed the ſhapes of beaſts, and yet were more cruell then they, pleaſing themſelues in this, that they were borne men, and yet had they nothing but the outward figure and lineaments of men. For what *Lib. 5. c. 11.* *Caucaſus*, what *India*, what *Hircania*, ſayth he, ever bred or brought forth ſo cruell and bloody beaſts? the rage of other beaſts ceaſeth when their appetite is ſatisfied, and their hunger being ſlaked, they grow more mild & tame, but the rage of theſe never ceaſeth, their appetite is never ſatiated with blood; the truth whereof will eaſily appeare, if in the ſecond place wee do but caſt our eyes vpon the infinite multitude of innocent Chriſtians that every where ſuffered death, and for none other cauſe, but only the profeſſion of their religion.

SECT. 3

Secondly in regard of the incredible number of thoſe that ſuffered.

Sacr. Hiſtor. l. 2. *Omnis ferè ſacro Martyrum cruore orbis infectus eſt, neque vllis vnquam magis bellis exhauſtus eſt*, ſaith *Sulpitius*: well nigh the whole world is ſtayned with the blood of the Martyrs; neither was it ever in the like ſort emptied by any warres. And *Gregory* the *Great* al- *Homilia 27. in Evangelia.* moſt in the ſame words, *Totum mundum fratres aſpicite, Martyribus plenus eſt, jam penè tot qui videamus non ſumus, quot veritatis teſtes habemus: Deo ergo numerabiles, nobis ſuper arenam multiplicati ſunt, quia quanti ſunt à nobis comprehendi non poſſunt.* Brethren, looke abroad vpon the whole world,

it

it is filled with Martyrs, wee are hardly ſo many in number to behold them, as wee haue witneſſes of the truth, who haue ſealed it with their blood: In regard of God they are numerable, but in regard of vs they are multiplied aboue the ſand of the ſea ſhore, in as much as wee cannot comprehend their number. And happily thoſe latter words of *Gregorie* had reference to that of *Cyprian*, himſelfe a glorious *Martyr*, in his exhortation to *Martyrdome*. *Exuberante poſtmodum copia virtutis & fidei numerari non poſſunt Martyres Chriſtiani, teſte Apocalypſi & dicente, poſt hæc vidi*, &c. The ſtrength of courage and faith afterwards increaſing, the Chriſtian Martyrs could not be numbred, according to that teſtimony in the *Apocalyps*. *After theſe things I beheld, and loe a great multitude, which no man could number of all nations, & kinreds, and people, & tongues, ſtood before the Throne & before the Lambe, cloathed with long white robes, and palmes in their hands:* Wherevpon might be added, that other *Propheticall* paſſage of the ſame booke; *The winepreſſe was troden without the citty, and blood came out of the wine-preſſe vnto the horſe bridles by the ſpace of a thouſand and ſix hundred furlongs*. Which *Propheſie* we may well conceiue to haue beene accompliſhed to the full, when the very axes, and ſwords of the Executioners were blunted with executions, & themſelues were forced to giue over and ſit downe, being vtterly wearied therewith, when the day fayling, the bodies of the executed, were burnt in the night, to giue light to paſſengers; and thirty three *Romane* Biſhops ſucceſſiuely from S. *Peter* to *Sylveſter*, were all martyred; when hundreds, thouſands, yea ten or twenty thouſand were ſlaughtered at once: Laſtly, when by the teſtimony of S. *Hierome* in his *Epiſtle* to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, (if it be his) there was not a day in the yeare to which aboue fiue thouſand might not juſtly be aſſigned, the *Kalends* of *Ianuary* onely excepted.

Apocal. 7. 9.

Cap. 14 20.

Tac. Annal. 15. 10.

Funditur ater vbique cruor, crudelis vbique
Luctus, vbique Pavor & plurima mortis imago.

Lactantius. 5. 11

Piteous lamenting, dreadfull feare, and blood-ſhed every where,
And many a ghaſty ſhape of death did every where appeare.

CAP. 4.

Thirdly in regard of the various and diveliſh meanes and inſtruments which they deviſed, and practiſed for the execution or torture of the poore Chriſtians.

NOw though the *Romane cruelty* ſufficiently appeare in the malice of the principall perſecutors of the *Chriſtians*, and the infinite number of *Martyrs* that ſuffered, yet doubtleſſe the various and diueliſh meanes and *inſtruments*, which they deviſed and practiſed for their diſpatch or torture doth more evidently proue it. *Quæ autem per totum orbem ſinguli geſſerint, enarrare impoſſibile eſt? Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita tam varia genera crudelitatis?* ſayth *Lactantius*. Thoſe things which in this kinde thorow the world were every where acted, to recount were impoſſible. For what number of volumes can containe

Lib. 5. c. 11.

containe ſo infinite and diverſe kindes of cruelty? And againe, *dici non poteſt hujuſmodi judices quanta & quam gravia tormentorum genera excogitaverint, vt ad effectum propoſiti ſui pervenirent.* It cannot be expreſſed how many and how grievous kindes of torments thoſe Iudges diviſed, that they might obtaine the end of their purpoſe. And *Gregory* to like purpoſe, *Quæ pœnarum genera novimus quæ non tum vires Martyrum exercuiſſe gaudemus?* What kinde of puniſhment can wee conceiue which wee rejoyce not then to haue exerciſed the ſtrength of the Martyrs? They were burned in furnaces, they were put into veſſels of boyling oyle, they were pricked vnder the nales with ſharpe needles, their breaſts were ſeared, their eyes boored, their tongues cut out, they were roſted at a ſoft fire with vineger and ſalt powred vpon them, they were throwne headlong downe the mountaines & rockes vpon ſharpe ſtakes, their braines were beaten out with malles, their bodies were ſcraped with ſharpe ſhells and the talents of wild beaſts, they were fryed in iron chaires, and vpon grid-irons, their entrals were torne out and caſt before their faces, they were crucified with their heads downeward, they were hanged by the middles, by the haire, by the feete, their bones were broken with bats, they were torne aſunder with the boughs of trees, and drawne in pieces with wilde horſes, they were toſſed vpon buls hornes, and throwne to Libards and Lyons, they were covered vnder hogſ-meate, and ſo caſt to ſwine, they were ſtabbed with penknifes, they were dragged thorow the ſtreets, they were fleyd aliue, they were covered in the skins of wild beaſts and torne in peeces with dogges, as witneſſeth *Tacitus*, they were ſet to combate with wild beaſts, as witneſſeth the *Apoſtle* of himſelfe,

Moral. 31.12.

Annal. 15. 10.

1. Cor. 15. 32.

Non mihi ſi centum linguæ ſint, oraque centum
Ferrea vox, omnes ſcelerum comprêndere formas,
Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina poſſem.

Virg Æn. l. 6.

An hundred tongues, an hundred mouths, an yron voice had I,
I could not all thoſe torments name, nor villany diſcry.

SECT 5.

Of their extreame cruelty towards others, their very Religion leading them thereunto, as witneſſeth Lactantius.

AND leſt wee ſhould thinke that this cruelty of the *Romans* towards the *Iewes* and *Chriſtians* was onely in regard of their Religion, their owne Hiſtories informe vs of the like vpon *other Nations*, nay their owne very Religion was (it ſeemes) their ſtrongeſt motiue and greateſt inducement to cruelty: *Nec vllam aliam ad immortalitatem viam arbitrantur, quam exercitus ducere, aliena vaſtare, delere vrbes, oppida exſcindere, liberos populos aut trucidare, aut ſubijcere ſervituti*, ſayth *Lactantius*, They conceiue there is no other way to immortality but by leading Armies, laying waſt other mens Dominions, razing cities, ſacking townes, rooting out or bringing vnder the yoke of ſlauery freeborne people. *Si quis vnum hominem jugulaverit, pro contaminato & nefario*

Lib. 1 c. 18.

nefario habetur, nec ad terrenum hoc domicilium Deorum admitti eum fas putant, ille autem qui infinita hominum millia trucidaverit, cruore campos inundaverit, flumina infecerit, non modò in templum, ſed etiam in cælum admittitur, apud Ennium *ſic loquitur* Africanus

Si fas cædendo cæleſtia ſcandere cuiquam eſt,
Mi ſoli cæli maxima porta patet.

Scilicet quia magnam partem generis humani extinxit ac perdidit. O quantis in tenebris Africane *verſatus es, vel potius ô Poeta, qui per cædes & ſanguinem patere hominibus aſcenſum in cælum putaveris! Cui vanitati &* Cicero *aſſenſit; Eſt vero inquit* Africane, *nam &* Herculi *eadem ipſa porta patuit, tanquam ipſe planè cum id fieret, janitor fuerit in cælo. Equidem ſtatuere non poſſum dolendumne an ridendum putem, cum videam & graves & doctos, & (vt ſibi videntur) ſapientes viros in tam miſerandis errorũ fluctibus volutari. Si hæc eſt virtus quæ nos immortales facit, mori equidem malim quàm exitio eſſe quamplurimis.* If a man kill but one he is held for a villaine, neither is it thought fit to admit him to the houſes of the Gods here vpon earth, but he who murthers infinite thouſands, waters the fields, & dyes the rivers with blood, is not onely admitted into the Temple, but into Heaven; Thus in *Ennius* ſpeakes *Africanus*

If man by murdering may climbe Heaven, aſſuredly,
The wideſt gate of Heaven is open laid for me.

Forſooth, becauſe hee had extinguiſhed and made away a great part of mankinde. O with how great darkeneſſe art thou compaſſed *Africanus*, or rather thou Poet, who thoughteſt that by ſlaughter and blood an entrance was opened for men into Heaven! yet to this vanity even *Cicero* himſelfe aſſents; It is even ſo *Africanus*, ſayth hee, for the ſame gate was open vnto *Hercules*, as if himſelfe had then beene a Porter in Heaven when that was done. Truly I cannot well determine whether I ſhould rather grieue or laugh when I ſee graue and learned, and (as to themſelues it ſeemes) wiſe men, ſo miſerably toſſed vp and downe in the waues of Errour: if this be the vertue which makes vs immortall, for mine owne part I profeſſe I had rather die, then be the death of ſo many. Yet had his doctrine (as it ſeemes) generally taken ſuch deepe roote in the mindes of the *Romans*, that hee who ſhed moſt blood was held the worthieſt and the holieſt man, that is moſt like the *Gods*, and fitteſt for their habitation, which is the chiefe reaſon, as I conceiue, that we reade of ſuch wonderfull ſlaughters committed by them, even to the aſtoniſhment of ſuch as haue beene acquainted but with the principles of *Chriſtian Religion*. Within the ſpace of ſeaventeene yeares, their warres onely in *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *Sicily* conſumed aboue fifteene hundred thouſand men, *Quæſivi enim curioſè*, ſaith *Lypſius*, I haue diligently ſearched into it. One *Caius Cæſar, ô peſtem, perniciemque generis humani!* O plague and miſchiefe of mankinde! profeſſeth of himſelfe, and boaſteth in it, that he had ſlaine in the wars eleven hundred ninety two thouſand; yet ſo as the ſlaughter of his Civill warres came not into that account, but onely during his command a few yeares in *Spaine* and *France*. *Quintus Fabius*, ſlew of the *French* one hundred & ten thouſand. *Caius Marius* of the *Cimbri* two hundred thouſand. *Ætius* one hundred

De Conſt. l. 2. c. 21.

dred sixty two thousand of the *Hunnes*. *Polybius* writeth that *Scipio* at the taking of *Carthage* gaue charge that all should be put to the sword without sparing any; And then addes, that this was a common fashion of the *Romans*, *Videntur enim*, sayth hee, *terroris gratia hoc illi facere, itaque frequenter videre est quando Romani civitates capiunt, non homines modo occidi, sed canes etiam dissecari, & aliorum animalium membra truncari*. It seemes they did it to terrifie others, and therefore it hath beene often seene that the *Romanes* vpon the taking of a City, not onely slew the men, but also cut in sunder the dogs, and mangled other liuing Creatures. *Servius Galba* at his being in *Spaine* having assembled the Inhabitants of three cities vnder a pretence of consulting with them about their welfare, on a sudden slew seaven thousand of them, among whom were the very flower of their youth. Likewise *Licinius Lucullus* Consull in the same countrey, put to the sword twenty thousand of the *Caucai* by the hāds of his souldiers sent into the city against the expresse covenants of their rendring. *Octavianus Augustus* having taken *Perusia*, sacrificed three hundred of the principall Townsmen, which yeelded themselues (as it had beene beasts) before an Altar erected to *Divus Iulius*. *Antoninus Caracalla* being incensed against the citizens of *Alexandria* for some petty jeasts broken vpon him, entring into the Citty in a peaceable manner, & calling before him all their youth, he surrounded them with armed men, who at the signe giuen, fell instantly vpon them, and slew every mothers son of them, & then vsing the like cruelty vpon the residue of the Inhabitants, he vtterly emptied a spacious and populous city. *Volesus Messalla* Proconsull of *Asia*, tooke off with the axe the heads of three hundred in one day, and then walking in and out among the dead bodies with his hands behind him, as if hee had performed some nobe act, hee cryes out, *ô rem verè regiam!* an exploit worthy a Prince! But me thinkes that of *Sulpitius Galba* exceedes them all, who entring into *Portugall* in an hostile manner laid waste the country, the Inhabitants wondering thereat, and not knowing the reason, neither being guilty to themselues of any offence, they send Ambassadours to renew their former league, he entertaineth them and seemes to take pitty on them that they were thus afflicted, but it may be, sayth hee, it was your wants that caused you to make some spoyles and shew of warre, I will remedy the matter, I will range you into three parts, and will seat you in a good and fat soile where you may lead the rest of your life more happily and securely: Come with your wiues and children into such a valley, and there will I assigne you your portions. They miserable people come on joyfully, being ranged into three bands; to the first of which when he came he bids them lay aside their weapons, as being now friends and fellowes, which being layd aside, he sets his souldiers vpon them, and kills them all vpon the place, in vaine calling vpon the *Gods*, and his faith giuen them. The same course he tooke with the second and third band, before the report of the first bloody act could come vnto them.

Valerius l. 9. c. 6. Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. 9.

Appianus in Ibericit.

Suetonius.

Xiphilinus & Herodianus.

Senec. de Ira l. 2. c. 5.

Lipsij admiranda l. 4. c. 6.

Neither did their cruelty extend onely to *men*, but to *townes* & *cities*. *Sempronius Gracchus*, if we may credit *Polybius*, razing and laying waste three

three hundred townes in *Spaine. Nec habet omne ævum opinor quod adſtruat his exemplis præter noſtrum, ſed in orbe alio*, ſaith *Lypſius*. I ſuppoſe no age can afford examples matchable to theſe, except ours, but that in another World; where he inſtances in the *Spaniſh* cruelties vpon the naked *Indians*. It is true indeed that *Theodoſius* a *Chriſtian Emperour* for ſmall matter in compariſon, cauſed ſeaven thouſand Innocents of *Theſſalonica* being called together into the *Theater*, as for the beholding of ſome playes, to be ſlaine by ſouldiers vpon the place, and though hee might well for the preſent purpoſe be numbred among the ancient *Romane* Emperours, yet as a *Chriſtian* I rather choſe to excuſe him, and that juſtly, in as much as being admoniſhed by S. *Ambroſe* hee heartily repented of that bloody fact: and therevpon at the inſtance of that worthy *Prelate* made a Law that from thenceforh thirty daies ſhould paſſe betwixt the ſentence of death and the execution thereof, in as much as the guilty, though ſpared for a time, might notwithſtanding afterwards be executed. But the guiltleſſe being once executed, could never againe be reſtored.

Paul. Diac. hiſt. miſc. l. 13 c. 4.

SECT 6.

Of their cruelty one towards another by the teſtimony of Tacitus *and* Seneca, *and firſt in their civill warres.*

NOw that which yet much more agravates the *Romane* cruelty is this, that they were not onely thus hard-harted towards ſtrangers, but *without naturall affection, implacable, mercileſſe*, one towards another, as appeareth partly in their *factions* and *civill warres*, partly in the *tyranny of their Emperours* & *inferiour Governours*, & partly in their *bloody games* and *paſtimes*. What a miſerable complaint is that which is made by *Tacitus*? *Legimus cum Aruleno Ruſtico Petus Thraſea, Herennio Seneſioni Priſcus Helvidius laudati eſſent, capitale fuiſſe, nec in ipſos modo Authores, ſed in libros eorum ſævitum, delegato Triumviris miniſterio vt monumenta clariſſimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro vrerentur, ſcilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, & libertatem Senatus, & conſcientiam generis humani abolere arbitrabantur. Expulſis inſuper ſapientiæ profeſſoribus, & omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid vſquam honeſtum occurreret. Dedimus profectò grande patientiæ documentum, & ſicut vetus Reſpub: videt quid vltimum in libertate eſſet, ita nos quid in ſervitute: adempto per inquiſitiones etiam loquendi, audiendique commercio, memoriam quoque ipſam cum voce perdidiſſimus, ſi tam in poteſtate noſtra eſſet obliviſci quàm tacere.* Wee read that when *Petus Thraſia* was praiſed by *Arulenus Ruſticus*, and *Priſcus Helvidius* by *Herennius Seneſio*, it was made a capitall crime, neither did their rage extend onely to the Authours, but to their bookes. Command being given from the *Triumviri*, that the monuments of thoſe rare wits ſhould be burnt in the pleading and market places. Forſooth in that flame they made account at one blaze to extinguiſh the voyce of the people of *Rome*, and the liberty of the Senate, and the conſcience of mankinde. Beſides the Profeſſours of wiſedome and all ingenuous

Rom. 1. 30.

nuous Arts were baniſhed, that nothing carrying the face of honeſty might any where appeare. Then did we ſhew a ſingular example of Patience, and as former ages ſaw the vtmoſt of liberty, ſo we of ſervitude. Moreover the mutuall commerce of ſpeaking and hearing being by inquiſition abridged, wee had ſurely loſt our memory together with our voice, had it beene as well in our power to forget, as to be ſilent. Yet more pittifull is that ſad complaint of *Seneca* touching his time: *Adeo in publicum miſſa nequitia eſt, & in omnium pectoribus evaluit, vt innocentia non rara ſed nulla ſit. Numquid enim ſinguli, aut pauci rupêre fidem? vndique velut ſigno dato ad faſque nefaſque miſcendum coorti ſunt.*

De Ira. l. 2. c. 8.

--Non hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus,
Non ſocer à genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara eſt:
Lurida terribiles miſcent aconita Novercæ,
Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti,
Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.

Sed quota pars iſta ſcelerum eſt? Wickedneſſe is become ſo common, and hath taken in all breaſts ſuch deepe rooting, that innocencie is not onely rare, but no where to be found: Neither haue ſingle perſons, or ſome few onely tranſgreſſed the Law, but as it were at the giuing of a ſigne men are on all ſides every where riſen vp to the blending, and confounding of right and wrong.

--The hoſt his gueſt betrayes,
Sonnes father in lawes, twixt brethren loue decayes,
Wiues husbands, husbands wiues attempt to kill,
And cruell ſtep mothers pale poyſons fill,
The ſon his fathers haſty death deſires.

And yet how ſmall a part is this of the preſent villanies?

But the *Civill warres* was it which chiefely diſcovered the bloody & vindictiue diſpoſition of this *Nation*. Before which, as teſtifieth Saint *Auguſtine*, their dogges, their horſes, their aſſes, their oxen, and all ſuch beaſts as liued vnder the ſervice and for the vſe of men, of tame became ſo wild, that they forſooke their manſions and maſters, & got them into mountaines and woods, not without the danger of ſuch as offered to reduce them to their former condition. And ſurely this wildneſſe of the beaſts ſerved as a fore-runner of that fierceneſſe and inhumanity which afterwards appeared in their Maſters. The ſedition of the *Gracchi* being appeaſed, *Lucius Opimius* Conſull executed 3000 as being guilty of that conſpiracie by judiciall proceſſe, *ex quo intelligi debet*, ſaith *Auguſtine*, *quantam multitudinem mortuorum habere potuerit turbidus conflictus armorum, quando tantam habuit judiciorum velut examinata cognitio.* From whence we may probably gather that multitudes died in the confuſed conflict of Armies, ſince ſo great a number was made away by a legall tryall. But *Sylla* was hee, who vnder pretence of chaſtiſing the outrages of *Marius*, filled the citty with blood. *Illo bello Mariano atque Syllano, exceptis his qui foris in Aſia ceciderunt, in ipſa quoque vrbe cadaveribus vici plateæ, fora, theatra, templa completa ſunt, vt difficilè judicaretur quando victores plus funerum ediderunt, vtrum prius vt vincerent, an poſtea quia vicerant.* In the warres of *Marius* and *Sylla*, beſides thoſe which were

De Civ. Dei l. 3. c. 23.

Cap. 24.

Cap. 27.

ſlaine

ſlaine in the fields abroad, in the city it ſelfe their ſtreets, their market places, their theaters, their temples were all ſtrewed ouer with carcaſes, ſo as it was hard to judge when the Conquerours ſlaughtered more, either firſt that they might conquer, or afterwards hauing conquered. *Sylla* alone *quem neq; laudare, neq; vituperare quiſquam ſatis digne poteſt, quia dum quærit victorias Scipionem ſe populo Romano, dum exercet, Hannibalem repræſentavit*, whom no man can ſufficiently either commend, or diſpraiſe, for that in purſuing his victories hee ſhewed himſelfe as another *Scipio* to the *Romane* ſtate, in making vſe of them another *Hannibal*: hee alone I ſay, by his infamous proſcription, bereaved the city of foure thouſand & ſeaven hundred Citizens, whoſe names he commanded to be regiſtred in the publique Records, *videlicet ne memoria tam præclaræ rei diſueretur*, forſooth leſt the memory of ſo notable a fact ſhould be extinguiſhed, neither were they of the baſer ranke of the people, there being among them no leſſe then one hundred & forty Senatours, beſides infinite ſlaughters committed either by his command or permiſſion, neither did he thus rage againſt thoſe onely who bore Armes againſt him, but to the number of the proſcribed he added the moſt peaceable citizens if they were rich, he alſo drew out his ſword againſt women, as not being ſatisfied with the ſlaughter of men; *Id quoque inexplebilis feritatis indicium eſt*, ſaith *Valerius*, that was likewiſe a ſigne of moſt vnſatiable cruelty, that hee commanded the heads of ſuch as he had ſlaughtered to be cut off & brought into his preſence, though retaining neither life nor viſage, *vt oculis illa, quæ ore nefas erat manderet*, that he might feed vpon them with his eyes, becauſe with his mouth he could not: the eies of *Marius* he plucked out before he depriued him of life, & then brake in peeces all the parts of his body: & *Marcus Pletorius*, becauſe he fell into a ſound at the ſight of that execution, he cõmanded preſently to be ſlain vpon the place, *novus punitor miſericordiæ, apud quem iniquo animo ſcelus intueri, ſcelus admittere fuit*, a rare puniſher of mercy, with whom vnwillingly to behold a wicked act, was to commit wickedneſſe; but perchance though he thus tyrannized vpon the liuing, he ſpared the dead? no ſuch matter, for digging vp the aſhes of *C. Marius*, who was ſometime *Queſtor*, though afterward his enemy, hee threw them into the river *Anien*, *En quibus actis fœlicitatis nomen ſibi aſſerendum putavit!* behold with what goodly acts he purchaſed to himſelfe the name of happines! *vix mihi veriſimilia narrare videor*, I ſcarce ſeeme to my ſelfe to report likelyhoods, ſaith *Valerius*: And S. *Auguſtine* tells vs, that ſome counſelled him, *ſinendos eſſe aliquos vivere, vt eſſent quibus poſſit imperare*: that he ſhould doe well to ſuffer ſome to liue, leſt there ſhould be none whom hee might command. And from *Quintus Catulus* he deſervedly wreſted that bitter ſpeech, *Cum quibus tandem victuri ſumus, ſi in bello armatos, in pace inermes occidimus?* with what forces are we likely to vanquiſh our owne enemies, if wee thus kill our owne men both armed in warre and vnarmed in peace? And from *Lucan* it drew thoſe excellent verſes,

Valerius lib. 9. cap. 2.

Aug. de Civit. Dei lib. 3. c. 28.

Lib. 2.

Sylla quoq; immenſis acceſſit cladibus vltor,
Ille quod exiguum reſtabat ſanguinis vrbi

Hauſit, dumq; nimis jam putrida membra recidit,
Exceſſit medicina modum, nimiumq; ſecuta eſt
Quâ morbi duxêre manus.

After theſe barb'rous butcheries revengefull *Sylla* came,
The little bloud that yet remain'd in Rome he ſpilt the ſame,
And whilſt he off the rotten parts doth cut, the remedie
Due meaſure too much doth exceed, his hands the maladie
Purſue too farre.

Valerius l. 9. And that herein he delivered no more then truth, or rather indeede came ſhort of it, may ſufficiently appeare by this one bloody act; *Sylla* hauing vpon his credit received to favour *foure Legions* (which make vp twenty foure thouſand) of the adverſe part; he cauſed them notwithſtanding in publique to be cut in peeces, calling in vaine for mercy at his treacherous hand. And when the Senate hearing their groanes and ſcritches ſtood amazed at it; the ſatisfaction he giues them, was none other then this. *Hoc agamus Patres-Conſcripti, pauculi ſeditioſi juſſu meo puniuntur*: My Lords let's to the buſineſſe, as for the tumult you heare, it is only a few mutinous ſouldiers are puniſhed at my command. Vpon which *Lypſius* giues this juſt cenſure: *Neſcio quid magis hîc mirer, hominem id facere potuiſſe an dicere*: I know not whether of the two I ſhould more wonder at, that a man could either ſo doe, or ſo ſpeake. Yet me ſeemes we neede not much wonder at it, ſince the Senatours themſelues were drawne out of the Senate houſe, as it had beene a priſon to execution. Nay *Mutius Scevola*, being both a *Prieſt* & a *Senatour*, was ſlaine, imbracing the very Altar in the temple of *Veſta*, then which nothing among the *Romans* was held more ſacred, and was like to haue quenched with his blood that fire, which was alwayes kept burning by the care of *Virgins*: *Quæ rabies exterarum gentium, quæ ſævitia barbarorum, huic de civibus victoriæ civium comparari poteſt?* ſaith S. *Auguſtine*: What rage of forraine nations, what cruelty of barbarians was euer comparable to this victory of fellow citizens vpon each other? Yet was the fire of theſe broyles ſcarce quenched before the flame burſt out afreſh in the civill warres, betwixt *Sertorius* & *Catiline*, *Lepidus* and *Catulus*, *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; of which *Lucan*.

De Civit. Dei l. 3. c. 29.

Lib. 1.

--Alta ſedent civilis vulnera dextræ:
Heu quantum terræ potuit pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles hauſerunt ſanguine dextræ?

Deepe ſticke the wounds which civill armes haue made:
What lands, what ſeas might haue beene purchaſed,
Even with that blood which civill warres haue ſhed?

And againe, *--Deſuntq; manus poſcentibus arvis:*
They wanted hands
For tillage of their lands.

And in another place,

---Generis quo turba reducta eſt
Humani?

Hard it was to finde
What was become of mankinde.

Yet

Yet after all this, againe vpon the death of *Cæsar* in the *Senate*, the *Triũviri*, *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, vnder pretence of revenging his death & reforming the state, like the true schollers of *Sylla*, ordained the like *proscription* as he had done, proscribing at once the heads of three hundred *Senatours*, and two thousand *Romane Knights*: Reade *Appian*, & in him a most liuely description of the *incredible cruelty* of those times, some making themselues away, some flying, some hiding themselues in wells and draughts, seruants, & wiues, & children, hanging and howling about their masters, and husbands, and parents, but not able to helpe them: *Heu scelera, quibus nihil acerbius Sol ille vidit visuruſque est ab ortu omni ad occasum! peream ego nisi humanitatem ipsam perijsse dicas fero & ferino illo ævo*, they be the words of *Lypsius* the great patron of the *Romane vertues*. O horrible cruelty, then which the Sunne neuer saw or shall see any thing more greivous from the rising to the fall thereof! Let me not liue, if you would not beleeue that humanity it selfe was vterly lost out of the world, in that bloudy and barbarous age.

De bellis civilibus lib. 4.

De Constantia l. 2. c. 24.

SECT. 7.

Secondly, of the cruelty of their Emperours towards their subiects, their Captaines towards their souldiers, their Masters towards their slaues, and generally of their whole nation.

YEt within a while after *pax cum bello de crudelitate certabat & vicit*, peace contended with warre which should be more cruell and ouercame: I will instance only in *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, the third and fourth *Emperours*, and content my selfe only with a part of *Suetonius* his testimony concerning their monstrous cruelties. Touching the first, *specie gravitatis & morum corrigendorum, sed & magis naturæ obtemperans*, saith he: Vnder a colour of gravity & reformation, but in truth by a powerfull inclination in his nature he did many such outragious acts, as it gaue occasion among others to the casting out of these verses on him.

August.

Suet. in Tibet. c. 59.

Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit iste cruorem,
Tam bibit hunc avidè quàm bibit antè merum.

He loatheth wine, & now he after blood doth thirst,
Drinks this as greedily as wine he dranke at first.

Nullus à pœna hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer; no day was priviledged from executions, no not the most solemne holy dayes. Because *Virgins* by a received custome were not to be strangled; he caused the hang-man first to deflowre a *Virgine*, & then to strangle her. He thought death so light a punishment, that when he heard *Carnulius* had by death prevented his tortures, he cryed out, *Carnulius me evasit*, *Carnulius* hath escaped me. His thoughts were so intent vpon nothing else but horrible execution, that hauing by familiar letters invited a Cittizen of *Rhodes* to come to him to *Rome*, and being informed of his comming, he commanded him instantly to be put to the racke, and his errour being discouered, to be put to death, least it should be divulged.

Cap. 61.

Cap. 62.

Hauing cauſed men to be drawne on to fill themſelues with wine, hee would ſuddainely command their priuy parts to be faſt bound with lute-ſtrings, that ſo for want of meanes for avoyding their vrine, they might indure miſerable torments.

Suet. Calig. c. 27. *Caligula*, a man of much like temper, ſucceeded him in the *Empire*, but in *cruelty* farre exceeded him. Many of honourable ranke being firſt branded with infamous markes, he condemned to the mines, or the beaſts, or ſhut them vp like beaſts in cages, or ſawed them aſunder in the middeſt. And that not for great matters, but either becauſe they had no good opinion of his *ſhewes*, or had not ſworne by his *Genius*: He forced fathers to be preſent at the execution of their ſons, and to one, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his ſicknes, he ſent his litter for him, inviting him to mirth and jollity. Hauing recalled one home, who in his Predeceſſours dayes was ſent into baniſhment, he asked him how hee

Cap. 28. ſpent the time while he was abroad, who anſwered by way of complement, that he inceſſantly prayed for the ſpeedy death of *Tiberius*, & his ſucceſſion to the Empire: wherevpon, conceving that his baniſhed men prayed likewiſe for his death; he preſently diſpatched away meſſengers to the Ilands where they liued in exile, commanding them all to be put to the ſword. When he deſired that a Senatour ſhould be torne in peeces; he hired one, who entring into the Senate houſe, ſhould aſſault him as an enemy to the ſtate, and ſtabbing him with ſtillettoes, ſhould leaue him to be torne by others. *Neque ante ſatiatus eſt quam membra, & artus, & viſcera hominis tracta per vicos, atque ante ſe congeſta vidiſſet:* Neither was he ſatiated before with his eyes he beheld the members & bowels of the man dragged thorow the ſtreets, and caſt before him. Hee

Cap. 30. did not commonly execute any, but with many & ſoft ſtrokes: his command being now generall and commonly knowne, *Ita feri vt ſe mori ſentiat*, ſo ſtricke him that he may feele himſelfe to die; Being offended with the multitude for croſſing his deſires, he was heard to ſay, *Vtinam*

Cap. 31. *populus Romanus vnam cervicem haberet*, I could wiſh the people of Rome but one necke; meaning to chop them off at one blowe. He was wont openly to complaine of the vnhappy condition of his times, that they were not made famous by any publique calamity: That *Auguſtus* his government was memorable by the *ſlaughter* at *Varia*; & that of *Tiberius* by the fall of the ſcaffolds at *Fidenæ*: but his was like to be buried in oblivion, by the calme and proſperous current of all things. And there-

Cap. 32. vpō would he often wiſh, for the overthrow of his armies, famine, peſtilence, fire, earth-quakes, & the like; & when he was ſporting or feaſting himſelfe, he abated nothing of his inbred & wonted cruelty, but ſhewed the ſame fierceneſſe both in his words & deedes: Many times while he was dyning were ſome examined vpon the racke in his preſence, and other had their heads ſtricken off. At *Putzoll* at the dedication of a bridge, hauing invited many vnto him from the ſhore, on the ſuddaine he giues order for the tumbling of them down headlong into the ſea, & ſuch as tooke hold of any thing to ſaue their liues, he cauſes to be beatē off with poles & oares. Being one day very free at a great feaſt, he ſuddainely brake forth into a great ſlaughter: And the *Conſuls*, who were

next

next him, demanding the reaſon thereof, his anſwere was, *Quid? niſi vno meo nutu jugulari vtrumq; veſtrûm ſtatim poſſe*, nothing but this, that at a becke from me, both your throates may preſently be cut. In the middeſt of his jeaſts, when ſtanding neere the ſtatue of *Iupiter*, he demanded *Apelles* the *Tragedian*, which of the two, himſelfe or *Iupiter* ſeemed the greater; *Apelles* making a pauſe, he commands him to be ſliced in peeces with rods, now and then commending his voyce calling for mercy, as being ſweetely tunable in the very groaning. As oft as he kiſſed the necke of his wife or miſtreſſe, he would commonly adde, *tam bona cervix ſimul ac juſſero demetur*, ſo faire a necke may be taken off the ſhoulders whē I liſt: And ſometimes he boaſtingly threatned, that he would wreſt it out of the heart of *Cæſonia* his darling with the racke, why he ſo affectionately loued her, ſo as it might truly be ſaid of him, that he was indeed none other then *lutum ſanguine maceratū*, a lump of clay ſoked in blood, and of his time might juſtly be verified, what *Seneca* in his *preface* to his fourth booke of *naturall queſtions* ſpeakes of *Caius*, *ſciebam olim ſub illo in eum ſtatū res humanas decidiſſe, vt inter miſericordiæ opera haberetur occidi*: vnder him things were brought to that paſſe, as it was reckoned amōgſt the workes of mercy to be ſlaine. c. 33.

Neither was this the diſpoſition only of their *Emperours*, but of their inferiour governours & officers, happily by imitatiō of their *Emperours*: in *maſters* towards their ſlaues, in *Generals* towards their ſouldiers, and generally the whole *multitude* one towards another. *Vedius Pollio* was wont vpon euery light occaſion, as ſometimes for the breaking of a glaſſe or ſome ſuch trifle, to caſt his ſlaues into his pond of Lampres, to be devoured by them: *Vt in viſceribus earum aliquid de ſervorum ſuorum corporibus & ipſe guſtaret*, ſaith *Tertullian*; that the entralls of his Lampres might reliſh ſomewhat of the fleſh of his ſlaues: But *Pliny* giues this cenſure vpon it: *Invenit in hoc animali documenta ſævitiæ, non tanquam ad hoc feris terrarum non ſufficientibus, ſed quia in alio genere totum pariter hominem diſtrahi ſpectare non poterat.* He found out in this fiſh a new kinde of cruelty, not but that the wilde beaſts of the earth were ſufficient to effect the ſame, but becauſe he could in none other kinde behold the whole man to be torne in peeces. Not much inferiour to this, was the rigorous cruelty of their *Generals* towards the ſouldiers, masked vnder the vizar of ſtrict diſcipline. It is in this kinde a memorable example, that *Seneca* relates of *Piſo*, who finding a ſouldier to returne from forraging without his companion, as if he had ſlaine him whom he brought not backe with him, condemned him to death; his execution being in readines, and he ſtretching forth his necke to receiue the ſtroke of the axe, behold in the very inſtant his companion appeares in the place; wherevpon the Centurion, who had the charge of the Execution, commands the Executioner to ſheath his ſword, and carries backe the condemned ſouldier to *Piſo*, together with his companion, thereby to manifeſt his innocency, and the whole army waited on them with ioyfull acclamations: But *Piſo* in a rage gets him vp to the *Tribunall*, and condemnes both the ſouldiers, the one for returning without his companion, & the other for not returning with

Tertullian. de Pallio c. 5.

Lib. 9. c. 23.

De Ira, l. 1 c. 16.

him; and herevnto addes the condemnation of the *Centurion* for ſtaying the execution without warrant, which was giuen him in charge, & thus *conſtituti ſunt in eodem loco perituri tres ab vnius innocentiam*: Three were condemned to die for the innocency of one. In more ancient times, three of the *Albanes* named *Curiatij*, combatting with three of the *Horatij Romans* for the Empire, by conſent of both their ſtates, two of the *Romans* were vanquiſhed by the three *Albanes*, and the three *Albanes* againe by one of the *Romans*, whoſe ſiſter hauing married one of the *Albanes*, becauſe ſhe wept to ſee her brother weare the ſpoiles of her husband, ſhe was inſtantly diſpatched by him. *Humanior huius vnius fœminæ quam vniverſi populi Romani mihi videtur fuiſſe affectus*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*; the diſpoſition of this one woman ſeemeth to me more humane then that of the whole body of the people of *Rome*. Herevnto may be added that bloody ſpeech, caſt forth by the daughter of *Appius Cœcus*, who being crowded by the multitude, as ſhe came from ſeeing ſome publique ſhew, *Vtinam, inquit, reviviſcat frater, aliamque claſſem in Siciliam ducat, atq; iſtam multitudinem perditum eat, quæ me malè nunc miſeram convexavit:* I wiſh, ſaith ſhe, my brother were aliue againe, that he might conduct another fleete againſt *Sicilie*, and ſo make away this multitude which thus troubles me: Now her brother *Publius Claudius* lately before had loſt many thouſands of the *Romanes* in an expedition by ſea againſt the *Sicilians*, and with them his owne life.

Seneca Ibid.

Liv. l. 1.

De Civit. Dei l. 3. c. 14.

Gellius l. 10. c. 6.

SECT. 8.

Thirdly, of their cruelty one towards another in their ſword-fights: In which firſt is conſidered the originall and increaſe of theſe games, as well in regard of their frequencie, as both the number and quality of the fighters.

AND no maruell this ſpeech ſhould fall from her comming from a publique ſhew, in as much as the *whole body of this people* made the effuſion of humane blood, and the ſlaughtering of men their *common ſport* and paſtime. Some they caſt to beaſts, ſome they ſet to fight with beaſts, ſome to fight with one another. Theſe they called *Gladiatores*, ſword-players; & this ſpectacle, *munus gladiatorium*, a ſword-fight; in which, their skill in defence was not ſo much regarded or praiſed, as the vndaunted giuing or receiving of wounds, and life vnfearefully parted with: neither mattered it who had the hap to ſurviue, he being reſerued but for another dayes ſlaughter. And here I ſhall craue pardon, if I deſcend a little to particulars, and inſiſt ſomewhat largely vpon ſome of them; The matter in it ſelfe ſeemes to require it, being no doubt very ſtrange to ſuch as are not acquainted with the *Romane* hiſtory, ſo ſtrange, that in a people ſo renowned for their morall vertues, it might happily ſeeme incredible, but that I make it good by the teſtimony of graue *Authours*, and which is more, their owne: The teſtimony of any man againſt himſelfe being in reputation of law, of ſufficient

ficient validity, without either legall exception, or juſt ſuſpition. If the *Apoſtle* judged the teſtimony of *Epimenides* the *Poet*, forcible againſt his owne countrey-men the *Cretians*, why ſhould not wee judge the teſtimony of the moſt approved *Romane Hiſtoriographers*, *Poets* and *Oratours* weighty enough, being alleadged againſt the *Romane Nation?* Firſt then, I will conſider the *cruelty of the act* it ſelfe, together with ſome aggravating circumſtances. Secondly, the *cruell diſpoſition of the people*, in entertaining it with that heat and fervencie of affection, as is wonderfull. Thirdly, that the *Chriſtian Religion* was it which firſt cryed out againſt it by the pennes of her *Divines*, and then cryed it downe by the edicts of her *Emperours*. *Titus.* 1. 12.

The beginning of theſe kinde of ſhewes originally ſprang from a ſuperſtitious conceite, (ſuggeſted no doubt by the common enemy of mankinde) of ſacrificing with the blood of men, for the *Manes or Ghoſts* of their deceaſed parents or neere friends. *Iunius Brutus* was the firſt we reade of that began it in honour of his fathers funeralls, about 500 yeares after the *Cities* foundation. He exhibited to this purpoſe in the market place, 22 paires of *ſword-players*: *Hoc ſcilicet erat expiare manes patris, vel potiùs placere diabolum*, ſaith *Peter Martyr*: This forſooth was to appeaſe his fathers *Manes*, or rather to pleaſe the Devill. After this, they grew ſo common, that men by their teſtaments appointed them at their *funeralls*. Some there are, ſaith *Seneca*, who vndertake to diſpoſe of matters, euen beyond the tearme of their liues, taking order for ſtately monuments, pompous funeralls, *& adrogum munera*, and at the end of their funeralls, the exhibiting of *ſword-fights*. And whereas it was in vſe onely at the funeralls of great men, within a while private men tooke it vp, *privatorum memoryis Legatariæ editiones parentant*, ſaith *Turtullian* in ſomewhat an harſh *African* phraſe I confeſſe, but doubtleſſe his meaning is, that euen private men by legacies in their laſt wils, provided for theſe *ſword-fights*, which by the *Romans* were called *Editiones*. Neither was this vſed at the funeralls of *men* only, but of *women* too. *Iulius Cæſar* exhibiting it at the death and for the honour of his daughter, which none euer did before him: and ſo from a ſmall brooke, it increaſed to a great and mighty ſea, and from matter of *Religion*, became a matter meerely of *honour* in thoſe that gaue it, and of *pleaſure* in thoſe that beheld it. *Tranſijt hoc genus Editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium*: Theſe ſhewes paſſed from the honour of the dead to the honour of the liuing: The *Ædiles*, the *Pretors*, the *Quæſtors*, the *Conſuls*, the *Prieſts*, the *Emperours* exhibited them at their birth dayes, at the dedication of publique works, & at triumphes: and by degrees they came to *ſet ſolemne dayes*, which they held as feſtivall, and at the laſt, not the *Magiſtrates* alone, but private men exhibited them at all times, without difference of perſons or dayes. *Iuvenall* ſpeaking of ſome, that of baſe fellowes were become rich, addes *Florus.* *De Spectac.* *Suetonius, c.* 26. *Tertullian.*

Munera nunc edunt & verſo pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occidunt populariter. *Satyr.* 3.

Sword-players they doe beſtow, and when they turne the thumbe
They murther whom they liſt.

And *Martiall* tells vs of a *Cobler* that exhibited them,

Das gladiatores ſutorum regule Cerdo,
Quodque tibi tribuit Subila, ſica rapit.

Braue king of Coblers, thou ſword-players doſt maintaine;
And what thine awle doth get, the ſword ſoone ſpends againe.

The number of *ſword-players* thus exhibited, grew in the end to a *multitude incredible*. *Cæſar* in his *Edile-ſhippe* exhibited three hundred and twenty paire. *Gordianus* ſometimes 500, and never leſſe then an hundred every moneth. *Traian* by the ſpace of 123 dayes without intermiſſion tenne thouſand, but that of *Nero* exceedes all, and almoſt beleife it ſelfe: *Exhibuit ad ferrum quadringentos Senatores, ſexcentoſque Equites Romanos:* Hee brought forth to the ſword-fight foure hundred Senatours, and ſix hundred Romane Knights. So that in regard of that exceſſiue number thus wilfully caſt away thorow the *Romane* Empire, we may juſtly complaine with *Lypſius*: *Non temerè à funere ortares, quæ revera funus & peſtis orbis terræ, credo, imò ſcio, nullum bellum tantam cladem vaſtitiemque generi humano intuliſſe, quàm hos ad voluptatem ludos: numerum cum animis veſtris recenſete dierum quos dixi hominumque, mentior, ſi non vnus aliquis menſis Europæ ſtetit vicenis capitum millibus, aut tricenis:* It ſeemes vpon good reaſon to borrow it's originall from Funeralls, it being in truth the very funerall and plague of the World, I thinke, nay I know that no warre ever made ſuch havocke of mankinde as thoſe games of pleaſure: Doe but count the number of dayes and men which I named, and let me not be credited, if one moneth ſometimes did not coſt *Europe* twenty thouſand or thirty thouſand heads. Yet was the expence infinite which theſe bloudy games coſt the maſters of them in hiring, in dyeting, in diſciplining, in arming, in bringing forth their *ſword-players*, in preparing the *Theater* and the like: And in this regard, as for ſome noble & meritorious act, they had titles and honours beſtowed vpon them, and pillars with inſcriptions erected to them, and during their ſhewes they had the power of publique *Magiſtrates:* And though thoſe whom they exhibited in theſe games at firſt were ſlaues onely or captiues, over whom they had *jus vitæ & necis*, power of life and death; yet afterwards they drew into the ſand freemen, *Knights*, *Senatours*, yea Hiſtories not onely affirme, that *Commodus* the *Emperour* did himſelfe play the *Gladiator* in perſon, but his Statue in that faſhion ſtarke naked with his naked ſword in his hand is yet to be ſeene at *Rome* in the palace of the *Farneſi*. But that which paſſeth all bounds of humanity, moderation and modeſty is, that *Domitian* exhibited women in theſe ſword-fights, of which *Statius*,

Suetonius, c. 12.

Sermon. Satur. 1.12.

In Sylvis.

Stat ſexus rudis inſciuſque ferri,
Et pugnas capit improbus viriles,
Credas ad Tanaim ferumque Phaſin
Thermodontiacas calere turmas.

Th'vnskilfull ſexe not fit for broyles,
In bloudy fights too manlike toyles:
You at Tanais would haue thought
Or Phaſis, Amazons had fought.

SECT. 9.

SECT. 9.

Secondly, for the fervent and eager affection of the people to theſe games, as alſo that they were in vſe in the Provinces, namely among the Iewes, but refuſed by the Grecians, and why.

NOw the *affection of the people* to theſe *bloody games* was ſuch, that at the death of a great man they would call for them as due, and mutine if they had them not. The market-place being not able to containe the multitude that flockt vnto them, they had *Theaters* & *Amphitheaters* built if not purpoſely, yet ſpecially for theſe ſhewes, which places were of incredible both charge & capacity, ſome one of them being ſufficient to hold aboue a hundred thouſand perſons, & yet all little enough in regard of the infinite troupes that reſorted thither. *Equidem exiſtimo*, ſaith *Tully*, *nullum tempus eſſe frequentioris populi quàm illud Gladiatorium:* Truly I thinke there is at no time a greater concourſe of the people then at the ſword-playes. And againe, *Id autem ſpectaculi genus erat quod omni frequentia atq; omni genere hominum celebratur, quo multitudo maximè delectatur*; that kinde of ſhew is it which is moſt frequented with company of all ſorts, & with which the multitude is moſt delighted. They left all other ſports to run to this, *Oratione pro Seſtio.*

Primo actu placeo, cum interea rumor venit
Datum iri gladiatores, populus convolat,
Tumultuantur, clamant, pugnant de loco.

They be the words of the *Comicall Poet*, My firſt act pleaſed them well, when in the meane while a rumor was raiſ'd that the *ſword-players* were at hand, at which noiſe the people flocke thither: They ſtriue tumultuouſly, they cry out, they fight for their places. When the day was ſet, they thought the time long before it came, as appeares by that of *Seneca*, *Quicquid interjacet graue eſt, tam mehercules, quàm quando dies gladiatorij muneris dictus eſt, tranſire medios dies volunt.* Whatſoeuer fals in between is troubleſome, as are the dayes which come between the publiſhing of the day of the ſword-players & the comming of it. Being aſſembled, & the ſword-players entred the fight, *Iraſcitur populus & injuriam putat quod non libenter pereunt*, ſaith the ſame *Seneca*, the multitude growes angry and hold it a wrong and ſcorne done them, if they dye not willingly. With whō *Lactantius* accords in ſenſe, & almoſt in words, *Iraſcuntur etiam pugnantibus niſi celeriter è duobus alter occiſus eſt, & tanquam humanum ſanguinem ſitiant oderunt moras:* They are diſpleaſed with the ſword-players except one of them be preſently ſlaine: And as if they thirſted for humane bloud, they are impatient of delayes. Such as were wounded and lay weltring in their blood, they deſired to be ſearched; *Ne quis illos ſimulata morte deludat*, leaſt they ſhould deceiue them with a faigned death: And this was not done onely by men, but by women, by *Virgines*, by Virgines devoted to *Religion*, by the *Veſtall* Virgines themſelues. *De brevit. vitæ.* *De Ira lib. 1.* *Lib. 6. c. 20.*

---Conſurgit ad ictus *Prudentius.*

Et

Et quoties Victor ferrum jugulo inserit illa
Delicias putat esse suas, pectusq; jacentis
Virgo modesta jubet converso pollice rumpi.

---Rise vp at euery stroke shee must,
And whiles into the throat the Victours knife is thrust,
That's th' onely sport, and then the modest Vestall Priest
Turning her thumb, commands to stab him through the brest.

Besides this, some of them bathed their hands in the blood of the slaine, as *Lampridius* obserues in the life of *Commodus*, And which of all is most horrible to imagine, they sucked the reeking blood out of the 'fresh wounds. For which we haue the testimony of *Pliny:* Now a
lib.28.c.1. 'dayes, saith he, you shall see them that are subject to the falling euill to 'drinke the very bloud of *Fencers & sword-players* as out of liuing cups; 'a thing that when we behold within the same shew place, Tigres, Ly-'ons, & other wilde beasts to do, we haue it in horrour as a most feare-'full and odious spectacle, and these monstrous minded persons are of 'opinion, that the said bloud forsooth is most effectuall for the curing 'of that disease, if they may sucke it breathing warme out of the man 'himselfe, if they may set their mouth close to the veine, to draw there-'by the very heart bloud, life and all; How vnnaturall soeuer otherwise 'it be holden for a man to put his lips so much as to the wounds of wild 'beasts for to drinke their bloud. So as it seemes they still retained the nature of that *wolfe* which *Romulus* their founder sucked; and as their walls were tempered with bloud,

Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri,

With brothers bloud the walls at first imbrewed were:

So were their mindes; And yet as if in all this they had done marvellous well, they proclaimed these *games*, they set vp bills in publique places to signifie the time & the number of the dayes they lasted, together with a list of the names and qualities of the *sword-players*, and sometimes the more to content and prouoke the multitude, but too forward of themselues, they set forth and exposed to publique view those *Tragicall* sports in painted tables, artificially done and to the life, which practise was first begun by *Terentius Lucanus*, as witnesseth *Pliny:* All
lib. 35.7 which considered, I haue often wondred at two things, the one that *Sathan* should so farre prevaile vpon this people in blinding their vnderstanding, being otherwise held a wise Nation, & great Professors of *Morality*, the other, that the *Divine Vengeance* should suffer such *prodigious Cruelty* to passe so long vnrevenged: yet *Bodin* rightly and truly
Methodo Hist. c.7. obserues, that by *Gods* judgment at *Fidenæ* fifty thousand men beholding a *sword-fight*, were at once slaine by the fall of a *Theater:* which
Tacitus Annal. l.4 notwithstanding this foule practise infected most of their *Provinces* and
Iosephus l.19. *Colonies*, and so farre wrought it vpon the *Iewes* themselues, that *Agrippa* exhibited vnto them *vna commissione paria septingenta*, seaven hundred paires of *Fencers* at one sitting, exceeding therein the *Romanes* themselues. And a kinde of shadow hereof we haue resembled in the 2. of *Samuel* and the 2. *Abner* said to *Ioab*, *Let the young men now arise and play before vs: and Ioab said, let them arise: Then there arose and went ouer*

twelue

twelue of Benjamin by number which pertained to Iſhboſheth the ſon of Saul, & twelue of the ſeruants of David; & every one caught his fellow by the head, & thruſt his ſword in his fellowes ſide, ſo they fell downe together. In which combate, ſaith *Peter Martyr* in his Commentaries on the place, their meaning was not to decide the controverſie by the event of the conflict, for the ſparing of bloud, as was intended in the duells betwixt *David* and *Goliah*, the *Horatij* and the *Curiatij*, *ſed nihil aliud hic quæritur quàm vt homines barbarico & belluino more ſeſe mutuò ſaucientes & cadentes, ſpectantium oculos paſcerent horrendo ſpectaculo*: Heere they ſought for nothing elſe, but that men wounding and killing one another in a barbarous & a beaſtly manner, and ſo falling downe dead before them, they might feede the eyes of the beholders with an horride ſpectacle. Now for the *Grecians*, though it be true that the *Athenians* indeede deſired the *ſword-playes* after the *Romane* manner, yet *Demonax* gaue them a ſhort & wiſe anſwere, *prius evertendam eſſe Aram miſericordiæ, quàm tanta atrocitas publicè reciperetur*, that the Altar erected to Mercy was firſt to be demoliſhed, before ſo outragious cruelty could with reaſon be admitted.

SECT. 10.

Thirdly, theſe bloudy ſpectacles were cryed out againſt by the tongues and pennes of Chriſtian Divines, and then cryed downe by the Lawes and power of Chriſtian Emperours.

BUt after the bright beames of the glorious *Goſpell* of *Ieſus Chriſt* began to ſhine through the world, theſe *bloudy games* were cryed out againſt by the writings of *Chriſtian Divines*, and at laſt cryed downe and vtterly aboliſhed by the power and edicts of *Chriſtian Magiſtrates*. *Lactantius* is full and round in this point, *Qui hominem, quamvis ob merita damnatum, in conſpectu ſuo jugulari pro voluptate computat, conſcientiam ſuam polluit, tam ſcilicet, quam ſi homicidij quod fit occultè, ſpectator & particeps fiat; hos tamen ludos vocant in quibus humanus ſanguis effunditur, adeò long'e ab hominibus faceſſit humanitas, vt cùm animas hominum interficiant ludere ſe opinentur nocentiores ijs omnibus quorum ſanguinem voluptati habeant.* Hee that makes it his paſtime to behold a man put to death, though juſtly deſerving it, ſtaines his Conſcience as much as if he were guilty of ſecret murther, yet theſe they call games in which the bloud of men is ſhed, ſo farre is manhood abandoned from men, that they thinke it but a ſport, being in truth themſelues more worthy to ſuffer then they, in the ſhedding of whoſe bloud they thus delight. *Lib. 6. c. 20.*

And before him *Cyprian*, *Paratur gladiatorius ludus, vt libidinem crudelium luminum ſanguis oblectet*; The ſword-players are prepared, that the bloud guſhing out may ſatiate the wicked longing of their cruell eyes. *Epiſt. ad Donatum.*

And before him againe *Tertullian*, *Qui ad cadaver hominis communi lege defuncti exhorret, idem in amphitheatro deroſa & diſſipata, & in ſuo ſanguine ſqualentia corpora patientiſſimis oculis deſuper incumbit.* Hee that ſtartles at the ſight of the Corpes of a man dead by the common courſe of Nature, moſt patiently and contentedly beholds them in the *Amphithea-* *De ſpectaculis*

ter mangled and all to be-goared with their owne blood.

Now as the pens and tongues of the *Christians* were thus armed against this *Monster*, so were likewise their *Lawes* & *Swords*. *Constantine* the first *Christian Emperour* was he that first gaue it a deadly wound. *Vetuit Idolis sacrificari, vetuit gladiatorum cædibus pollui vrbes*; Hee forbad sacrificing to Idolls, and the pollution of cities by the slaughter of sword-players. And the *Law* it selfe we haue inserted into the *Code*, *Cruenta spectacula in otio civili & domestica quiete non placent, quapropter omninò gladiatores esse prohibemus*; such bloudy spectacles in these peaceable times we like not, & therefore straitly forbid all kinde of *sword-playes*. Yet after this, such was the madnesse of the people vpon them, that they were vehemently desired & brake out by starts, but it was a resolute and worthy answere of *Theodosius* to them, earnestly solliciting him for the restitution of these games, *Pium Principem oportet non tantum regnare, sed etiam spectare clementer*; it behooues a religious Prince not only to reigne, but to looke mildely & mercifully, that is, not to accustome himselfe to such cruell spectacles. And to the same purpose writes *Prudentius* to *Honorius*.

Euseb. l. 4. de vita Constant.

Lib. 2. Tit. 43.

Lib vlt. contra Symachum.

Iam solis contenta feris infamis arena,
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis,
Nullus in vrbe cadat cujus sit pœna voluptas.

Th' infamous sand is now with beasts content,
In bloudy armes manslaughter is not playd,
Nor pleasure made of death and punishment.

SECT. 11.

The Romans being thus cruell towards others, likewise turned the edge of their cruelty vpon themselues, partly by a voluntary exposing themselues to present death in those publique shewes, either for money, or vpon a bravery; or by laying violent hands vpon themselues, which by their gravest writers was held not onely lawfull and commendable, but in some cases honourable.

THus we see how these bloudy shewes had their birth from *Paganisme*, but their death frō *Christianity*, yet before we conclude this point touching the *Romane cruelty*, it shall not be amisse to consider how by the just judgment of God, they who were thus barbarously cruell towards others, turned the edge of their cruelty vpon their owne breasts, and became likewise most vnmercifull and vnnaturall towards themselues; not onely by a voluntary exposing of themselues to death in their *Theaters*, by encountring with men and beasts, but by holding it lawfull, yea in some cases both commendable and honourable, to *lay violent hands vpon themselues*, & to cut off the threed and extinguish the lampe of their owne liues. For the first, it is certaine that many of them were well content to sell their liues for money,

----- Quanti sua funera vendant,
Quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone.

What

What skils it for how much their death they ſell?
They ſel't, yet them no *Nero* doth compell,

Saith *Iuvenal*. And *Manilius* to like purpoſe:

Nunc cuput in mortem vendunt & funus arenæ, Lib. 4.
Atque hoſtem ſibi quiſque parat cum bella quieſcunt.
In th'Amphitheater to death and ſlaughter they their ſead
Do ſell, and ſeeke out enemies when warres are quieted.

And with this did the *Chriſtians* vpbraid them, *Nec vitæ quidem ſuæ parcunt, ſed extinguendas publicè animas vendunt*, ſayth *Lactantius*, Neither Lib. 5. c. 9
do they ſo much as ſpare their owne liues, but ſell their ſoules to be publiquely extinguiſhed: and ſome times they did it vpon a bravery to ſhew their courage, as appeares by that of *Tertulliam* in his exhortation to *Martyrdome*, *Quot otioſos affectatio armorum ad gladium vocat, certè ad feras ipſas affectatione deſcendunt, & de morſibus et cicatricibus formoſiores ſibi videntur?* How many idle companions onely thorow a vaine affectation of applauſe, are drawne into the ſword-fights, nay encounter with wilde beaſts, ſeeming to themſelues more beautifull by the ſcarres and wounds which they there receiue?

Neither did they only thus voluntarily expoſe their liues for a *prize* or *vaine-glory* to the rage of men or beaſts, but which was more cruell, their greateſt *Clearkes* held it not lawfull onely, but commendable, and in ſome caſes honourable, *to cut off the threede of their owne liues*. Heerevpon he cryes out in the *Tragedie*,

Vbiq; mors eſt, optimè hoc cavit Deus, Oedipus apud Senecam. Theb. act. 1. ſcen. 1.
Eripere vitam nemo non homini poteſt,
At nemo mortem, mille ad hanc aditus patent.
Death's every-where, God would it ſo ſhould be,
Life every man from man, death none can take,
A thouſand wayes thereto wide open lye.

And leſt wee ſhould thinke this to be but a *Poeticall fiction*, whereby men are made to ſpeake what the *Poet* pleaſeth, let vs heare the wiſeſt & worthieſt among them ſpeaking in good earneſt in this matter. *Quintilian* affirmes, that *nemo niſi ſua culpa diu dolet*, no man is long in paine or ſorrow vnleſſe it be thorow his owne fault, meaning that killing himſelfe In proœmio l. 6.
he may be rid of it when he pleaſeth. Yea even *Seneca* himſelfe approues this ſelfe-homicide in diverſe places, and though himſelfe of a contrary *Sect*, yet hee highly commends that ſpeech of *Epicurus*, *Malum eſt* Epiſt. 12.
in neceſſitate vivere, neceſſitas nulla eſt: Quidni nulla ſit? patent undiq, ad libertatem viæ multæ, breves, faciles, agamus Deo gratias quod nemo in vita teneri poteſt. Indeed it is a miſery to liue in neceſſity, but there is no neceſſity for a man ſo to liue, there are many, and ſhort, and eaſie wayes to free our ſelues, let vs giue thinkes to God that no man can be compelled to liue whether hee will or no. And againe, *Si me quidem velis audire hoc meditare, exerce te vt mortem & excipias, & ſi ita res ſuadebit, accerſas; intereſt nihil an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos.* If thou wilt follow Epiſt 70.
my counſell, ſo prepare thy ſelfe, that thou maiſt entertaine death, nay if neede be, thou mayſt ſend for it; For it matters not whether death come to vs, or wee goe to death. Yea he mockes and derides thoſe that Epiſt. 70.

make any ſcruple thereof, *bono loco res humanæ ſunt, quod nemo niſi vitio ſuo miſer eſt, placet? Vive: ſi non placet, licet eo reverti vnde veniſti,* the condition of our eſtate in this is happy, that no man is miſerable but by his own default: Doth thy life pleaſe thee? liue; if it pleaſe thee not, thou maiſt returne when thou wilt from whence thou cameſt. And in another place, *Quocunq; reſpexeris ibi malorum finis eſt, vides illum præcipitem locum? illac ad libertatem deſcenditur. Vides illud mare, illud flumen, illum puteum? Libertas illic in imo ſedet; vides illam arborem, brevem, horridam, infælicem? Pendet inde libertas. Vides iugulum tuum, guttur tuum, cor tuum? effugia ſervitutis ſunt. Nimis mihi operoſos exitus monſtras, & multum animi atque roboris exigentes. Quæris quod ſit ad libertatem iter? quælibet in corpore toto vena.* Which way ſoever thou looke ſt, there is an end of all evills to be found. Doſt thou ſee an high and ſteepe place? by falling downe from it, thou ſhalt fall into liberty. Seeſt thou ſuch a ſea, or ſuch a river, or ſuch a pit? liberty lies in the bottome of them, if thou haue the heart to caſt thy ſelfe into them. Doſt thou ſee a tree whereon others haue beene hanged? there hangs liberty if thou wilt hang thy ſelfe. Doſt thou ſee thine owne necke, throate, heart? they are all places of eſcape to flie from bondage. Are theſe too hard and painefull meanes to get out, and wouldeſt thou yet know the way to liberty? Every veine in thy body is a way to it. To conclude this point, *Pliny* would haue vs beleeue that our mother earth having pitty on vs, doth bring forth poyſon to diſpatch our ſelues out of this wretched world with an eaſie draught, without wounding the body or ſhedding the blood, when there ſhall be due occaſion. And to this purpoſe, the fact of *Cato* and *Pomponius Atticus*, are by their *Hiſtorians* highly commended, as is likewiſe that of *Raſias*, by the Authour of the bookes of *Macchabees*, as a manfull and noble act. But among *Chriſtians*, though it be ſometimes practiſed, yet it is not taught by them; nay by the *Chriſtian* religion, it is ſtraitly forbidden and condemned, and ſo farre as puniſhment may light vpon the dead, it is puniſhable, not onely by the *Common*, but by the *Canon* and *Civill Lawes*. The *Romanes* are generally much commended for their *courage*, their *wiſedome*, their *juſtice*. But I would demaund what *courage* it is for a man to runne away from miſery, that hee may not grapple with it or looke it in the face? What *wiſedome*, to commend their cittizens for diſpatching themſelues at their owne pleaſure, ſo robbing the ſtate of a member, and perchance a very ſerviceable one, ſuch as *Cato* was? What *juſtice*, that men either thorow weakeneſſe of minde, or ſtrength of paſſion not alwayes capable of reaſon, ſhould be permitted to giue ſentence, and do execution vpon themſelues? And leaſt wee ſhould thinke that this was the onely vice this *Nation* (ſo much renowned for civility and vertue) was ſubject vnto; I will likewiſe in paſſing touch their *covetouſneſſe*, which was in truth inſatiable, and then take a larger view of their *luxury*, ſpreading it ſelfe into many branches, but all of them *moſt exceſſiue*, and were they not recorded by their *owne writers* almoſt incredible.

De Ira l. 3. *c.* 15.

Pliny, l. 2. *c.* 63.

Maccab. 2. 14.

CAP. 5.

CAP. 5.

Of the exceſſiue couetouſneſſe of the Romanes, *and their inſatiable thirſt of having more, though by moſt vnjuſt and indirect meanes.*

SECT. 1.

Of exceſſiue couetouſneſſe of the Romanes *in generall, by the teſtimonies of* Petronius Arbiter, Iuvenall, Galgacus, *and* Hannibal; *and in perticular* Cæcilius Claudius, Marcus Craſſus, *and ſpecially* Seneca *the Philoſopher are taxed for this vice.*

THe rapine and couetouſneſſe of the Romanes was ſuch, that being Lords in a manner of all the knowne world, yet therewith they reſted not content.

Orbem jam totum Victor Romanus habebat,
Quà mare, quà tellus, quà ſidus currit vtrumque,
Nec ſatiatus erat. Petronius Arbiter.

Now the victorious Romane all the world had won,
Sea, land, and all where both the ſtarres their courſe do runne,
Yet was not ſatisfied.

Theſe are they, whom braue *Galgacus* in the life of *Iulius Agricola* 'juſtly ſtiles *Raptores orbis*, vnjuſt robbers of the world, who having left 'no land, ſayth hee, to be ſpoyled, ſearch alſo the ſea, whom not the 'East nor West haue ſatisfied: To take away by maine force, to kill 'and to ſpoyle, falſely they call Empire, and when all is laid waſte as a 'wilderneſſe, that they call peace. This vnquenchable deſire of theirs, *Hanniball* likewiſe both truly and wittily expreſſed; before whom, when *Antiochus* muſtered a great army prepared againſt the *Romanes*, richly furniſhed with weapons inamiled, enſignes, ſaddles, bridles, and trappings, imboſſed and imbroydered with gold and ſilver, being demaunded by the King, whether all that gallant ſhew were not ſufficient for the *Romanes*, his anſwere was ſhort but ſharpe, taxing as well the Cowardize of *Antiochus* his ſouldiers, as the *couetouſneſſe* of the *Romanes*: *Plane ſatis eſſe credo Romanis hæc, etſi avariſſimi ſint*, yes truly I beleeue heere is enough for the *Romaines*, though they be moſt exceſſiuely couetous. But this humour of theirs afterwards increaſed infinitely, as appeares by that of *Iuvenall*, Macrobius l. 2. cap. 2. Ex Gellio l. 3. c. 6.

Vberior nunquam vitiorum copia, nunquam
Major avaritiæ patuit ſinus. Iuven. Sat. 1.

Was never yet more plentious ſtore of vice,
Nor deeper gulfe lay ope of avarice.

And *Manilius*,

Nullo votorum fine beati,
Victuros agimus ſemper, nec vivimus vnquam. Lib. 4

Never contented with our preſent ſtate,
W'are ſtill about to liue, but liue not till too late.

Every man ſayth he wiſheth for that hee hath not, but maketh no reckoning of that he hath.

Nec quod habet numerat, tantum quod non habet optat.

*Pliny.l.*33.*c.*10. For particulars, *Pliny* tels vs, that when *Aſinius Gallus* and *Martius Cenſorinus* were Conſuls, died *Cecilius Claudius*, who ſignified by his laſt will and teſtament, that albeit he had ſuſtained exceeding great loſſe during the troubles of the civill warres, yet he ſhould leaue behind him at the houre of his death, of ſlaues belonging to his retinew foure thouſand one hundred and ſixteene, in oxen three thouſand & ſix hundred yoke, of other cattell two hundred fifty ſeaven thouſand, and in ready coyne, [h] *three ſcore millions of ſeſterces*, beſides a very great ſumme hee ſet out for defraying his funerall charges. And for *Marcus Craſſus*, the ſame Authour in the ſame chapter affirmes, that hee was wont to ſay, that no man was to be accounted rich and worthy of that title, vnleſſe hee were able to diſpend by the yeare, as much in revenew, as would maintaine *a legion* of ſouldiers. And verily, ſayth *Pliny*, his owne landes were eſteemed worth *two hundred millions of Seſterces*; and yet ſuch was his *auarice*, that hee could not content himſelfe with that wealthy eſtate, but vpon an hungry deſire to haue all the gold of the *Parthians*, would needes vndertake a voyage againſt them; in which expedition hee was taken priſoner by *Surinas*, Lieutenant Generall for the King of *Parthia*, who ſtroke of his head, and powred gold melted into his mouth to ſatisfie his hunger after it. But I moſt wonder at *Seneca* the Philoſopher, who every where in his writings bitterly inveighs againſt theſe covetous deſires, and yet within foure yeares ſpace gathered hee three thouſand times three hundred thouſand *Seſterces*, which amounts in our coyne to 2343750 pounds, and in caſting vp this ſumme, both the Tranſlatour of *Tacitus* his *Annals*, and Maſter *Brerewood* preciſely accorde. And whatſoever faire pretence he make in his bookes of mortification and contempt of the world, yet certaine it is, that beſides this maſſe of treaſure, he had goodly *farmes* in the countrey, as appeares by his owne *Epiſtles*, and in the city ſpacious *gardens*, & princely ſumptuous *palaces*, the one mentioned by *Iuvenall.Sat.*10.

Senecæ prædivitis hortos:

The garden of *Seneca* the rich:

The other by *Martiall: lib.*4. *Epigram.*40.

Et docti Senecæ ter numeranda domus.

Three houſes of *Seneca* the learn'd.

[h] According to Doctour *Holland*, whoſe tranſlation of *Pliny* I commonly follow, as alſo his computation of the *Romane* coynes, mentioned by that Authour.

*Tacitus Annal. l.*13.*c.*10. *De ponderibus, c.*19.

SECT 2.

Of their wonderfull greedineſſe of gold, manifeſted by their great toyle and danger in working their mines, fully and liuely deſcribed by Pliny.

BUt that which much more aggravates this vice of the *Romanes* is, that commonly they gathered their riches either by violent *rapine*, *extortion*, and *oppreſſion*, or by *cunning ſleights*, and *baſe practiſes*, or laſtly by *the infinite toyle of ſuch as therein they imployed*, not without the

the indangering of the liues of many thouſands. I will begin with the laſt, and that I may the more clearely and effectually expreſſe it, I will deliver it in the words of *Pliny*, where hee thus ſpeakes of the earth, torne and rent in ſunder for rich mettals and pretious ſtones. *Lib. 2 c. 63.*

'The miſvſage, ſaith he, which ſhe abideth aboue, and in her outward skin, 'may ſeeme in ſome ſort tollerable, but wee not ſatisfied therewith, 'pierce deeper and enter into her very bowels, wee ſearch into the 'veines of gold and ſilver, we mine and digge for copper and lead met- 'tals, and for to ſeeke out gemmes and ſome little ſtones, wee ſtrike pits 'deepe within the ground. Thus wee pull the very heart-ſtrings out of 'her, and all to weare on our finger one gemme or pretious ſtone. To 'fullfill our pleaſure and deſire, how many hands are worne with dig- 'ging & delving, that one joynt of our finger might ſhine againe? Sure- 'ly if there were any Devils beneath, ere this time verily theſe mines '(for to feede covetouſnes & riot) would haue brought them vp aboue 'ground. And againe in his proeme to his 33 booke, wee deſcend, ſayth 'he, into her entrals, we goe downe as farre as to the ſeate and habitati- 'on of infernall ſpirits, and all to meete with rich treaſure, as if the 'earth were not fruitfull enough, and beneficiall vnto vs in the vpper 'face thereof, where ſhee permitteth vs to walke and tread vpon her. Now the *infinite toyle*, the *fearefull and continuall danger of theſe workes*, hee 'notably deſcribeth in the fourth chapter of the ſame booke. The 'third manner of ſearching of this mettall is, ſayth hee, ſo painefull and 'toyleſome, that it ſurpaſſeth the wonderfull working of the *Gyants* in 'old time. For neceſſary it is in this enterprice and buſineſſe to vn- 'dermine a great way by candle light, and to make hollow vaults vn- 'der the mountaines, in which labour the *Pioners* worke by turnes, ſuc- 'ceſſiuely after the manner of a reliefe in a ſet watch, keeping every 'man his houres in juſt meaſure, and in many a moneths ſpace, they ne- 'ver ſee the ſonne nor day-light. This kinde of worke aud mines they 'call *Arrugiæ*; wherein it falleth out many times, that the earth aboue 'head chinketh, and all at once without giuing any warning ſetleth and 'falleth, ſo as the poore *Pioners* are overwhelmed and buried quicke· 'yet ſay they worke ſafe enough, and be not in jeopardy of their liues 'by the fall of the earth, yet be there other difficulties which impeach 'their worke: For other whiles they meete with rockes of flint and 'ragges, which they are driven to cleaue and pierce thorow with fire & 'vineger; yet for feare of being ſtifled with the vapour ariſing from 'thence, they are forced to giue over ſuch fire-workes, & betake them- 'ſelues oftentimes to great mattockes and pickaxes, yea and to other 'engines of iron, weighing one hundred & fifty pound a peece, where- 'with they hew ſuch rockes in peeces, and ſo ſinke deeper & make way 'before them. The earth and ſtones which with ſo much adoe they 'haue thus looſed, they are faine to carry from vnder their feete in 'ſcuttles and baskets vpon their ſhoulders, which paſſe from hand to 'hand evermore to the next fellow. Thus they moyle in the darke 'both day and night in thoſe infernall dungions, and none of them ſee 'the light of the day, but thoſe that are laſt, & next vnto the pits mouth

'or entry of the caue. Howbeit, be the rocke as ragged as it will, they 'count not that their hardeſt worke: For there is a certaine earth re- 'ſembling a kinde of tough clay, which they call white Lome; this be- 'ing intermingled with gravell or gritty ſand, is ſo hard baked toge- 'ther, that there is no dealing with it; it ſo ſcorneth and checketh all 'their ordinary tooles & labour about it, that it ſeemeth impenitrable. 'What do the poore labourers then? They ſet vpon it luſtily with y- 'ron wedges, they lay on load vnceſſantly with mighty beetles, and ve- 'rily they thinke there is nothing in this world harder then this labour, 'vnleſſe it be this vnſatiable hunger after gold, which ſurpaſſeth all the 'hardneſſe and difficulty that is.

Now notwithſtanding the great *danger* and *toyle* of theſe workes, infinite was the *number* which the *Romanes* imployed therein, as may 'in part appeare by the ſame Authour in the ſame chap. Here ſaith hee, 'commeth to my remembrance an *Act* of the *Cenſors* extant vpon re- 'cord, as touching the gold mine of *Ictimulum* a towne in the territory 'of *Verſelles*, which act contained an inhibition, that the *Publicanes*, who 'farmed that mine of the *Citie*, ſhould not keepe aboue *fiue thouſand Py- oners* together at worke there: By which reſtraint it ſhould ſeeme, that their vſuall practiſe was to keepe more, and this haue wee by *Polybius* fully cleared, affirming that in the *Spaniſh* mines at *New Carthage*, no leſſe then *forty thouſand* men were dayly imployed.

SECT. 3.

Their vnmercifull pilling and poling, robbing and ſpoyling the Provinces, not ſparing the very temples and things ſacred.

YEt had all this in ſome ſort beene tollerable, had they not here- vnto added the *pilling* and *poling*, the *robbing* and *ſpoyling* of their *provincials*; ſometimes by open force and rapine, but commonly vnder the colourable pretences of tributes or *Fees*. *Demades* was wont to ſay when he was advanced to any place of government; *ad auream meſ- ſem ſe veniſſe*, that hee was come to a golden harveſt; and this was ſurely the conceite of the *Romane Preſidents* when they went to their charges; every one like another *Iaſon*, promiſed to himſelfe the bringing backe of a golden fleece, theſe were in truth thoſe *Harpyes*,

Rutilius. Itiner. 1

--- Quarum decerpitur vnguibus orbis,
Quæ pede glutineo quæ tetigêre trahunt.
Whoſe clawes ſpoyle all the world, whoſe glewie feete
Draw to themſelues what ere they touch or meete.

That which *Cicero* charged *Verres* with, in the government of *Sicilie*, was doubtleſſe the common practiſe of them all in like places; as in part appeares by the concluſion of *C: Gracchus* his ſpeech to the people, af- ter his returne to *Rome* from the government of *Sardinia*, as *Gellius* re- lates it: the bagges, ſayth he, which I carried forth with mee full of mo- ney, I brought backe empty; whereas others returned home thoſe bar- rels full of ſilver, which they ſent forth filled with wine. They had

15. 12.

officers

officers vnder them for their collecting of their tributes, whom they named *Publicans*; which word wee haue ſtill retained in our *Goſpells*; but ſo as it there appeares, they were an odious kinde of people, by reaſon of their vnjuſt and vnmercifull exactions; whence ſome (though improperly in regard of the word, yet not impertinently in regard of their ſnarling and biting conditions) haue ſtiled them *Publicani, quaſi publici canes*; and if theſe were *dogges*, ſurely the *Preſidents* themſelues were *wolues* and *lyons, not leaving the bones till the morrow*, as the *Prophet* deſcribes the *Princes* and *Iudges* of *Iſrael*. One of them while he was yet trembling at S. *Pauls* ſermon touching *Righteouſneſſe, Temperance*, and the *Iudgement* to come, yet ſuch a corrupt habit had he gotten, that even then he groped him for a bribe, though a man moſt vnlikely to afford it, as well in regard of his doctrine and profeſſion, as his poore eſtate. But ſome-where haue I read of this vnhappy *Felix*, that hee was *inexplebilis auaritiæ gurges*, an vnſatiable gulfe of covetouſneſſe. Such a one, I am ſure, was *Sylla*, who raiſed out of the leſſer *Aſia* alone, *twenty thouſand talents* yearely: Yet *Brutus* and *Caſſius* went farther, forcing them to pay the *tribute* of *tenne yeares* within the ſpace of two, and *Anthony* in *one*; by which computation they payd in one yeare *two hundred thouſand talents*, a mighty ſumme. *L. Paulus* held one of their beſt cittizens, pretending to make the *Epirots* free, as were the *Macedonians* whom hee had conquered, vnder that pretence, calling out tenne of the chiefe of every citty, he adviſed them to bring forth their gold and ſilver, which done, he divided his *cohorts* among them, and gaue in charge to the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* what his pleaſure was: In the morning his command was executed by the Towneſ-men, and at foure of the clocke ſigne was given to his ſouldiers for the ſacking of the Towne. *Tantaque præda fuit*, ſayth *Livie*, *vt in equitem quadringenti denarij, peditibus duceni diuiderentur*: So great was the ſpoyle, as there fell to the ſhare of an horſe-man foure hundred *denary*, and of a foote-man two hundred. Nay, in *Italy* it ſelfe *Plemminius* Lieutenant to *Scipio Africanus* proceeded ſo farre vpon the *Locreans*, over whom he was ſet with a gariſon, that he abſtained not from *ſacrilege*, neither did hee ſpoyle other *Churches* alone, but that of *Proſerpina*, robbing and carrying away, *intactos omni ætate theſauros*, treaſures till then vntoucht. Theſe were ſtrange outrages. That of *Galba* was indeed leſſe outragious but more baſe, hee being *Proconſull* in *Spaine* vnder *Nero*, the *Taraconians* ſent him for a preſent a Crowne of gold, affirming that it weighed fifteene pounds. Hee receiued it, and cauſing it to be weighed, found it to want three pound, which he exacted from them: *Poſtpoſito omni pudore*, ſayth *Fulgoſius*, laying aſide all ſhame, as if it had beene a due debt. And to ſhew he was no changeling, even after his comming to the *Empire*, hee gaue with his owne hand to a certaine muſition that pleaſed him, out of his owne purſe 20 *Seſterces* about three ſhillings *Engliſh*, and to his *ſteward* at the making vp of his bookes, a reward from his table. This was *baſe*, but that of *Iulius Cæſar* moſt *diſhoneſt*, who in his firſt *Conſulſhip*, ſtole out of the *Capitoll* three thouſand weights of gold, laying vp as much gilded copper inſtead thereof. He ſacked in an hoſtile manner certaine townes

Zephany. 3. 3.

Act 24. v. 26. 27

Appianus, l. 5. bellorum ciuilium.

Plutarch.

Lib. 45.

Idem. l. 43.

Lib. 8

Sueton. c. 54

townes of the *Portugals*, though they disobeyed not his commaunds, but freely and friendly opened their gates vnto him for his entrance. In *France* he robbed the *Oratories* and *Temples* of the *Gods*, stored with rich offerings and ornaments, & laid waste their *Cities*, *Sæpius ob prædam quàm ob delictum*, saith *Suetonius*, oftner for loue of booty then for any offence by them committed, and afterwards supplied the expence of his civill warres, his triumphes, his shewes to the people, *evidentissimis rapinis & sacrilegijs*, by most notorious pillaging and sacrilege. And no marvell, since as witnesseth *Cicero* in the third booke of his Offices, hee had alwayes that of *Euripides* in his mouth.

Si violandum est jus, imperij gratia:
Violandum est.
If right for ought a man may violate,
'Tis for a kingdome.

And I see not, but that he might as safely hold, that justice is to be violated for *treasure*, by which *Empire* is to be gotten and maintained, as for *Empire* it selfe.

SECT. 4.

Of the base and most vnconscionable practises of Tiberius *and* Caligula, *nay even of* Vespasian *himselfe for the heaping vp of treasure.*

NOw if this were the opinion and practise of *Iulius Cæsar*, what should we expect from *Nero*, *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*? of whom the first wasted *Italy* by contributions and borrowing of money, ruined the provinces, and impoverished the confederates of the people of *Rome*, and the cities which were called free: Yea the *Gods* themselues were not privileged from being made a prey: But the temples in the citty were robbed, and the gold carried away, which the people of *Rome* in all ages, either in triumphes or vowes, in prosperity or feare had dedicated to the Gods: Yea in *Achaia* and *Asia* not onely consecrated gifts, but the images of the Gods were taken away; *Acratus* and *Secundus Carinates* being sent thither of purpose. The second being presented with a goodly fish he sent it to be sold in the market, and being designed here by *Cn. Lentulus* one of the *Augures*, and a man of a great revenewes, never left him till thorow feare and anguish hee had brought him to his graue. Also to pleasure *Quirinus* who had beene *Consull*, a wonderfull rich man, but childlesse, in hope to be his heire, he condemned his wife *Lepida* a noble and worthy Lady divorced from her husband after twenty yeares marriage, and accused of contriuing his death by poyson long before. *Venon* likewise King of *Parthia*, who being driven out of his owne Kingdome, and betaking himselfe to the trust of the people of *Rome*, came to *Antiochia* with infinite treasures, hee caused most perfidiously to be robbed both of it and his of life, and his life for it.

Tac. Annal. 15. 11.

Seneca Epist. 95.

Suet. cap. 49.

Verum vt hoc in eo horrenda fuerunt, ita quæ sequuntur dedecoris plena, as these things in him were horrible, so were those that followed most abominable

ominable and ſhamefull, ſayth *Fulgoſus*, in reference to *Caligula*, the ſucceſſour to *Tiberius* as well in vice as Empire. Some with threates he forced to name him their Heire, and if they recovered after the making of their wils, hee diſpatched them by poyſon, holding it ridiculous that they ſhould long liue after their wills were made. For the bringing in of money he ſet vp ſtewes both of boyes and women in the palace it ſelfe, and ſent ſome thorow the ſtreetes to invite men thither for the increaſing of the *Emperours* revenewes, and having by this and ſuch like wretched meanes amaſſed huge ſummes of treaſure, he to ſatiate his appetite *contrectandæ pecuniæ cupidine incenſus*, being inflamed with a longing deſire of touching money, would ſometimes walke vpon heapes of gold, and ſometimes as they lay ſpred abroad in a large roome, rowle himſelfe over them ſtarke naked. *O ingentem nimiamque avaritiam, quæ in tanto imperio tantum Principem excæcatum in eam vilitatem abjectionemq; deduxiſti, vt neque dedecus ſuum, neque imperij ignominiam agnoſceret*, ſayth *Fulgoſus*, moſt tranſcendent and exceſſiue covetouſneſſe which blinded ſo great a Commander, and caſt him into ſuch extremity of baſeneſſe as to become a publike Pandar and a poyſoner for loue of money, which no ingenuous minded man, though preſſed with extreeme neceſſity, would practiſe though in private. *Sueton. 38. & in ſequentibus.*

But this was in theſe *Monſters* no miracle, I more wonder at *Veſpaſian*, who had the reputation (perchance by reaſon of their villany) of a good *Emperour*, yet even hee was ſo impotently covetous, that hee not onely called for the arreareages due in *Galbaes* time, but raiſed new tributes, & laid vpon the Provinces more grievous impoſitions, doubling them in ſome places, *Negotiationes vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit*, he publiquely practiſed ſuch kinde of trafficke, as even a private man would ſhame to doe; taking vp commodities at a cheape hand, that afterward he might vent them at dearer rates: neither did hee ſpare to ſell honours for ſuch as ſued for them, or abſolutions to ſuch as were accuſed, whether they proued guiltleſſe or guilty, hee was thought of ſet purpoſe to haue made choice of the moſt ravenous poling officers hee could any where finde out, and to haue advanced them to the higheſt places, that being thereby growne rich, he might condemne their perſons, and confiſcate their goods, and theſe men hee was commonly ſaid to vſe as ſpunges, *Quòd quaſi & ſiccos madefaceret, & exprimeret humentes*, becauſe he both moiſtned them being dry, and wrung them out being moiſtned. When ſome of his ſpeciall friends for his honour intended to erect to him a ſumptuous ſtatue worth a million of Seſterces, *Vos vero, inquit, mihi argentum date*, hee deſired rather to receiue from them the value thereof in ready coyne, as being leſſe troubleſome to them, and to himſelfe more acceptable. Nay which was more baſe, he layd an impoſition vpon *Vrine*, and being by his Son *Titus* put in minde of the baſeneſſe of it, hee tooke a piece of money receiued for that vſe, and putting it to his Sons noſtrils, demaunded of him whether he felt any other ſavour from it then from any other money, adding withall, *Bonus odor lucri ex re qualibet*, the ſmell of gaine is good from any thing whatſoever. *Suet. c. 16.* *Dion. in Veſp.*

SECT. 5.

SECT. 5.

That the whole Nation was deepely infected with the same vice.

AND to speake a truth, the whole body of this people was so farre possessed with this dropsie, that *Salvianus* makes it their *Nationall* disease, *Avaritiæ inhùmanitas proprium Romanorum malum*, inhumane covetousnesse is the disease proper to all the Romanes. And with him accords *Mithridates* in *Iustin*, *Non temerè se lupi uberibus alitos jactare, omnes enim habere luporum animos inexplebiles, sanguinis, imperij, divitiarumque avidos esse & jejunos*, that they did not without reason boast themselues to be nourished from the dugge of a she wolfe, in as much as they haue all of them insatiable mindes of wolues, greedily thirsting after Empire, blood and riches. And this well appeared in two *publique Acts* of theirs, the one was, that a peece of land being in controversie betweene the *Ardeatines* and the *Aricinians*, they both by joynt consent referred themselues to the arbitration of the *Romans*, binding themselues to stand to their award: but they adjudg'd it to themselues. The other was that the *Senate* having taken great summes of money of certaine tributary Cities to make them free, forced them afterward to pay their old tribute without restoring vnto them the money they had paid for their freedome; which saith *Cicero* was *turpe imperio*, a shame to their Empire, *Piratarum enim melior fuit fides quam Senatus*, for the faith of pirats was better then the faith of the Senate. This was most dishonest, yet I know not whether that which followes were not more dishonourable. Their greatest men tooke to farme their basest tributes before mentioned, and worse then those, yea and sued for them, *Non aliter quam militarem aliquam præfecturam aut civilem Magistratum*, they be the words of *Evagrius*, none otherwise then it had beene some great Commaund in the warres, or some principall office in the City. And *Iuvenal* speaking of those who from small matters were raised to great fortunes thus describes them.

Conducunt foricas, & cur non omnia? cum sint
Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit quoties voluit fortuna jocari.

They draughts (and why not all things else?) do hire,
Being such as fortune when she would be merrie,
To highest place doth raise from lowest mire.

What marvell then if *Seneca* complaine, *Hæc ipsa res tot magistratus tot judices detinet, quæ Magistratus & Iudices facit, pecunia.* This selfe-same thing which keepes in so many Magistrates and Iudges in their places, is it which makes both magistrates and Iudges, to wit, *money*; *Mercatoresq; & venales invicem facti, quærimus non quale sit quid, sed quanti*, and being become Merchants on all hands, wee seeke not so much of what quality things are, but of what price. And all kinde of offices being thus purchased with money, as the places of Iudicature were commonly bought, so was Iustice openly sold. *Omnium sermone percrebuit in his judicijs*

lib. 7. de Providentia.

lib. 36.

liv. dec. 1. l. 3.

Offic. 3.

lib. 6. 39.

Iuven. Sat. 3.

epist. 116.

dicijs quæ nunc ſunt, pecuniosum hominem, quamvis ſit nocens, neminem poſſe damnari, ſayth *Cicero*. It is rife in every mans mouth in theſe Courts of Iuſtice, which now are, that a monied man, though he be guilty, cannot be condemned: and againe, *nihil tam ſanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari pecunia poſſit*: there is nothing ſo ſacred which with money may not be violated, nothing ſo fenced which may not be razed.

Auro pulſa fides, auro venalia jura. Propert. 3. 12.
The Lawes for gold
Are bought and ſold.

Aurea nunc verè ſunt ſæcula, plurimus auro
Venit honos, auro conciliatur amor. Ovid. l. 2 de Arte.
Now is the golden age indeede,
Honour and frienſhip gold doth breede.

Nay *Catiline* could ſay of *Rome*, *ô vrbem venalem & maturè perituram ſi emptorem invenerit!* O mercenary city and ſoone to be ruined by ſale if it might but finde a Chapman! If a friend now deny not that which was pawned to him, and if hee be ſo honeſt as to render the whole againe; this truly (ſayth the *Satyriſt*) is a prodigious truſt, and worthy regiſtring in the prieſts Annals: Saluſt.

Nunc ſi depoſitum non inficietur amicus, Iuven. lib. 3.
Si reddat veterem cum tota ærugine follem, Sat. 13.
Prodigioſa fides, & Thuſcis digna libellis.

And againe the loſſe of money is more lamented then of the neareſt friends,

---Majore domus genitu, majore tumultu
Planguntur nummi, quam funera---

So as even then was covetouſneſſe come to that height as it could hardly by their owne confeſſion, make ſo much as one ſtep forward

Tempore crevit amor, qui nunc eſt ſummus, habendi; Ovid. l. 1. faſt.
Vix vltra quo iam progrediatur habet.

Not without reaſon then haue ſome found in the word *ROMA*, *Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia*, Covetovſneſſe is the roote of all miſchiefe, taking the firſt letters of thoſe wordes as they lye in their order for the making vp of that name. And not without proper ſignification did *Rome* take to her ſelfe the *Eagle* for her *Enſigne*, which as *Iob* ſpeaketh, *dwelleth and abideth on the rocke, vpon the cragge of the rocke & the ſtrong place: from thence ſhee ſeeketh the prey, and her eyes behold a farre off, her young ones alſo ſucke vp blood, and where the ſlaine are, there is hee.* So as generally might beverified of them, what *Claudian* writes of *Ruffinus*, 1. Tim. 6. 10. Cap. 39. v. 28. 29. 30.

Plenus ſæuitiæ, lucrique cupidine fervens,
Non Tartaſſiacis illum ſatiaret arenis
Tempeſtas pretioſa Tagi, non ſtagna rubentis
Aurea Pactoli, totumque exhauſerit Hæmum
Ardebit maiore ſiti.
Greedy of filthy gaine, and full of cruelty,
Nor can Tarteſſian ſands him of the pretious Tage,
Or golden ſtreames of red Pactolus ſatiſfie,

Might

Might he all Hæmus drinke his thirſt the more would rage.

Or *Strozza* of *Scaurus*.

Scaurus habet villas, vrbana palatia, nummos,
Pinguiaque innumeris prædia bobus arat:
Huic tamen aſſiduè maior ſuccreſcit habendi,
Nunquam divitijs exſatiata fames.

Scaurus hath farmes, coine, cities, palaces,
With many an oxe his fertile field he plowes:
Yet wealth his hunger never ſatisfies,
But his deſire to haue ſtill greater growes.

CAP. 6.

Of the Romane Luxury in matter of incontinencie and drunkenneſſe.

SECT. 1.

A touch of the Romane Luxurie in generall, and in particular of the ſinnes of the fleſh.

NOw as the *Romane* covetouſneſſe was *vnſatiable*, and their *cruelty vnquenchable*: ſo was their *Luxury* moſt *incredible*, were it not recorded by their owne *Writers*.

Iuven. Sat. 6.

Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala, ſævior armis
Luxuria incumbit, victumque vlciſcitur orbem,
Nullum crimen abeſt facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit.

Now ſuffer we the plagues and miſchiefes of long peace,
Now is the conquer'd world reveng'd by luxurie,
Far worſe then armes, and ſince *Rome's* poverty did ceaſe,
There wanteth no attempt or crime of lecherie.

33. 1. *Pariterq; & Luxuria nata eſt, & Carthago ſublata*, ſaith *Pliny*, no ſooner was *Carthage* vanquiſhed by vs, but wee by *luxury*: and theſe two *conetouſneſſe* and *luxurie* mutually made way each for other:

Man. lib. 4 *Luxuriamque lucris emimus luxuque rapinas.*

We draw on luxury by vnjuſt gaine,
And rapine by luxurie is drawne on againe,

Ejuſmodi tempora conſtat à Tacito in Annalibus eſſe deſcripta, quibus nulla vnquam fuerunt turpiſſimis vitijs fœdiora, neq; aut virtutum ſteriliora, aut virtutibus inimicitiora, as witneſſeth *Caſaubon* in his preface to *Polybius*: It is evident that thoſe times are by *Tacitus* deſcribed in his *Annals*, then which never were any more fruitfull in moſt ſhamefull and abhominable vices, or of vertues more barren, or to vertue more oppoſite: The branches of the *Romane luxurie* were, *monſtrous exceſſe in all kinde of vncleanneſſe & incontinencie, in diet, in apparrell, in retinew of ſervants, in buildings & furniture of their houſes, in bathings & annointings of their bodies, in prodigall gifts*, and laſtly, *in ſetting forth their playes & Theatricall ſhewes*. I am not ignorant that *Meurſius* a *Netherlander* hath compoſed an entire

tire booke purpoſely of this ſubject, intituling it, *De luxu Romanorum* of the *Roman Luxurie*, and concluding it with this cenſure, *damno, damno luxum veſtrum Romani, & in hac ſententia concludo*, Oye *Romanes*, I damne, I damne your Luxury, and with this ſentence I conclude: yet is it certaine that hee had omitted many materiall Collections which might haue beene added, and the moſt obſervable in him I ſhall not faile to make choice and vſe of. Firſt then for their *exceſſe in the ſinnes of the fleſh*, it is evident that they acted more then is now commonly knowne to *Chriſtians*, and I rather deſire the foulenesſe thereof ſhould be eternally buried in oblivion, then by expoſing it to publique view defile my penne with it, and perchance teach whiles I reprehend. The *Apoſtle* in the firſt to the *Romans* hath given vs a touch thereof; yet ſo as no doubt but hee concealed much that he knew, and many things by them, were practiſed, which came not to his knowledge. Though this infection were ſo generally ſpread, & had taken ſo deepe roote amongſt them, that they made but a jeſt of the fouleſt ſinnes in that kinde. They had certaine paſtimes, which they tearmed *Ludos Florales*, in honour of *Flora*, a notorious ſtrumpet. *Qui ludi tanto devotius quanto turpius celebrari ſolent*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine* in his ſecond booke *de Civitate Dei*, and 27 chapter; which games of theirs the more diſhoneſtly, the more devoutly they were celebrated. In theſe the *common queanes*, which got their maintenance by that trade, ran vp & downe the ſtreetes by daylight, & in the night with burning torches in their hands, having their whole bodies ſtarke naked, and expreſſing the moſt beaſtly motions & geſtures, and vttering the moſt filthy ſpeeches and ſongs that could poſſiblely be imagined. To theſe the *Poet* alludes.

Alexander ab Alexandro 6. 8.

Ovid Faſtor 5.

Turba quidem cur hos celebret meretricia ludos,
Non ex difficili cognita cauſa fuit.

Why queanes theſe playes doe celebrate, I trow
'Tis not ſo difficult the cauſe to know.

Yet to theſe ſhamefull, or rather ſhameleſſe paſtimes were their *youth* admitted, thereby adding, as it were, fire to tinder, nay the ſageſt *Senatours*, graveſt *Matrones*, and ſevereſt *Magiſtrates* were well content to grace them with their preſence, as it had bin ſome very commendable or profitable exerciſe.

Nubilis hæc virgo, Matronaque, virque, puerque
Spectat, & ex magna parte Senatus adeſt.
Nec ſatis incæſtis temerari vocibus aures,
Aſſueſcunt oculi multa pudenda pati.

Ovid.

But theſe *Florall* playes were but once a yeare; their *enterludes* in the *Theatre*, acted vpon the open ſtage, were almoſt daily, yet ſo abominable, that the godly devoute *Fathers* of the *Primitiue Chriſtian Church* can hardly write of them with patience, ſpecially *Salvianus*, whoſe words to this purpoſe, are very ſmart and piercing: *Talia ſunt*, ſaith he, *quæ illic fiunt, vt ea non ſolum dicere, ſed etiam recordari aliquis ſine pollutione non poſſit. Alia quippe crimina ſingulas ſibi in nobis vendicant portiones, vt cogitationes ſordidæ animum, impudici aſpectus oculos, auditus improbi aures, ita vt cum ex his vnum aliquid erraverit, reliqua poſſint carere peccatis, in*

De Gubernat. Dei. l. 6.

Theatris verò nihil horum reatu vacat, quia & concupiſcentijs animus & auditu aures, & aſpectu oculi polluuntur, quæ quidem omnia tam flagitioſa ſunt, vt explicare ea quiſpiã atq; eloqui ſalvo pudore non valeat. Quis enim integro verecundiæ ſtatu dicere queat illas rerum turpium imitationes, illas vocum ac verborum obſcœnitates, illas motuum turpitudines, illas geſtuum fœditates? quæ quanti ſint criminis, vel hinc intelligi poteſt, quòd & relationem ſui interdicunt. His concluſion is, *Quæ cum ita ſint, ecce qualia aut omnes aut penè omnes Romani agunt.* Of ſuch a nature they are which are there acted, that a man cannot ſpeake of them, nor well remember them without ſome touch of pollution, Other offences challenge to themſelues but a part of vs, as impure thoughts the minde, vnchaſt ſights the eyes, wicked ſpeeches the eares; ſo that when one of theſe is tainted, yet the reſt may be cleere from pollution, but in the *Theatre* none of them is free from the guilt of infection, in as much as the minde is there defiled with corrupt thoughts, the affections with naughty deſires, the eares by hearing, and the eyes by ſeeing, all which are ſo lewd, that no man without bluſhing can ſo much as name them, much leſſe fully deſcribe them. For what modeſt man is there, who can recount thoſe repreſentations of beaſtly actions, thoſe filthy ſpeeches, & motions, and geſtures? which how ſinfull they are, we may from hence conjecture, that they cannot well be related: which being ſo, behold what manner of things all, or at leaſt-wiſe the greateſt part of the *Romanes* practiſe. And this may we adde to *Salvianus*, that the *Actors* of theſe *Comedies* were by the ſtate it ſelfe highly regarded and richly rewarded, as if they had done ſome profitable peece of ſeruice for the *Common-wealth*. But this kinde of *luxurie*, as being loathſome in the very handling I briefely paſſe over, as men lightly skippe over quagmires, and proceede to their luxury in *diet*, and firſt of their *exceſſe in drinking*.

SECT. 2.

Of their exceſſe in drinking.

THis we may partly gueſſe at, by that which *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes of their pots, *graviora gladijs pocula erant*, their pots were heauier then their ſwords: Among the reſt they had a kind of cups which *Horace* cals *ciboria*.

Lib. 22.

---- Oblivioſo lævia maſſico
Ciboria imple.

Carm. l 2. od. 7.

Goe fill the biggeſt cups you may,
With liquor that driues care away.

Thought to be the leaues of the *Egyptian* beane, which are ſo broad, that *Dioſcordies* for their largeneſſe compares them to a *bonnet*, *Theophraſtus* to a *Theſſalian* hat; & *Pliny* thus deſcribes them vnder the name of *Colocaſſia*. The leaues of *Colocaſſia* are exceeding large, and comparable to the broadeſt that any tree beareth, of theſe plaited and infolded one within another, the *Egytians* make them cups of diverſe formes & faſhions, out of which they take no ſmall pleaſure to drinke;

Lib. 21. c. 15.

where

where by the leaues of *Colocaſſia*, *Adrianus Iunius* conceiueth *Horace* his *Ciboria* to be deſcribed. Such a kinde of cup, it ſeemes, was that, which that mad fellow ſpeakes of in *Plautus*, vpon caſting the dice. *Lib. 1. Animad. cap. 10.*

Iacto baſilicum, propino magnum poclum,
Ille ebibit. *Plautus in Curculione.*

I threw the principall chance, and therevpon begin an health in the greateſt bowle, and hee inſtantly pleadges me the whole. Now the principall chance was *Venus*.

--Quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi, *Hor. Carm. l. 2. od. 7.*

Whom *Vnnus* ſhall name
To be Iudge of the game.

And this Lord of miſrule in their compotations or drunken meetings, was cal'd *Modiperator*, or *Magiſter*; his office was to preſcribe rules, and to ſee them executed, and their he commanded as a Soveraigne *Monarch* in his kingdome.

Nec regna vini ſortiere talis; *Horace Carm. l. 1. od. 4.*

Nor ſhalt thou any more by chance of dice
Win *Bacchus* kingdome or the drinking price.

Their rules of drinking they borrowed, for the moſt part, from the *Grecians*, the moſt deboſht drunken Nation, I thinke that euer was, in ſo-much, as their very name is for that quality growne into a proverbe, both in *Latine* and *Engliſh*. Of theſe rules, one was to drinke downe the euening ſtarre, and drinke vp the morning ſtarre, *ad Diurnam ſtellam matutinam potantes*, ſaith *Plautus*, another commonly practiſed among them, was the drinking of ſo many healths as there were letters in their *Miſtreſſes* name. *Pergacavi. a merry Greeke in men.*

Nævia ſex Cyathis, ſeptem Iuſtina bibatur, *Martiall.*
Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.
Six healths to *Nævia* drinke, ſeaven to *Iuſtina*,
To *Lycas* fiue, to *Lyde* foure, and three to *Ida*.

And yet it ſhould ſeeme by *Plutarch* in his *Sympoſiaks*, that they had a ſuperſtitious conceit of drinking foure healths, perchance becauſe an even number.

Aut quinque bibe, aut tres, aut non quatuor:
Three drinke, if more,
Five, but not foure.

Theſe drunken matches were in a manner the dayly trade of their *Poets*,

Nulla manere diu nec vivere carmina poſſunt,
Quæ ſcribuntur aquæ potoribus.
Who nought but water drinke, their rime
Cannot endure or liue long time.

Nunc eſt bibendum, nunc pede libero *Horace Car l. 1. od. 37.*
Pulſanda tellus.
Now let vs drinke out wit,
And dance and frolicke it.

And the *Epigrammatiſt* tells vs of himſelfe, that ſober hee was no bodie

for invention, but drunke fifteene Poets ſtrong.

Mart. Lib. 11. Epig. 7.

Poſſum nil ego ſobrius, bibenti
Succurrunt mihi quindecem poetæ.

Neither were their very women free from this exceſſe. Nay *Seneca* aſſures vs, that in this practiſe they put downe the men themſelues; *Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, & oleo & mero viros provocant; æquè invitis ingeſta viſceribus per os reddunt, & vinum omne vomitu remetiuntur, æque nivem rodunt ſolatium ſtomachi æſtuantis*: They no leſſe ſit vp late in the night, they drinke no leſſe then men themſelues, nay they challenge men to the annointing of their bodies, and the ſwilling downe of wine, regorging what they eate and drinke as well as they, neither doe they forbeare to chaw vpon ſnow, as men doe for the refreſhing of their boyling ſtomackes. And this cuſtome of drinking ſnow and yce in there wine was ſo common, that they made a trade of ſelling it and ſet vp ſhoppes thereof: to which cuſtome *Solomon*, it ſhould ſeeme, alludes *as the cold of ſnow in the time of harueſt, ſo is a faithfull meſſenger to them that ſend him.*

Sen. nat. qu. 4. 13.
Prov. 25. 13.

SECT. 3.

The ſame confirmed by the teſtimony of Pliny *and* Plutarch.

THis vice of *exceſſiue drinking* is by ſome thought to be the *Epidemicall* proper diſeaſe of this age: But he that will be pleaſed patiently to perуſe, & adviſedly to conſider this enſuing diſcourſe, which I ſhall heere annexe out of *Pliny*, will I preſume alter his opinon therein, not by excuſing the preſent, but by not excuſing the former ages, and the better learne to deteſt this beaſtly vice in both. Thus then writeth he, no leſſe ſharpely then elegantly of this vice, and the great 'exceſſe thereof in his time. If a man marke and conſider well the
Plin. l. 14. c. 22. 'courſe of our life, we are in no one thing more buſie and curious, nor 'take greater paines then about wine, as if *Nature* had not giuen to man 'the liquor of water which of all other is the moſt wholeſome drinke; 'and wherewithall other Creatures are well contented: But we think- 'ing it not ſufficient to take wine our ſelues, giue it alſo to our horſes, 'mules, & labouring beaſts, and force them againſt nature to drinke it. 'Beſides ſuch paines, ſo much labour, ſo great coſt & charges we are at 'to haue it, ſuch delight & pleaſure we take in it, that many of vs thinke 'they are *borne to nothing elſe, and can skill of none other contentment in this* 'life: Notwithſtanding when all is done, it tranſporteth & carrieth a- 'way the right wit and minde of men, it cauſeth furie & rage, and indu- 'ceth, nay it caſteth headlong as many as are given therevnto into a 'thouſand vices & miſdemeanours; and yet forſooth to the end that we 'may take the more cups, and powre it downe the throate more luſtily, 'we let it runne thorow a ſtrainer for to abate and geld, as it were, the 'force thereof; yea and other devices there be to whet our appetite 'therevnto, and cauſe vs to quaffe more freely; nay to draw on their 'drinke men are not affraid to take *poyſons*, while ſome take hemlocke

'before

'before they ſit downe, becauſe they muſt drinke perforce then, or elſe 'die for it; others the powder of the *Pumiſh* ſtone and ſuch like ſtuffe, 'which I am abaſhed to rehearſe, & teach thoſe that be ignorant of ſuch 'lewdnes. And yet we ſee thoſe that be the ſtouteſt & moſt redoubted 'drinkers, even thoſe that take themſelues moſt ſecured of danger, to lie 'ſweating ſo long in the baines & brothell-houſes for to concoct their 'ſurfet of wine, that otherwhiles they are carried forth dead for their 'labour: You ſhall haue ſome againe, when they haue beene in the hot-'houſe not to ſtay ſo long as they may recover their beddes, no not ſo 'much as to put on their ſhirts, but preſently in the place all naked, as 'they are puffing and labouring ſtill for winde, catch vp great cans and 'huge tankards of wine (to ſhew what luſty and valiant *Champions* they 'be) ſet them one after another to their mouth, poure the wine downe 'the throate without more adoe, that they might caſt it vp againe & ſo 'take more in the place, vomiting and revomiting twice or thrice toge-'ther that which they haue drunke, and ſtill make quarrell to the pot, as 'if they had beene borne into this world for none other end but to ſpill 'and marre good wine, or as if there were no way elſe to ſpend & waſte 'the ſame but thorow mans body. And to this purpoſe were taken vp 'at *Rome* theſe forraine exerciſes of vauting and dancing the *Moriske*, 'from hence came the tumbling of wraſtlers in the duſt and mire toge-'ther, for this they ſhew their broad breaſts, beare vp the heads, & car-'ry their necks farre backe, in all which geſticulations, what doe they 'elſe, but profeſſe that they ſeeke meanes to procure thirſt, & take oc-'caſion to drinke: But come now to their potts that they vſe to quaffe 'and drinke out of: are there not graven in them faire pourtraites 'thinke you of adulteries? as if drunkenneſſe it ſelfe were not ſufficient 'to kindle the heate of luſt, and to teach them wantonnes. Thus is wine 'drunke out of *libidinous cups*, & more then that, he that can quaffe beſt 'and play the drunkard moſt, ſhall haue the greateſt *reward*. But what 'ſhall we ſay to thoſe (would a man thinke it?) that hire a man to eat al-'ſo as much as he can drinke, & vpon that condition covenant to yeeld 'him the price for his wine-drinking and not otherwiſe. You ſhall 'haue another that will injoyne himſelfe to drinke every denier that he 'hath wonne at dice. Now when they are come to that once, & be tho-'rowly whittled, then ſhall you haue them caſt their wanton eyes 'vpon mens wiues, then fall they to court faire Dames and Ladies, and 'openly bewray their folly even before their jealous and ſterne huſ-'bands, then I ſay the ſecrets of their heart are opened and diſplayed. 'Some you ſhall haue even in the midſt of their cups make their wills 'even at the board where they ſit, others againe caſt out bloody and 'deadly ſpeeches at randome, & cannot hold but blurt out thoſe words 'which afterwards they are forced to eate againe, for thus many a man 'by a laviſh tongue in his wine, hath come by his death & had his throat 'cut. And verily the world is now grown to this paſſe, that whatſoeuer a 'man ſaith in his cups is held for ſooth, as if *truth were the daughter of 'wine*. But ſay they eſcape theſe dãgers, certes ſpeed they never ſo well, 'the beſt of them all never ſeeth the Sun riſing, ſo drowzie and ſleepie

'they are in bed euery morning, neither liue they to be old men, but die
'in the ſtrength of their youth. Hence commeth it that ſome of them
'looke pale with a paire of flaggie cheekes, others haue bleared and ſore
'eyes, and there be of them that ſhake ſo with their hands that they
'cannot hold a full cup, but ſhed and powre it downe the floore. Gene-
'rally they all dreame fearefully, (which is the very beginning of their
'hell in this life) or elſe haue reſtleſſe nights. And finally if they chance
'to ſleepe (for a due guerdon and reward of their drunkenneſſe) they
'are deluded with imaginary conceits of *Venus* delights, defiled with
'filthy abominable pollutions: & thus being ſleeping & waking they ſin
'with pleaſure. Well what becomes the morrow after? they belch
'ſowre, their breath ſtinketh of the barrell, and telleth them what they
'did ouer night, otherwiſe they forget what euer they did or ſaid: they
'remember no more, then if their memory were vtterly extinct. And
'yet our jolly *drunkards* giue out and ſay that they alone enjoy this life,
'and rob other men of it: But who ſeeth not that ordinarily they looſe
'not onely the yeſterday paſt, but the morrow to come? Of all Nati-
'ons the *Parthians* would haue the glory for this goodly vertue of wine-
'bibbing: & among the *Greekes* *Alcibiades* indeede deſerued the beſt
'game for his worthy feate. But here with vs at *Rome*, *Nivellius Tor-*
'*quatus*, a *Millanois* wan the name from all *Romanes* and *Italians* both.
'This *Lombard* had gone thorow all honourable degrees of dignity in
'*Rome*, he had beene *Pretor*, and attained to the place of a *Proconſull*. In
'all theſe offices of ſtate he wonne no great name: but for drinking in
'the preſence of *Tiberius* 3 *gallons of wine* at one draught, and before hee
'tooke his breath againe, he was dubbed *Knight* by the ſurname of *Tri-*
'*congius*, as one would ſay, *the* 3 *gallon Knight*. And the Emperour, ſterne,
'ſevere and cruell otherwiſe though he was, now in his old age, (for in
'his youthfull dayes hee was giuen ouermuch to drinking of wine) I
'would delight to behold this worthy & renowned *Knight* with great
'wonder and admiration. For the like rare gift & commendable qua-
'lity men thinke verily that *C. Piſo* firſt roſe, and afterwards was advan-
'ced to the *Provoſtſhip* of the *City of Rome* by the ſaid *Tiberius*: and
'namely for that in his court being now Emperour he ſate two dayes &
'two nights drinking continually, & neuer ſtirred foot from the board.
'And verily *Druſus Cæſar* (by report) in nothing more reſembled his
'Father *Tiberius* than in taking his drinke. But to returne againe to
'noble *Torquatus*, herein conſiſted his excellencie, that he did it accor-
'ding to art (for this you muſt take withall, there is an *Art of drinking*,
'grounded vpon certaine rules and precepts) *Torquatus* (I ſay) dranke
'he neuer ſo much, was not knowne at any time to falter in his tongue,
'neuer eaſed himſelfe by vomiting, neuer let it goe the other way vn-
'der board: how late ſoeuer he ſate vp at the wine ouer night, he would
'be ſure to relieue the morning watch & ſẽtinel. He drunke moſt of any
'man at one entire draught before the pot wẽt frõ his head: & for ſmal-
'ler draughts beſides, he went beyond all other in number, his winde he
'neuer tooke whilſt the cup was at his mouth, but juſtly obſerued the
'rule of drinking with one breath: hee was not knowne to ſpit for all
'this:

'this: and to conclude, he would not leaue a drop behinde in the cup,
'not ſo much as would daſh againſt the pavement, and make the leaſt
'ſound to be heard, a ſpeciall point & preciſe law to prevent the deceit
'of thoſe that drinke for a wager. A ſingular glory no doubt in him &
'a rare felicity. *Tergilla* challenged *M. Cicero* the younger, ſon to that
'*M. Cicero* the famous Oratour, & reproached him to his face, that or-
'dinarily he dranke 2 gallons at once, and that one time aboue the reſt
'when he was drunke he flung a pot at *M. Agrippa* his head. And truly
'this is one of the fruits and feates of drunkenneſſe. But blame not
'young *Cicero* if in this point yet he deſired to ſurmount him that ſlew
'his father, *M. Antonius* I meane; for hee before that time ſtrained
'himſelfe, and ſtroue to win the beſt game in this feate, making profeſ-
'ſion thereof, as may appeare by a booke which he compiled and ſet
'fourth with this title, Of *his owne drunkenneſſe:* wherein hee was not a-
'ſhamed to avow and juſtifie his exceſſe and enormities that way, and
'thereby approved (as I take it) vnder pretence and colour of his drun-
'kenneſſe all thoſe out-rages of his, all thoſe miſeries and calamities
'that he brought vpon the whole world. This Treatiſe he vomited &
'ſpued out a little before the battle of *Actium*, wherein he was defea-
'ted. Whereby it may appeare very plainely, that as hee was drunken
'before with the bloud of the *Citizens:* ſo ſtill he was the more bloud-
'thirſty: For this is a property which neceſſarily followeth this vice,
'that the more a man drinketh, the more he may, and is alwayes dry.
'And herein ſpake to good purpoſe a certaine Embaſſadour of the
'*Scythians*, ſaying, that the *Parthians* the more they drunke the thirſtier
'they were. To this teſtimony of *Pliny* may not vnfitly be added that
of *Plutarch* in his booke of the precepts of health, ſpeaking of the ex-
ceſſiue drinking of the gallants of that time, where hee ſayeth it was
growne into a proverbe, that *wine was to bee expelled by wine, and one ſur-
fet digeſted by another:* and though hee condemne this opinion and
practiſe of the gluttons and drunkards of his time, yet what himſelfe a
ſtrict and ſevere Philoſopher thought of drunkennes may partly ap-
peare, by that which he maketh *Zeuxippus* to ſpeake in delivering his
precepts of health. We ought, ſaith hee, when we are bidden to great
feaſts and meetings, to be prepared before hand (becauſe we know we
ſhall be inforced to drinke round in our turnes and to anſwere euery
ones challenge) as to keepe a roome in our ſtomakes both for meats,
and alſo for fine cates and junketing diſhes, and therefore bring an ap-
petite freſh and readie for any ſuch thing.

SECT. 4.

*In particular this exceſſe of the Romans in drinking, is confirmed by the pra-
ctiſe of* Anthony, *ſpecially at his being with* Cleopatra, *as alſo by the
practiſe of* Clodius *ſonne to* Eſope *the Tragedian in drinking of diſſol-
ved pearle.*

NOw becauſe *Pliny* hath inſtanced in *Anthony* as one of the moſt notorious drunkards among the *Romanes*, not onely for the pra-

ctiſe but for the defence thereof, notwithſtanding his eminent place and great command, it ſhall not bee amiſſe a little farther to enquire into ſome particulars touching his great exceſſe therein. It is a moſt ſhamefull one which *Cicero* chargeth him with: *Sed hæc quæ robuſtioris improbitatis ſunt omittamus; loquamur potius de iniquiſſimo genere levitatis. Tu iſtis faucibus, iſtis lateribus, iſta gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippiæ nuptijs exhauſeras, vt tibi neceſſe eſſet in Populi Romani conſpectu vomere poſtridie. O rem non modo viſu fædam, ſed etiam auditu! ſi inter cœnam in tuis immanibus illis poculis, hoc tibi accidiſſet, quis non turpe diceret? in cœtu verò populi negotium publicum gerens, magiſter Equitum, cui ructare turpe eſſet, is vomens fruſtis eſculentis vinum redolentibus, gremium ſuum & totum tribunal implevit.* But thoſe villanies which require more ſtrength let vs omit,& ſpeake rather of his wicked kind of lightneſſe. Thou with thoſe chaps of thine,with thoſe ſides, with that ruffian like ſtrength of thy whole body at the wedding of *Hippia* didſt take in ſo much wine, that the next day thou muſt needes vomit in the open view of the people of *Rome*, a filthy act not onely to bee ſeene but to be heard, if at ſupper-time in the midſt of thoſe thy monſtrous pots the ſame had fallen out, who would not haue cryed out ſhame on thee? but now the Maſter of the Horſe being about a publique buſineſſe in an aſſembly of the people, where it had beene a ſhame for ſuch a man to belch, vomiting out gobbets of fleſh ſmelling ſtrongly, therewith filled both his owne boſome and the whole *court of Iuſtice*.

Philip. 1.

This was indeede very foule in it ſelfe though but once done, euen without the *Oratours Rhetoricall* aggravation: but his dayly practiſe of exceſſiue drinking during his abode with *Cleopatra* was leſſe excuſable, becauſe more frequent; touching which *Pliny* relates two memorable ſtories, though in different kindes, the one was this.

Plin. l. 21. c. 3.

Here by the way (ſaith he) I cannot chooſe but remẽber the device of *Queene Cleopatra*, full of fine wit, and as wicked and miſchievous withall. For at what time *Anthony* prepared the expedition and journey of *Actium* againſt *Auguſtus*,and ſtood in ſome doubt & jealouſie of the ſaid *Queene*, for all the faire ſhew that ſhe made of gratifying him, and doing him all pleaſure, he was at his taſter, and would neither eate nor drinke at her table without aſſay made. *Cleopatra* ſeeing how timorous he was,and minding yet to make great ſport and game at his needeleſſe feare and fooliſh curioſity, cauſed a Chaplet to be made for *M. Antonius*, hauing before dipped all the tips and edges of the flowres that went to it in a ſtrong and ranke poyſon, and being thus prepared, ſet it vpon the head of the ſaid *Anthony*. Now when they had ſitten at meate a good while, and drunke themſelues merry, the *Queene* began to make a motion & challenge to *Anthony* for to drinke each of them their chaplets; and withall began vnto him in a cup of wine ſeaſoned and ſpiced as it were with thoſe flowres which ſhe ware her owne ſelfe. O the ſhrewd and vnhappy wit of a woman when ſhee is ſo diſpoſed! who would euer haue miſdoubted any danger of hidden miſchiefe herein? Well M. *Anthony* yeelded to pledge her: off goeth his owne garland, and with the flowres minced ſmall,dreſſeth his owne cup. Now when he

he was about to ſet it to his head, *Cleopatra* preſently put her hand betweene & ſtayed him from drinking, and withall vttered theſe words; 'My deare heart and beſt beloued *Anthony*, now ſee what ſhe is whom 'thou ſo much doſt dread & ſtand in feare of, that for thy ſecurity there 'muſt waite at thy cup and trencher extraordinary taſters; a ſtrange and 'new faſhion ywis, and a curioſity more nice then needefull; loe how I 'am not to ſeeke of meanes & opportunities to compaſſe thy death, if I 'could finde in my heart to liue without thee; which ſaid, ſhe called for a priſoner immediatly out of the goale, whom ſhe cauſed to drinke off the wine which *Anthony* had prepared for himſelfe: no ſooner was the goblet frō his lippes againe, but the poore wretch died preſently in the place.

The other ſtory he thus relates; Two onely pearles there were together, the faireſt & richeſt that euer haue beene knowne in the world, and thoſe poſſeſſed at one time by *Cleopatra* the laſt *Queene* of *Egypt*, which came into her hands by the meanes of the great Kings of the *Eaſt*, and were left vnto her by deſcent. This *Princeſſe* when *Marcus Antonius* had ſtrained himſelfe to do her all the pleaſure he poſſibly could, & had feaſted her day by day moſt ſumptuouſly and ſpared for no coſt: in the height of her pride and wanton bravery (as being a noble *Curtezan* and a *Queene* withall) began to debaſe the expence and proviſion of *Anthony*, and make no rekoning of all his coſtly fare. When hee thereat demanded againe how it was poſſible to goe beyond this magnificence of his, ſhe anſwered againe, that ſhe would ſpend vpon him in one ſupper 100 thouſand *Seſtertij*. *Anthony* who would needes know how that might befor he thought it was impoſſible) lay'd a great wager with her about it, and ſhe bound it againe and made it good. The morrow after when this was to be tryed, and the wager either to be wonne or loſt, *Cleopatra* made *Anthonie* a ſupper (becauſe ſhe would not make default, and let the day appointed paſſe) which was ſumptuous & royall enough, howbeit there was no extraordinary ſervice ſeene vpon the board: Whereat *Antonius* laughed her to ſcorne, and by way of mockery, required to ſee a bill with the account of the particulars. Shee againe ſayd, that whatſoeuer had beene ſerved vp already, was but the overplus aboue the rate and proportion in queſtion, affirming ſtill, that ſhee would yet in that ſupper make vp the full ſumme that ſhee was ſeaſed at: yea her ſelfe alone would eate aboue that reckoning, and her owne ſupper ſhould coſt ſix hundred thouſand *Seſtertij*: and with that, commanded the ſecond ſervice to be brought in. The Servitours that waited at her trencher (as they had in charge before) ſet before her onely one crewet of ſharp vineger, the ſtrength whereof is able to diſſolue pearles. Now ſhee had at her eares hanging thoſe two moſt pretious pearles, the ſingular and onely jewels in the world, and euen *Natures* wonder. As *Anthony* looked wiſtly vpon her, and expected what ſhe would doe, ſhee tooke one of them from her eare, ſteeped it in the vineger, and ſo ſoone as it was liquified, dranke it off. And as ſhe was about to doe the like by the other: *L. Plancius* the judge of that wager, laid faſt hold vpon it with his hand, and pronounced

Cœnam paravit pollucibilem. Macrobius Sat. 3. 17

Monſtruoſa magnitudin. is Macrobius Sat. 3 17.

nounced withall, that *Anthony* had loſt the wager: whereat the man fell into a paſſion of anger. There was an end of one pearle: But the fame of the fellow thereof may goe therewith. For after that this braue *Queene*, the winner of ſo great a wager, was taken priſoner and deprived of her royall eſtate, that other pearle was cut in twaine, that in memoriall of that one halfe ſupper of theirs, it ſhould remaine vnto poſterity, hanging at both the eares of *Venus* at *Rome* in the temple *Pantheon*.

And yet, ſaith the ſame *Pliny*, as prodigall as theſe were, they ſhall not goe away with the prize in this kinde, but ſhall looſe the name of the chiefe & principall in ſuperfluity of expence. For long before their time, *Clodius* the ſonne of *Æſope* the *Tragædian Poet*, the onely heire of his Father who died exceeding wealthy, practiſed the ſemblable in pearles of great price: ſo that *Anthony* neede not be ouer proud of his *triumvirate*, ſeeing that he hath to match him in all his magnificence one litle better then a *ſtage-player*: Who vpon no wager at all lay'd, (and that was more princely and done like a *King*) but only in a brauery, and to know what taſt pearles had, mortified them in vineger aud drunke them vp. And finding them to content his palate wonderous well, becauſe he would not haue all the pleaſure by himſelfe, and know the goodneſſe thereof alone, he gaue to euery gueſt at his table one pearle a peece to drinke in like manner.

The madneſſe of *Clodius*, *Horace* thus deſcribes.

Serm. 2.

Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ
(Scilicet vt decies ſolidum exſorberet) aceto
Diluit ingentem baccam, qui ſanior ac ſi
Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretue cloacam
The ſonne of *Eſop* from *Metellas* eare,
(That he at once ten thouſand ſols might drinke)
Pluckt off, and it diſſolu'd in vineger,
As wiſe as if h' had thrown't into a ſinke.

SECT. 5.

Of exceſſiue drinkers among the Romans *in regard of the quantity of the liquor, and how both their Princes and people were all generally tainted with this vice.*

THeſe were *luxurious drinkers* in regard of the *pretiouſnes* of the liquor, ſuch as I thinke this age hath not heard of, and God forbid it ſhould. Now for exceſſe in *quantity* of wine at one draught or one ſitting, *Lypſius* hath written a large *Epiſtle*, wherein he hath made a collection of many examples, borrowed from the ancient *Hiſtorians* to that purpoſe, the title of it is, *de potoribus & Edonibus*, of exceſſive drinkers and eaters, and beginning with the firſt of theſe he thus makes his entrance. *Quos vbi & quando non eſt invenire? in veteri & noſtro ævo, in noto & novo orbe videas, & Plinij dicto, nulla in parte mundi ceſſare ebrietatem.* Which kinde of men were and when ſhall you not finde? you may ſee them as well in the old as in our age, both in the knowne and new

Ep 63. ad Contubernales ſuos.

new world, and to vſe *Plynies* ſpeech, no part of the world is free from them. To let goe the *Grecians*, and thoſe *Romans* already named, out of *Spartianus* he tels vs of one *Firmus*, who vnder *Aurelian* was *Deputy* of *Egypt*; this man being challenged by *Barbarus* a famous drinker, *Situlas duas plenas mero duxit*, he tooke off two buckets full of wine. *Bonoſus* was ſuch another who liued about the ſame time; of whom the ſame *Emperour*, as witneſſeth the ſame *Authour*, was wont to ſay, *non vt vivat natus eſt, ſed vt bibat*, he was borne not to liue, but to drinke: & being hang'd for ſome miſdemeanour, they jeaſted on him, *amphoram pendere, non hominem*, that a barrell or tankard hung there, not a man: But that which *Capitolinus* reports of the *Emperour Maximinus* is almoſt incredible: *Bibiſſe ſæpe in die vini Capitolinam amphoram*, that he often dranke in one day an *Amphora* of the *Capitoll*, an *Amphora* containing of our meaſure *nine gallons*, counting a gallon and a pinte to the *Congius*, whereof the *Amphora* containes eight; *Trepidarem hæc ſcribere*, ſaith *Lypſius*, *ſed bonus & priſcæ fidei Author adſerit, quam ego non ſugillem:* I ſhould feare to write theſe things, but that I vouch it from an Authour of good credit, which I durſt not impeach or queſtion. Yet one inſtance beyond this againe he brings out of *Vopiſcus*, in the life of *Aurelian* of one *Phagon*, who dranke out in one day *plus orca*; what meaſure this *Orca* held, I cannot well determine, neither could *Lypſius* himſelfe, yet thus much he confidently affirmes of it, *Scio vas vinarium fuiſſe & amphora quidem majus, ſed quanto mihi latet*, I know for certaine that it was a veſſell of wine, and that bigger then the *Amphora*, but how much I know not. To theſe may be added that memorable epitaph found at *Rome* without the gate *Capena* as witneſſeth *Camerarius*.

Heus, hic ſitus eſt Offellius Buratius Bibulus,
Qui dum vixit, aut bibit aut minxit. Abi præceps. Cent. 1 cap. 94.

Heare you, here lies buried *Offellius Buratius Bibulus*,
Who whiles hee lived, either powred in liquour or powred it forth. Euough, goe bee gone.

Now that which moſt of all infected the ſtate with this beeſtly vice, was, that the *Emperours* themſelues were deepely infected with it, both heartily affecting it themſelues, and highly rewarding it in others. *Tiberius Nero propter nimiam vini aviditatem*, ſaith *Suetonius*, by reaſon of Cap. 42. his exceſſiue drinking, was nick-named *Biberius Mero*; and beſides, *Piſo*, whom *Pliny* told vs before, he advanced to the *Provoſtſhip* of the city for that quality; he likewiſe for the ſame promoted *Flaccus Pomponius* to the preſidentſhip of the Province of *Syria*, ſtiling them in his letters patents, *Iucundiſſimos & omnium horarum amicos*, his moſt pleaſant companions and friends for all ſeaſons: But that which exceeded the reſt, and indeede reaſon it ſelfe, was, that *ignotiſſimum Quæſturæ candidatum nobiliſſimis antepoſuit, ob epotam in convivio propinante ſe vini amphoram*, that he preferred a baſe fellow, who was a ſutor for the Treaſurerſhippe, before the moſt noble & worthy that ſtood in competition with him, only for the taking off of a *Amphora* of wine at a feaſt which himſelfe had begun. Now who would not ſtriue to excell and exceed in this lewd practiſe, when it was in ſuch requeſt and eſteeme with the greateſt

greateſt *Commanders?* the multitude ſoone conforming themſelues to their manners, ſpecially in naughtines, and being therevnto encouraged by commendation and rewards. And how farre this *vnmanly* vice had infected the Commons, may apeare by that of *Macrobius*, who affirmes, that at that time when *Lex Fannia* was made againſt drunkennes, *eo res redierat vt pleriq; ex plebe Romana vino madidi in comitium venirent, & ebrij de Reipub: ſalute conſulerent;* to ſuch a paſſe were things brought, that the greateſt part of the common people of *Rome* came loaden with wine into the Counſell-houſe, and being drunke, conſulted of the ſafety of the ſtate.

Saturnal. l. 3. c. 17.

SECT. 6.

Of the coſtlineſſe and curious workemanſhippe of the veſſels out of which they dranke, which was likewiſe a meanes to draw them on to exceſſiue drinking.

NOw as I began this diſcourſe of *drunkenneſſe* with the greatnes, ſo will I end it with the *coſtlineſſe* and *curious workemanſhip* of the veſſels out of which they dranke, which was likewiſe a meanes to draw them on to exceſſiue drinking. The world (ſaith *Pliny*) is given to ſuch inconſtancie, as touching ſilver plate, that a wonder it is to ſee the nature of men, how variable they be in the faſhion and making of ſuch veſſell: For no workemanſhip will pleaſe them long. One while we muſt haue our plate out of *Furnius* his ſhop, another while we will bee furniſhed from *Clodius:* And againe in a new fit, none will content vs but of *Gratius* his making (for our cupbords of plate & tables, forſooth, muſt beare the name of ſuch & ſuch goldſmiths ſhops.) Moreouer, whē the toy takes vs in the head, all our delight is in chaſed and embоſſed plate, or elſe ſo carved, engraven, and deepe cut in, as it is rough againe in the hand, wrought in imagerie or flower worke, as if the painter had drawne them. Theſe *celatures* in their drinking cups were ſo fram'd, that they might put them on or take them off at pleaſure, & were therefore called *Emblemata:* Such was that, whereof the *Satyriſt* ſpeakes.

33. 11.

Iuvenal. Satyr. 1.

--Stantem extra pocula caprum.
--A goat ſtanding out from the cup.

Two of this kinde wrought by the hand of *Mentor*, coſt *Lucius Craſſus* the *Orateur* one hundred thouſand *Seſtercies:* Sometimes were they made of *Onix* ſtones drawne out of the mountaines of *Arabia*, ſometimes of mother of pearle, or ſome rare pretious ſhels.

Plin. l. 33. c. 11.

Idem. 36. 7.

Iuven. Satyr. 6.

Cum perfuſa mero ſpumant vnguenta Falerno,
Cum bibitur concha.
When their Falernian wines mingled with oyntments crop,
And when they drinke in ſhels.

And all theſe kindes they richly inamel'd with pearles and pretious ſtones; we drinke, ſaith *Pliny*, in rooes of pearle, and garniſh our pots with emerals; it delights vs to hold the *Indies* in our hands as a prouocation to drunkennes, and gold is now become but an *acceſſorie*. And

Lib. 33. 11.

for

for this reaſon had they ſome at their feaſts ſet to watch their drinking veſſell.

--Cuſtos affixus ibidem Iuven. Satyr. 5.
Qui numeret gemmas, vngueſque obſervet acutos.
Faſt by ſome one is ſet to watch and tell the plate,
Leaſt any be purloynd by ſome lithe fingred mate.

Neither were they content to garniſh their cups with pearle and pretious ſtones, but made them of *entire gemmes*, they thought not themſelues dainty enough, ſayth *Pacatus*, *niſi luxuria intervertiſſet annum, niſi hyberna poculis roſæ innataſſent, niſi æſtivam in gemmis capacibus glaciem falerna fregiſſent*, vnleſſe luxury had changed the ſeaſon of the yeare, vnleſſe winter roſes ſwam vpon the top of their pots, vnleſſe their pleaſant wines diſſolved the ſummer yce in a large gemme. And ſuch a one was that which *Tully* mentions; *Erat etiam vas vinarium ex vna gemma præ-* In Panygerico. *grandi trulla excavata, cum manubrio aureo*: There was likewiſe a drinking cuppe for wine made of one entire gemme or pretious ſtone, with a great hollow bowle and an handle of gold. They had alſo drinking veſſels of *Murrin* & *Chriſtall* of wonderfull great prices. *Video iſthic Chriſtallina quorum accendit frugalitas pretium, omnium enim rerum voluptas apud imperitos ipſo, quo fugare debet, periculo creſcit; Video Murrina pocula, parum ſcilicet luxuria magno fuerit, niſi quod vomant capacibus gemmis inter ſe propinarent*: I there ſee, ſayth *Seneca*, their Chriſtall glaſſes, whoſe very brittleneſſe inhaunces their price: For among the vulgar; their delight in things is increaſed by the very danger, which ſhould rather induce them to ſhunne it. I likewiſe ſee their *Murrin* cups, their luxury being not held ſufficient, vnleſſe they may in large gemmes drinke that which ſoone after they vomit vp againe. The price of ſome of theſe, *Pliny* takes the paines particularly to relate: *Creſcit indies ejus rei luxus, Murrino octoginta Seſtertijs empto, capaci plane ad ſextarios tres calice*: The exceſſiue luxury hereof increaſeth daily, *Murrin* cuppe of three quarts being ſold for foure ſcore thouſand Seſterces; one of theſe bought for three hundred thouſand, *Petronius*, who had beene *Conſull*, brake in peeces a little before his death on a ſpite to a *Nero*, *vt menſam ejus exhæreditaret*, that hee might diſinherit his table thereof. Another of *Chriſtall*, mentioned by the ſame Authour, I may not forget; *alius hic furor*, here is another kinde of madneſſe, one *Chriſtall* bowle, being bought by the miſtris of a family, and ſhe not over rich neither, coſt her one hundred and fifty thouſand Seſterces. Herevnto might not vnfitly be added the beaſtly formes of many of their cups. De beneficiis, l. 7. c. 9.

Vitreo bibit ille Priapo,

Saith *Iuvenall*, and *Pliny* to like purpoſe, *in poculis libidines celare juvat & per obſcœnitates bibere*. But I paſſe from their drunkenneſſe to their gluttony.

CAP. 7.

Of the exceſſiue gluttony of the Romanes.

SECT 1.

Of their coſtly tables, their huge platters, the quantity, order, and number of their waiters, and alſo of their Arts and Schooles of Carving.

TOuching their *exceſſe in gluttony*, it is an *Ocean* both boundleſſe and bottomeles, whether we conſider the *rarity* or the *variety* of thoſe diſhes which at their ſolemne feaſts they preſented: But before I come to the furniſhing of their table, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſay ſomewhat touching the *tables* themſelues, vpon which they placed, and ſome *monſtrous platters* in which they ſerved in their proviſion, and the *number* and *order* of their *waiting ſervants*. They had tables of *ſilver* and ſome of *gold*.

Martial. l. 3. Epigr. 31.

Suſtentatque tuas aurea menſa dapes.

Tables of gold thy dainties do ſuſtaine.

Lib. 14. Epigr. 89.

But their moſt pretious which they had in greateſt requeſt were of *Citron*, as appeares by the ſame *Poet* in another *Epigram*: Theſe, as witneſſeth *Petronius Arbiter*, they fetched from *Africa*.

In Satyrico.

---Ecce Aphris erута terris
Citrea menſa.

Tables of Citron brought from *Africa*.

Lib. 13. c. 15.

With whom *Pliny* therein acccordeth, who in his naturall hiſtory hath ‘a diſcourſe proper to this purpoſe. The *Moores*, ſaith hee, that border ‘vpon the mountaine *Atlas*, are ſtored with abundance of *Citron* trees, ‘from whence commeth that exceſſiue expence and ſuperfluity about ‘*Citron* tables made thereof: And our dames at home by way of re‘venge twit vs their husbands therewith, when we would ſeeme to find ‘fault with the coſtly pearles which they weare: there is at this day to ‘be ſeene a board belonging ſometimes to *Tullius Cicero*, which coſt ‘him tenne thouſand Seſterces; a ſtrange matter, conſidering hee was ‘no rich man; but more wonderfull, if wee call to minde the ſeverity of ‘that age wherein he liued. Much ſpeech there is beſides of *Aſinius* ‘*Gallus* his table, ſold for an eleven thouſand Seſterces: Moreover there ‘are two other which King *Iuba* ſold, the one was prized at fifteene ‘thouſand Seſterces, and the other held little vnder; a round ſumme, and ‘the price of a good faire *Lordſhip:* which incredible prizes are not-

De benefic. l. 7. c. 9.

withſtanding confirmed by *Seneca*, who farther tels vs, they were valued according to their knottines: *video iſtic menſas, et æſtimatum lignum cenſu Senatoris, eo pretioſius quo illud in plures nodos arboris infœlicitas torſit:* I ſee there their tables, and a peece of wood valued at a *Senatours* revenew, ſo much the more pretious, as the vnhappy tree is wreſted into diverſe knots. To which paſſage of *Seneca* and *Pliny*, *Tertullian* ſeemes to allude, for having produced the inſtances of *Tully* and *Aſinius Gallus* mentio-

The taxe of a Senatour was then *duodecies Seſtertium*, twelue hundred thouſand *Seſtertij* Suet. *Aug.* 41.

De Pallio. c. 5.

mentioned by *Pliny*, though with ſome addition to the prices, hee preſently addes: *Hem quantis facultatibus æſtimavêre ligneas maculas!* at what high rates did they value thoſe ſpots in wood! Beſides theſe tables they ſupported with Yvorie feete,

Tu Lybicos Indis ſuſpendis dentibus orbes,
Fulcitur teſta fagina menſa mihi.

Martial. l. 2. Epigram 43.

Thy Lybian tables Indian teeth do reare,
My Beechen bord an earthen caske doth beare.

And theſe yvorie feete were artificially carved into the ſhape of Lyons or the like, which was ſo common, that without theſe, their greateſt dainties could not reliſh to their pallates,

Nil Rhombus nil dama ſapit, putere videntur
vnguenta atque roſæ, latos niſi ſuſtinet orbes
Grande ebur, & magno ſublimis pardus hiatu:

Iuvenal Sat. 11.

Nor buck nor Turbet taſt, ſweet ointments yeeld no ſent,
And roſes ſtinke, vnleſſe huge gaping yvorie Pards
Bearing a loft their large round tables giue content.

Yet ſuch was the ſtore which one man poſſeſſed of theſe, that it exceeded ſome hundreds.

Cum menſas habeat fere trecentas,
Pro menſis habet Annius miniſtros.

Martial. l. 7. Epig. 47.

An hundred tables *Annius* hath thrice told,
And waiters at his tables manifold.

And *Dion* reports of *Seneca*, that notwithſtanding his ſevere and *Stoicall* profeſſion, hee was ſtored with foure hundred of thoſe *Citron* tables. *Lipſ. l. 1 manud. ad Tacitum Philoſ. c. 8. Lib. 33. c. 11.*

'Touching their platters or chargers, no longer ſince, ſaith *Pliny*, then 'in the dayes of *Claudius* the *Emperour*, *Druſillanus* a ſlaue of his ſurna-'med *Rotundus*, the *Seneſcall* or *Treaſurer* vnder him in high *Spaine*, had 'a *ſilver Charger* of fiue hundred pound weight; for the working where-'of, there was a forge framed aforehand of ſet purpoſe, and the ſame 'was accompanied and attended with eight more of a ſmaller ſize, 'weighing fifty pound a peece: Now I would gladly know if it might 'pleaſe you, ſaith *Pliny*, how many of his fellowes, ſuch ſlaues I meane 'as himſelfe, there muſt be to carry the ſaid veſſell and ſerue it vp to the 'table, or what gueſts they might be who were to be ſerued with ſuch 'huge plate: [h] But this is nothing to that *Charger* of *Vitellius*, who whiles 'he was *Emperour* cauſed one to be made and finiſhed that coſt [i] *a million* '*of Seſterces*; for the making whereof, there was a furnace made of pur-'poſe in the field; aliuding to this *monſtrous platter Mucianus* in his ſe-'cond *Conſulſhip*, when he ripped vp in a publique ſpeech the whole life of *Vitellius* now dead, vpbraided the memoriall of him in theſe very tearmes, calling his exceſſe that way, *Patinarum Paludes*, platters as broad as pooles or ponds: and verily, ſayth hee, that platter of *Vitellius* came nothing behind another, which *Caſſius Severus* reproached *Aſprenas* withall, whom hee accuſed bitterly, and ſaid, that the poyſon of that one *platter* had killed one hundred and thirty perſons, who had taſted thereof. Matchable to theſe, was the famous *platter* of *Eſope* the *Tragedian*,

h *Lib. 35. c. 12.*
i *Decies ſeſtertium.* according to *Budæus*: but if you reade according to *Hottomanus*, *Decies is* twenty times as much more.

Plin. l. 10. c. 51. Seneca. p. 95.

Tragædian, ſaue that it was more notorious for the daintineſſe of the proviſion which he ſerved in it, then for the maſſines of the diſh it ſelfe.

Cap. 42. Their waiters were ſometimes naked wenches. *Tiberius* (ſayth *Suetonius*) ſent to *Sextius Claudius*, that he would come & ſup with him, vpon condition, that hee ſhould change nothing of his wonted faſhion, *vtque nudis puellis miniſtrantibus cœnaretur*; a meſſage worthy of him, who as the ſame *Authour* reports in the ſame place, erected a new office, *à voluptatibus*, onely to deviſe new paſtimes and pleaſures. But *Seneca* deſcribes the order and number of their waters more particularly: They had waiting on them, ſaith he, *puerorum infœlicium greges*, whole troopes of vnfortunate *Ganymedes*, they had *exoletorum agmina*, armes of Exoletes growne to mens eſtate, theſe they ranged into ſeverall bands according to their nations and complexions, they of the ſame band were all of a ſmoothneſſe alike, or had the ſame length of downy moſſe in their chin; nay ſpeciall care was had, that their haire might be ſutable, as in length, ſo in colour and kinde: *ne quis cui rectior eſt coma, criſpulis miſceatur*, that none whoſe haire grew long and ſtraight, ſhould be ranked with the curle paites. He farther tels vs of the infinite number of their Cooks and Bakers, and ſuch like officers; *Per quos ſigno dato ad inferendam cœnam diſcurritur*, by whom the waiters run preſently vpon the ſigne giuen for the carrying of ſupper: his concluſion is *Dij boni quantum hominum vnus venter exercet!* good God, what a number of men doth one belly ſet a worke! and in another place, *Convivia mehercule horum non poſuerim inter vacantia tempora, cum videam quam ſolliciti argentum ordinent, quam diligenter exoletorum ſuorum tunicas ſuccingant, quam ſuſpenſi ſint quomodo aper à coquo cæſus exeat, quanta celeritate ſigno dato glabri ad miniſteria decurrunt, quanta arte ſcindantur oves in fruſtra non enormia, quam curioſè infelices pueruli ebriorum ſputa detergant.* Truly for my part, I ſhould not put their feaſt among their vacant or leaſure times, when I ſee how ſollicitous they are about the ordering of their plate, how diligently they tucke vp the coates of their Exoletes, how carefull they are in what manner the Bore come out of the Cookes handes and be ſerved in, how ſuddainely the ſmooth-chinne Catamites runne to the dreſſer vpon the ſound giuen, with what ſingular art their birdes are cut vp into competent portions, how ſtudiouſly and curiouſly their vnhappy boyes wipe out the ſpuing and ſpitting of their drunken Maſters.

Epiſt. 95.

De brevitate vitæ, c. 12.

And to this their artificiall carving and ordering their diſhes on the table doth the *Satyriſt* allude, where he intimates *Schooles* and *Maſters* of that Art, who taught their Schollers by diſhes faſhioned in wood after what manner, and with what geſture of the body they ſhould cut them vp.

Sed nec ſtructor erit, cui cedere debeat omnis
Pergula, diſcipulus Tripheri doctoris, apud quem
Sumine cum magno lepus, atque aper, & pygargus,
Et Scythicæ volucres, & phœnicopterus ingens,
Et Getulus oryx, bebeti lautiſſima ferro
Cæditur, & tota ſonat vlmea cœna Subura.

Iuv. l. 4. Sat. 11.

The

The carvers at my board diſciples never were
To Doctour *Trypherus*, with whom none may compare,
Sowes milkie teats, the hare, the boare, white buttockt roe,
Pheſant, Getulian goat, huge Phenicopter too,
All dainties with blunt knife he carues as is moſt meete,
And th'Elmen ſupper ſounds through all Subura ſtreete.

SECT 2.

That after-ages ſometimes reformed the abuſes of former times: of the great number and chargeable hire of their Cookes; of Apicius *his waſtefulneſſe in belly-cheere, that ſuch waſtefulneſſe was common among them.*

NOw for the proviſion, I may ſay with *Budæus*, *Majora ſunt iſta omninò noſtræ ætatis captu*, it was beyond the reach and conceit of our age, ſo as *Pliny* herein hath proued a true Prophet, *nos fecimus quæ poſteri fabuloſa arbitrentur*, wee haue done thoſe things which poſterity will not beleeue, but account fabulous. In the handling hereof it ſhall not be impertinent firſt to obſerue that after-ages ſometimes reformed the abuſe of former times. Thus *Latinus Pacatus* in his *Panegyricke* commends *Theodoſius* for his ſobriety and frugality in regard of his Predeceſſors, in as much as there was then no neede *ad penum Regiam flagitare remotorum littorum piſcem, peregrini aëris volucrem, alieni temporis florem*, to take vp and purvay for the Emperours vſe and proviſion a fiſh of a remote coaſt, a bird of a ſtrange ayre, or a flowre of a contrary ſeaſon: Then goes hee on to deſcribe the exceſſiue Luxury of former ages in reſpect of the preſent.

Lib. 4. de Aſſe

Lib. 33 c. 3.

Satur. nal. l. 3. c. 13.

In like manner *Macrobius* in a conference at a ſupper betwixt *Horus* and *Cecinna*, makes *Horus* to declaime againſt the Luxury of his owne times, but *Cecinna* anſwers him by prouing that Antiquity was much more faulty that way. Among other inſtances and reaſons alleaged by him, this is one; that *Peacockes* egges were commonly ſold for fiue pence a peece, which then were nothing worth to be ſold: and againe, that anciently ſo many Lawes were made againſt it, as *Lex Orchia, fannia, didia, Licinia, Cornelia*, and others and then concludes, *niſi peſſimus effuſiſſimiſque moribus viveretur, profectò opus tot legibus ferendis non fuiſſet, vetus verbum eſt, Leges bonæ ex malis moribus procreantur*: Except men had then liued in a moſt inordinate and licentious manner, they had never needed the making of ſo many lawes; it being an old ſaying, that good lawes are occaſioned by evill manners.

Cap. 17.

Another argument for their *exceſſiue gluttony* in former times might be taken from the number and exceſſiue hire of their *Cookes*, and their wonderfull expences in their *Kitchins* and at their *Tables*. For the number of their *Cookes*, *Aſpice Culinas noſtras*, ſaith *Seneca*, *& concurſantes inter tot ignes coquos noſtros*; Looke into our Kitchins, and marke the number of our Cookes running vp and downe among ſo many fires. And in another *Epiſtle*, *innumerabiles eſſe morbos non miraberis, coquos numera, In Rhetorum ac Philoſophorum ſcholis ſolitudo eſt: At quam celebres culinæ ſunt?*

Epiſt. 115.

95.

ſunt? quanta circa nepotum focos juventus premit? Do you wonder that our diſeaſes are innumerable? number our Cookes if you can. The ſchooles of Rhetoritians and Philoſophers are empty: but how are our Kitchins frequented? what multitudes of youth preſſe about the chimneyes of vnthrifts? And for their hire, they were wont to complaine, ſaith *Pliny*, that the hire of a Cooke was as much as the price of an horſe, whereas now adayes we can hardly get them for the price of three horſes: *nulluſque jam prope mortalis æſtimatur pluris, quàm qui peritiſſimè cenſum Domini mergit*; and ſcarce any man is in greater requeſt then hee that can moſt artificially waſte his Maſters ſubſtance. And what infinite waſte they made this way, the onely ſtory of *Apicius* a famous belly-god may ſuffice to ſhew: who having layd vp ninety millions of Seſterces for his Kitchin, beſides many great gifts of *Princes*, and a mighty revenew of the *Capitoll*, being deepe in debt, he began at laſt, though ſore againſt his will, to looke into his reckonings, and take an account of his eſtate, and found that all being caſt vp, hee had yet left vnto himſelfe cleare tenne millions of Seſterces, and therevpon *velut in vltima fame victurus, veneno vitam finivit*, as if he ſhould haue beene forced poore man to liue in a hunger-ſterued faſhion, hee poyſoned himſelfe: *Quanta luxuria eſt cui ſeſtertium centies egeſtas fuit?* how great was that *Luxurie* to which ten millions of Seſterces ſeemed poverty? This notable vanity and folly of *Apicius*, the *Epigrammatiſt* moſt deſervedly ſcoffes at.

lib 9.17.

Trium horum, not *trium phorum* as ſome readit.

Plin. 9.17.

Seneca de Conſolatione ad Albinam c. 10.

Martial. l. 3. Epig 22.

Dederas Apici * *bis trecenties ventri,*
Sed adhuc ſupererat centies tibi laxum,
Hoc tu gravatus ne famem & ſitim ferres,
Summa venenum potione duxiſti,
Nil eſt Apaci tibi guloſius factum.

Apicius thou didſt on thy gut beſtow
Full ninety millions: yet when this was ſpent
Ten millions ſtill remaind to thee, which thou
Fearing to ſuffer thirſt and famiſhment
In poyſon'd potion drankſt: *Apicius*
Of all thy facts this was moſt gluttonous.

* It ſeemes it ſhould be read *ter trecenties*, the figures of II being miſtaken for III.

And no marvaile *Apacius* ſhould runne ſo farre vpon the ſcore and conſume ſuch a maſſe of treaſure by this meanes, ſince it was vſuall to laviſh out and devour whole patrimonies at a ſitting,

Iuven Sat. 1. *---Vna comedunt patrimonia menſa.*

Seneca Ep. 95. *Quid eſt cœna ſumptuoſa flagitioſius, & equeſtrem cenſum conſumente? & tricies tamen Seſtertio adjiciales cœnæ frugaliſſimis Viris conſtiterunt.* What is more lewde, ſayth *Seneca*, then a ſumptuous ſupper waſting a Knights revenewes? yet it ſtands the moſt frugall commonly, if it be ſolemne, in three hundred thouſand Seſterces. And he that ſhall but looke into their bils of fare, and take a particular view of the number of their *Courſes* at a feaſt, and of their *diſhes* at a courſe, and of the *priſes* of their diſhes, together with their *long* and *often* ſittings, will rather wonder that they ſpent ſo little, then that they brought going ſo much.

SECT. 3.

SECT. 3.

Of their long and often ſitting and vſuall practiſe of vomiting even among their women, as alſo of the number of their courſes at a ſitting, together with the rarity and coſtlineſſe of their ſeverall ſervices.

FOr their *long ſittings Suetonius* reports of *Tiberius*, that hee ſpent a whole night and two dayes out-right in nothing elſe but eating & drinking, *Noctem continuumque biduum epulando, potandoq; conſumpſit*: And of *Nero*, *Epulas è media die ad mediam noctem protrahebat*, hee held out his feaſt from noone day till midnight. And of *Vitellius* for *often ſittings*, that he feaſted vſually three times, ſometimes foure times a day, every ſitting being valued at foure hundred thouſand Seſterces, *facile omnibus ſufficiens vomitandi conſuetudine*, being eaſily able to goe thorow them all by a continuall cuſtome of vomitting: which it ſeemes was among them a common practice: *Vomunt vt edant, edunt vt vomant: epulas, quas toto orbe conquirunt, nec concoquere dignantur*: they vomit that they may eate, and eate againe that they may vomit, and thoſe delicates which they hunt for thorow the world, they vouchſafe not ſo much as to concoct, nay the very women practiſe it, *æque invitis ingeſta viſceribus per os reddunt, & vinum omne vomitu remittunt*, as well as men they eate againſt their ſtomaches that which they ſoone returne by their mouths, and all their wine they quickely ſend backe by vomitting: And from hence (as I conceiue) did they vſually riſe from their great feaſts ſo colourleſſe and indiſpoſ'd,

Cap. 22.
Cap. 27.
Cap. 13.
Seneca de Consolatione ad Helviam c. 9.
Seneca epiſt. 95

---*Vides, vt pallidus omnis*
Cœna deſurgat dubia? quin corpus onuſtum
Heſternis vitijs, animum quoque prægravat vnà,
Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.

Hor. Sat. 2. l. 2.

Seeſt thou how pale they from their doubtfull ſupper riſe?
Their body further charg'd with riotiſe
Of yeſterday, weighs downe the ſoule, and in the mire
Of this baſe earth doth plunge the ſparke of heav'nly fire

The *number* of their Courſes at a ſitting were vſually ſeaven, and that ſometimes when they ſate privately,

---*Quis fercula ſeptem*
Secreto cœnavit avus?

Iuvenal Sat. 1

Which of our Anceſters vpon
Seaven ſervices did ſup alone?

But that monſter *Heliogabalus* had ſerved in, at one feaſt two and twenty ſeverall courſes, *Exhibuit aliquando & tale convivium vt haberet viginti duo fercula ingentium epularum*; hee once made ſuch a feaſt that hee had ſerved in, two and twenty Courſes, all of the choiſeſt fare.

Lampridius

For their *variety* of diſhes wee may partly gueſſe at them by that *adventitious* ſupper (as *Suetonius* calls it) which was made *Vitellius* by his brother, *in qua duo millia lectiſſimorum piſcium, ſeptem avium apposita traduntur*, in which are ſayd to haue beene ſerved in, two thouſand of the choiſeſt

Cap. 13.

choseſt fiſh, and ſeaven thouſand fowle.

Now for the *delicacie* and prices of their diſhes, it certainely exceeded their variety and number, they were fatre fetcht and deare bought, *Quicquid mare, aut terra, aut etiam cælo gigneretur, ad ſatiendam ingluviem*
Saturn. 3. & 17. *ſuam natum exiſtimans, faucibus ac dentibus ſuis ſubdidit*, ſaith *Macrobius* of *Anthony*, he devoured with his chaps and teeth whatſoever the Sea, or Earth, or Aire brought forth, as if all had beene borne only to ſatiſfie his luxurie. And *Saluſt* of *Metellus Proconſull* in *Spaine*, *Epulæ verò exquiſitiſſimæ, neque per omnem modò provinciam, ſed trans maria ex Mauritania volucrum & ferarum incognita antea plura genera.* His feaſts were moſt exquiſite, not onely of all the dainties which were to be had in thoſe parts, but many kindes of birds and beaſts before vnknowne in that Countrey were brought from beyond the Seas and out of *Mauritania.*
Lipſius. *Quis ganeonum aut lurconum poſſit vel auſit imitari? Quis noſtrum hodie aves aut feras trans mare cœnæ cauſâ conquirit*: Which of our thriftleſſe Belly-gods can or dare imitate him? which of vs now a dayes ſends for birds or beaſts beyond the Seas to make a Supper? Yet was this practiſe among them no rare matter, as may appeare by that of *Petronius Arbiter.*

Ingenioſa gula eſt, Siculo ſcarus æquore merſus
Ad menſam vivus deducitur; inde Lucrinis
Eruta littoribus vendunt conchylia cœnis,
Vt renovent per damna famem; jam Phaſidos vnda
Orbata eſt avibus, mutoque in littore tantum
Solæ deſertis aſpirant frondibus auræ.

The throate is witty, thence the Guilthead that doth cliue
Sicilian ſea is brought vnto the board aliue.
Shelfiſh they ſell that in the lake of Lucrin grew,
To ſup on, by their loſſe their hunger to renew.
The bankes of Phaſis now are dumbe, the birds are gone,
And on forſaken boughs now breathes the winde alone.

And leaſt wee ſhould thinke that hee ſpeakes *Poetically* and *hyperbolically*,
De conſolat. ad Albinam. c. 9. the graue *Seneca* in his ſober and ſad manner goes beyond it. *Non eſt neceſſe omne perſcrutari profundum, nec ſtrage animalium ventrem onerare, nec conchylia vltimi maris ex ignoto littore eruere, Dij iſtos Deæque perdant quorum luxuria tam invidioſi imperij fines tranſcendit, vltra Phaſin capi volunt quod ambitioſam popinam inſtruat, nec piget à Parthis quibus nondum pœnas repetivimus, aves petere, vndique convehunt omnia vota faſtidienti gulæ, quod diſſolutus delicijs ſtomachus vix admittat ab vltimo portatur Oceano.* There is no neceſſity of ſearching the deepe, nor of filling our bellies with the ſlaughter of beaſts, nor of dragging ſhell-fiſh of the moſt remote ſeas & the vnknowne ſhore. The Gods and Goddeſſes plague them, whoſe luxury cannot bound it ſelfe within the liſts of ſo large and ſo much envied an Empire: It muſt be taken beyond the river *Phaſis*, which ſhould ſerue the proviſion of their ambitious kitchin, neither are they aſhamed to borrow birds from the *Parthians*, vpon whom they haue not yet taken revenge, for al places they hunt after that which they long for to ſatisfie their yawning appetite; nay they fetch that from the fartheſt part

of

of the Ocean, which their ſtomacke weakened with delicacies, will hardly admit. And a while after, *ó miſerabiles quorum palatum miſi ad pretioſos cibos non excitantur, pretioſos autem non eximius ſapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo, ſed raritas & difficultas parandi facit.* O wretched men, whoſe pallates are not ſtirred but with pretious meates, ſpecially when that which makes them pretious is not any ſingular reliſh or excellent ſavour they haue, but onely their ſcarcity and difficulty of procuring them.

And herein *Latinus pacatus* in his *Panygericke* accords well with *Seneca*, if hee goe not a ſtraine beyond him; *Horum gulæ anguſtus erat orbis noſter: namque appoſitas dapes non ſapore ſed ſumptu æſtimantes, illis demum cibis acquieſcebant, quos extremus Oriens, aut poſitus extra Romanum Colchus Imperium, aut famoſa naufragijs maria miſiſſent:* This our world was too narrow for their throates: for not valuing their Cates by their taſt but by their coſt, they reſted content onely with that proviſion which they got from the vttermoſt parts of the *Eaſt*, or *Colchus* ſeated beyond the *Romane Empire*, or ſeas infamous with ſhipwrackes.

--Magis illa placent quæ pluris emuntur. *Iuvenal Satyr. 11.*

That pleaſeth moſt
Which deareſt coſt.

Many thinke it (ſayth *Plutarch*, in that golden booke of his touching the *precepts of health*,) an abſurd thing, not to feede liberally of things which are rare, and can hardly be come by, as a Sowes pappes when ſhe hath newly farrowed, *Italian* Muſhroomes, *Samian* Cakes, or Snow out of *Egypt*, forcing the body (which otherwiſe would not ſeeke after them) to participate of ſuch rare things, onely becauſe they be much ſpoken of, and hard to come by, to the end that they may report, and recount to others, what they haue eaten, that they may be reputed happy and fortunate in having enjoyed things ſo deere, ſo ſingular and geaſon.

SECT. 4.

Of the ſumptuous proviſion of two platters furniſhed out, the one by Vitellius, *the other by* Æſope *the* Tragædian, *as alſo of the horrible exceſſe of* Caligula *and* Heliogabalus.

THeſe dainties wee may partly gueſſe at by the furniture of two famous platters, the one of *Vitellius*, which for the huge bigneſſe thereof, he was wont to call *Minerva's buckler*, in this hee blended together the livers of guiltheads, the braines of feſants and peacockes, the tongues of Phænicopters, & the melts of Lampres brought from the *Spaniſh* & *Carpathian* Seas, by the Maſters of ſhippes and Gallies. *Suet. c. 13.* The other of *Æſope* the *Tragædian*, which he furniſhed out with the rareſt ſinging birds, or ſuch as imitated mans voice; they coſt him ſix thouſand Seſterces a peece, and the whole platter ſix hundred thouſand: *Nulla alia inductus voluptate, niſi vt in his imitationem hominis manderet*, induced herevnto by no other pleaſure, ſayth *Plyny*, but that thereby *Valer. l. 9. c. 1. Senec. Ep. 96. Tertul. de pal. lio: Pl. 10. 51.*

by he might eate the imitation of mankinde, or perhaps *imitatione hominem*, mankinde by imitation.

To theſe may be added the horrible exceſſe of *Caligula* and *Heliogabalus*, the former of which, *Videtur natura edidiſſe vt oſtenderet quid ſumma vitia in ſumma fortuna poſſent*, whom nature ſeemes to haue brought forth, to ſhew what effects the greateſt vices joyned with the greateſt fortune could produce. This man ſaith *Suetonius*, *nepotinis ſumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia ſuperavit*, in thriftles expences exceeded the wits of all the prodigalls that ever were, *commentus portentoſiſſima genera ciborum atque cœnarum*, inventing moſt moſtrous kindes of meates and ſuppers, the moſt orient pearles that were to be gotten, hee diſſolved in vineger and ſwallowed downe, and ſet before his gueſts bread & victuals of gold, *aut frugi hominem eſſe oportere dictitans, aut Cæſarem*, commonly ſaying, that a man neede be thrifty, or *Cæſar*; yet notwithſtanding, ſaith *Seneca*, being aſſiſted with the inventions of all his companions, he could hardly finde the meanes to ſpend the tribute of the *Provinces* at one ſupper. Which I wonder *Seneca* ſhould affirme, conſidering he practiſed the diſſolving and ſwallowing of pearles.

Seneca de conſolatione ad Albinam, c. 9.

Cap. 37.

De Conſol. ad Albinam, c. 9.

Now for *Heliogabalus*, *Lampridius* thus begins his ſtory. *Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impuriſſimam nunquam in literas miſiſſem, ne quis fuiſſe Romanorum Principem ſciret, niſi ante Caligulas, & Neriones, & Vitellios hoc idem habuiſſet Imperium:* The moſt beaſtly life of *Heliogabalus Antoninus* I would never haue committed vnto writing, that it might not haue bin knowne, that ever there was ſuch an Emperour of the *Romanes*, vnleſſe *Caligula*, and *Nero*, and *Vitellius* had before ſate in the ſame throne. Of him then, beſides his other moſt abominable filthineſſe, hee reports for his exceſſe in diet, that at one ſupper he cauſed to be ſerved in, the heads of ſix hundred Oſtriches, onely for the eating of their braines; being neere the ſea, he never taſted fiſh, but in places fartheſt diſtant from the ſea, all his diet was vpon fiſh: And in the In-land he fed the countrey clownes with the melts of lampres and pikes. To be breefe *Canas & Vitellij & Apicij vicit*, hee exceeded the ſuppers both of *Vitellius* and *Apicius*.

SECT. 5.

Of the exceſſiue luxury of more ancient times.

WHat ſhould I ſpeake of more ancient times? of the *Dictator Cæſar*, who borrowed of *Hirrius* ſix thouſand lampres by weight, for the furniſhing out of a triumph ſupper, and by weight to be repaid againe, and if ſuch were his ſtore of lampres, what ſhall we conceiue of his other proviſion? Of *Fabius Gurges*, ſo called for devouring his Patrimonie thorow the throate? Of *Metellus Pius*, who made ſuppers *vltra Romanorum ac mortalium etiam morem*, not only beyond the cuſtome of the Romanes, but of mankinde? Of *Metellus Pontifex*, of whom *Macrobius* having ſpecified the dainties ſerved in at his table in all kindes, concludes, *Vbi jam luxuria tunc accuſaretur quando*

Macrobius. Saturn. 2. 11. Plin. 9. 55.

Macrob. Saturn. 3. 13. Saluſt.

tot

tot rebus farta fuit cœna Pontificum? who ſhould then excuſe luxurie when the table of the high Prieſts was furniſhed with ſuch variety of rarities? Of *Hortenſius*, who vſually watered, if I may ſo ſpeake, his plane trees with wine, in ſo much, that one day being to plead a cauſe, wherein *Cicero* was likewiſe retained, hee ſollicited him to change turnes with him, that ſo he might returne the ſooner to his country farme, to powre wine on his Planes with his owne hand; and ſo curious hee was about his fiſh-ponds, that the ſame *Cicero* ſome-where calls *Phillip* and him, *Piſcenarios*, pond-men or fiſh-mongers, and ſo chary withall of his fiſh, that ſooner ſhould you get by his good will, *ex equili rhedarias mulas quàm ex piſcina barbatum mullum*, his coach mules out of his ſtable then one barbel out of his pondes: yet was a mule ſold ſometimes for the price of an houſe. *Varro de re ruſtica, l. 3.*

--Pluris mula eſt quam domus empta tibi.
More for a mule then for a houſe thou pai'ſt. *Martial. l. 8. Epig. 2.*

Of *Aſinius Celer*, who laid downe for one mullet ſix thouſand Seſterces, as *Tertullian*, ſeaven thouſand, as *Macrobius*, eight thouſand, as *Pliny*, *In qua re luxuriam illius ſeculi eo magis licet æſtimare*, ſayth *Macrobius*, *quod Plinius ſecundus temporibus ſuis negat facile mullum reperium qui duas pondo libras excederet, at nunc & majoris ponderis paſſim videmus, & pretia hæc inſana neſcimus*: wherein wee may the ſooner gueſſe at the luxurie of that age, in as much as *Plinius Secundus* affirmes that in his time, 'twas hard to finde a mullet of aboue two pound weight, whereas now wee haue them every where of a greater quantitie, and yet are not acquainted with thoſe madde prices. Of *Lucullus* a greate ſtateſ-man, whom *Tully* and *Pompey* meeting by chance in the market place, out of a deſire they had to know what his dayly fare might be, invited themſelues to ſuppe with him that night, but vpon condition, hee ſhould giue no warning thereof, for that they deſired not to put him to charge: Hee began at firſt to put them off with excuſes for that time, wiſhing them rather to agree on the next day; but they importuning him for the preſent, hee demanded of them, whether or no they would then ſuffer him to giue order in what roome they ſhould ſup; that they permitted: whereupon he preſently diſpatches away a meſſage in their hearing, that hee would that night ſuppe in *Apollo*, within a while they follow after, and finde all things ready in a pompous and princely manner, but knew not the true reaſon, all the cunning lying in the word *Apollo*: For hee had ſo diſpoſed of his roomes, that being diſtinguiſhed by names, their proviſion & charge when he ſate in them was accordingly allotted to them; by which meanes his ſteward and cooke, as ſoone as they heard the roome named, knew preſently what to provide. Now among the reſt, that which bore the name of *Apollo* was chiefeſt, the ſumme alotted therevnto, being, as witneſſeth *Plutarch*, *Quinquaginta millia drachmarum*, which *Budæus* caſts vp to 5000 Crownes, and addes withall, *hujuſmodi multa à Plutarcho referuntur fidem omnino excedentia, ſi ex præſenti ſeculo æſtimentur*: Many ſuch things are reported by *Plutarch*, which if they ſhould be valued by the ſcantling of our preſent times, would ſeeme altogether incredible. Of *Sergius Aurata* or *Orata*, who borrowed *Tertull. de pal. Macr. Satur. l. 3. c. 16. l. 9. c. 17.* *Lib. 4.*

rowed his name from a fiſh ſo called, becauſe hee loued it moſt; the firſt hee was that adjudged the price to the *Lucrine* oyſters for taſt. Of *Licinius Craſſus*, who, as witneſſeth *Cicero*, being held a graue and ſtayd man, and moſt eminent among the citizens of the beſt ranke and note, mourned in blacke for a Lamprey which died in a pond adjoyning to his houſe, as it had beene for his daughter; and therevpon was afterward commonly called *Licinius Murena*. Or laſtly, of *Octavius*, *Admirall* of the *Nauy*, who finding that the *Scarus* was not to be had in the *Italian* Seas, diſperſed an incredible multitude of them, being brought thither in ſhippes, betweene *Hoſtia* and *Campania*, *miroq; ac novo exemplo piſces in mari, tanquam in terra fruges aliquas ſeminavit*; by a ſtrange and new example ſowed fiſhes in the ſea, as it had beene corne in the field: And the ſame man, *tanquam ſumma in hoc vtilitatis publicæ verteretur*, as if herein had conſiſted the well-fare and chiefe happines of the ſtate, for fiue yeares imployed his vtmoſt endeavours, that if among other fiſhes any fiſher-man by chance lighted vpon a *Scarus*, hee ſhould againe reſtore him to the Sea ſafe and ſound. Belike this was the ſame *Octavius*, of whom *Seneca* relates this pleaſant ſtory: *Mullum ingentis formæ, (quare autem non pondus adjecto & aliorum gulam irrito? quatuor pondo & ad Selebram fuiſſe aiebant) Tiberius Cæſar miſſum ſibi cum in macellum deferri & vænire juſſiſſet, amici inquit omnia me fallunt, niſi iſtum mullum aut Apacius emerit aut Publius Octavius. Vltra ſpem illi conjectura proceſſit, licitati ſunt, vicit Octavius & ingentem conſecutus eſt inter ſuos gloriam, quum quinque millibus H S emiſſet piſcem quem Cæſar vendiderat, ne Apicius quidem emerat. Tiber. Cæſ.* being preſented with a goodly mullet of a vaſt quantity (but why do I not adde his weight, that ſo I may provoke the appetite of others? hee was ſayd to weigh foure pound and an halfe) ſent it preſently to the market there to be ſold; and my friends, quoth hee, I am much miſtaken if either *Apicius* or *Publius Octavius* buy him not: It fell out beyond expectation; they both cheapned it, but *Octavius* carried it away, and thereby got him wonderfull applauſe among his companions, that he had with fiue thouſand ſeſterces bought a fiſh which the *Emperour* ſold, and *Apicius* durſt not buy. For mine owne part I cannot tell, whether I ſhould more wonder at the baſe parcimony of *Tiberius*, or the riotous prodigality of *Octavius*, that the one being an Emperour ſhould ſend a fiſh which was giuen him for a preſent, to the market to be ſold; or the other, being but a private man, ſhould buy it at ſuch a rate; Yet it ſhould ſeeme by the *Satyriſt*, this price was not ſo rare, but others out vied it.

Idem. 3.16.

Epiſt. 95.

---Mullum ſex millibus emit,
Æquantem ſane paribus ſeſtertia libris.
Hee for a mullet did ſix thouſand pay,
Which equall pounds did with thoſe thouſands weigh.

Iuvenal. Satyr. 4.

By which proportion it ſeemes, they equalled a thouſand Seſterces to a pound of fiſh.

SECT. 6.

SECT. 6.

Of their wonderfull niceneſſe in the ſtrangeneſſe, weight, and newneſſe of their fiſhes, as alſo of diverſe other their ſtrange curioſities about them, and of the vaſtneſſe of their fiſh-ponds, and great ſtore of fiſhes in them.

AND no marvell ſince thoſe fiſhes among them were in greateſt requeſt which were brought from remote Seas, their owne being in a manner drawne drie,

Mullus erit domina quem miſit Corſica, vel quem
Tauromenetanæ rupes, quando omne peractum eſt, Iuven. Satyr 5.
Et jam defecit noſtrum mare.

That's th'onely Mullet which from Corſica is ſent,
Or from Sicilian rocks, for all our Sea is ſpent,
And altogether failes.

And of the *Lamprey* to like purpoſe in the ſame Satyre.

Virroni murena datur quæ maxima venit
Gurgite de Siculo.

A Lamprey one on *Virro* did beſtow,
The greateſt that Sicilian gulfe did know.

Of their *weight* they were ſo curious and obſervant, that they had them weighed many times at their very tables in the preſence of their gueſts, many ſtanding by & noting it in their table-bookes, as witneſſeth *Ammianus Marcellinus*: *Poſcuntur etiam in conviviis aliquoties trutinæ vt appoſiti piſces & volucres ponderentur, & glires quorum magnitudo ſæpius delicata* Lib. 28.
non ſine tedio præſentium vt antehac inuſitata laudatur aſſiduè, maximè cum hæc eadem numerantes notarii propè triginta adſiſtant, cum thecis & pugillaribus. The ballances are ſometimes ſent for in the middeſt of their feaſts, that the fiſhes which are ſet before them, and the birds, and the reare-mice may be weighed, whoſe exceſſiue greatnes not without tediouſneſſe to ſome preſent, as being a thing heretofore vnvſuall, is daily magnified and extolled, ſpecially when almoſt thirty *Notaries* ſtanding by, ſet downe the exact weight in their table-bookes. To which cuſtome the *Poet* alludes;

--- Laudas inſane trelibrem
Mullum. Hor. l. 2. Sat. 2.

A Mullet thou doeſt praiſe
Mad man that three pound weighs.

And as the weight much commended their fiſh & inhanced their price, ſo did the newneſſe and freſhneſſe thereof: they being come to ſuch a niceneſſe and delicacy at laſt, that *parum videtur recens mullus niſi qui in* Sen. nat. quæſt. 3. 17.
conviuæ manu moreretur, that mullet ſeemed not new enough which died not in the gueſts hand. To this purpoſe they brought them aliue in glaſſen bottles filled with water, into the roome where they ſate: *in cubile natant piſces, & ſub ipſa menſa capitur, qui ſtatim transferatur in menſam*, out fiſhes ſwimme in our chambers, and that very fiſh is taken vp vnder our board, which is inſtantly ſerved in to our board. They took a

Sen. 17. marveilous delight to see their mullets change colour whiles they were expiring, *Mullum expirantem versicolore quadam & numerosa varietate spectari proceres gulæ narrant:* The headmen and peeres of *Luxury* affirme that the mullet when he lies a dying shewes himselfe in many and those very various and changeable colours. But *Seneca* hereupon cannot hold but desire leaue to leaue his matter a while, and to lash those gluttons. *Permitte mihi quæstione sepositâ vastigare luxuriam:* and then goes on. Cap. 18. *Quo pervenère deliciæ? & pro putrido jam piscis affertur qui non hodie eductus, hodie occisus est; nescio de re magna tibi credere, ipse oportet mihi credam, huc asseratur, coram me animam agat; ad hunc fastum pervenere ventres delicatorum, vt gustare non possint piscem nisi quem in ipso convivio natantem, palpitantemque viderint.* To what passe is our daintinesse now come? it is held for a stinking fish which is not that very day drawne out of the water & kild: I cannot trust thee in a matter of so great moment, bring him hither that he may expire in my presence: to such an height are our belly-gods come, that they cannot taste the fish vnlesse they see him in the very feast swimming and panting. And to this end, saith he, *cursu advehitur, & gerulis cum anhelitu & clamore properantibus datur via,* he is brought in a posting speed, and way is giuen to the Porters making haste with panting and out-cryes. His conclusion is, *non tempero mihi quin vtar interdum temerarijs verbis, & proprietatis modum excedam: non sunt ad popinam dentibus, & ventre, & ore contenti, oculis quoq; gulosi sunt.* I cannot refraine but that sometimes I must vse vnadvised and improper words, they are not content to play the gluttons with their jawes and belly, and mouth, but they must doe it with their eyes too. Cap. 14. And *Meursius* hereupon inferres, *Quæ malum hæ deliciæ? vix credamus nisi ab ipsis authoribus haberemus, quorum fidem hic negare sit piaculum.* What a mischiefe, what a niceneſſe is this? we should not beleeue it, but that we haue it from those authors whose credit once to question were a kinde of impiety. Yet that *Samnonicus Severus* writes to *Severus* the Emperour touching the seruing in of the *Acipenser* or *Sturgion* is mee thinkes a degree beyond all that hath beene yet spoken, it therein appearing that indeed they made their belly their God. *Dignatione vestra cum interfum convivio sacro, animadverto hunc piscem à coronatis ministris à Tibicine introferri.* When your sacred Majesty is pleased to admit me to your feast, I obserue that this fish is euer serued in with musicke, the wayters that beare him wearing garlands or chaplets on their heades. Wherevpon *Macrobius* makes this Comment, *Quasi quadam non deliciarum sed numinis pompa,* as it had beene not for delight, but for devotion to some divine power.

Since then they were thus curious in the choice of their fish, wee neede not much marveile at him in *Iuvenal,* who

Iuven. Sat. 4.

---- Circæis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutipinoue edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu
Et semel aspecti littus dicebat Echini.

No sooner did he taste an Oister, but he knew
Whether it from Circes towne, or Lucrin lake they drew,

Or

Or from Richborow deepe; and Lobsters also hee,
What shore them bred can tell when first he doth them see.

But rather that of *Martiall* touching the Lampreys in *Domitians* fish-ponds at *Baiæ*. *Lib. 4. epig. 30.*

Piscator fuge ne nocens recedas,
Sacris piscibus hæ natantur undæ,
Qui norunt Dominum, manumq; lambunt
Illam qua nihil est in orbe majus.
Quid quod nomen habent, & ad Magistri
Vocem quisque sui venit citatus?

Angler wouldst thou be guiltlesse? then forbeare,
For they are sacred fishes which swimme here,
Who know their Soveraigne, and will licke his hand,
Then which, none's greater in the worlds command:
Nay more th' haue names, and when they called are,
Doe to their severall owners call repaire.

Which latter part is confirmed by *Pliny*, *Spectantur & in piscinis Cæsaris genera piscium ad nomen venire, quosdamque singulos.* In the *Emperours* fish-ponds are seene a kinde of fishes which come at the calling of them by their names, and that particular and single ones. And of *Antonia* the wife of *Drusus* he reports, that at *Baulos* she hung jewels as it had beene eare-rings in the gilds of a Lamprey which shee loved; and that *Hortensius* the Oratour was seene to shed teares for the death of one whom he dearely affected. *Lib. 10. 70.* *Lib. 9. 35.*

These kinde of fish-ponds for the keeping of Lampreyes, besides the *Emperour*, diverse private men had, and that so large, as is almost incredible what is reported of them, were it not written by Authors of good credit. The same *Hirrius*, whom we mentioned before, received for the yearely rents of his buildings raised about his fish-ponds, as witnesseth *Varro*, twelue thousand Sesterces; All which hee disbursed againe in the feeding of his fishes: his farme he sold, and specially in regard of his fish-ponds, for foure hundred thousand Sesterces. And *Cato* (as writeth the same Author, being Guardian to *Lucullus*, sold out of his fish-ponds so much fish as hee received for it forty thousand Sesterces. But *Columella* making report hereof out of *Varro*, whether vpon a mistake or no I know not, makes the summe ten times as much: his words are, *attamen iisdem temporibus quibus hanc memorabat Varro luxuriem maxima laudabatur severitas Catonis, qui nihilominus & ipse tutor Luculli grandi ære sestertium quadringentorum millium piscinas pupilli sui venditabat.* In those very times in which *Varro* mentions this Luxury, the severity of *Cato* was highly commended; yet he being guardian to *Lucullus*, sold his Wards fish-ponds for a great summe of foure hundred thousand Sesterces; the difference is great betweene *Varro* and *Columella*, but it should seeme, the one speakes of the fish alone, and the other of the fish-ponds with it. Howsoever, the summe was doubtlesse very great, which argued their great store of fish, and yet their prices being so great withall, it must needes argue that their *Luxury* was *universall*, and greater then either their prices or store. *De re rustica 3. 17.* *Ibid. c. 2.* *Lib. 8. c. 16.*

SECT. 7.

Of their exceſſiue gluttony in fowle as well as in fiſh, together with their luxurious appurtenances to their ſolemne feaſts, as alſo that their gluttony roſe with their Empire, and againe fell with it.

NOw as their *Luxurie* ſhewed it ſelfe chiefly in their *fiſh*, ſo likewiſe did it in *birds*, though not happily ſo much, yet foule enough to diſcouer their inſatiable appetites: *Gellius* to this purpoſe alleageth a notable paſſage out of a ſet ſpeech of *Favorinus*, an ancient Orator, which he vſed in reproach of their luxurious ſuppers, when he perſwaded the *Licinian* Law for the cutting off of ſuperfluous charge that way, which is the more remarkeable, becauſe in thoſe times, *Præfecti popinæ atq; luxuriæ negant cœnam lautam eſſe, niſi quum libentiſſimè edis, tum auferatur, & alia eſca melior atq; amplior ſuccenturietur: is nunc flos cœnæ habetur inter iſtos, quibus ſumptus & faſtidium pro facetijs procedit: qui negant vllam avem præter ficedulam totam comeſſe oportere: cæterarum avium atq; altilium, niſi tantum apponatur vt à cluniculis inferiori parte ſaturi fiant, convivium putant inopia ſordere: ſuperiorem partem avium atq; altilium qui edunt eos palatum non habere.* The maſters of the Art of Cookerie and Luxurie deny it to be a rich ſupper, vnleſſe that meate which you feed vpon with a good ſtomack be taken off, and more dainty and full diſhes be muſtered in place thereof. That is now held the flowre of delicacie, when in ſteed of merriment, coſtlineſſe euen to loathing is ſubſtituted: they deny that any bird is to be eaten whole, but onely the * gnat-ſnapper, & except ſuch a quantity of other birds and fatted foule be ſerued in, and ſet on, as a man may glut himſelfe only with the hinder part of them, they hold it but a poore feaſt: and ſuch as taſt the fore-part, they cenſure as hauing no palate. The ducke they fedde vpon only about the breaſt and the necke.

15. 8.

Ficedula.

Mart. 13.

Tota quidem ponatur anas, ſed pectore tantum,
Et ceruice ſapit, cætera redde Coco.

And ſo did they only vpon the bellie, and fat entralls of the *Scarus*.

Idem ibidem.

Hic Scarus æquoreis qui venit obeſus ab vndis,
Viſceribus bonus eſt, cætera vile ſapit.

The fowle which they ſpecially hunted after and moſt delighted in, were *Phœnicopters*, *Peacockes*, *Thruſhes* and *Pigeons*. For the firſt of theſe I know not what kinde of bird it was, but *Martial* thus deſcribes it.

Lib. 13. *Epig.* 71.

Dat mihi penna rubens nomen, ſed lingua guloſis
Noſtra ſapit, Quid ſi garrula lingua foret?

Red wings gaue me my name, my tongu's a dainty cate
To gluttons: would be more if that my tongue could prate.

Lib. 3. *c.* 6. Their *Peacockes* grew in greateſt requeſt in *Varroes* time, *De pavonibus noſtra memoria greges habere cæpti, & vænire magno, ex ijs Aufidius ſupra ſexagena millia nummûm in anno dicitur capere:* Flockes of peacockes began to

to be kept in our time, and to be held at high rates, *Aufidius* is ſayd to receiue yearly for theſe birds ſixty thouſand Seſterces; their bodies being commonly ſold for fifty, and their egges for fiue pence a peece. What reckoning they made of their *thruſhes* in part appeares by that of *Martiall*.

Lib.13.Epig.92.

Inter aves turdus, ſi quid me judice certum eſt,
Inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus.
'Mongſt birds the thruſh, 'mongſt beaſts the hare,
In my conceit the choiſeſt are.

Of *thruſhes* they had marvellous great abundance, and yet were they very deare; both which, we haue teſtified by *Varro* vpon his owne knowledge. In this farme alone, ſaith he, which is ordained for an *Ornithon* or the keeping of birds, *Quinque millia ſcio venisſe turdorum denarijs ternis, vt ſexaginta millia ea pars reddiderit eo anno villæ:* I know to haue beene ſold fiue thouſand thruſhes for three pence a peece, ſo as that commodity alone brought in that yeare three ſcore thouſand Seſterces. And no marvell, ſince the places in which theſe were kept, were, as writeth the ſame *Authour*, as large as the whole *mannor* houſe it ſelfe. Now for *Pigeons*, a paire weere commonly ſold for two hundred Seſterces, if they were faire, for a thouſand. And *Lucius Accius* hauing it ſeemes ſome excellent breed, would not ſell them vnder foure hundred pence the paire; and this in *Varro's* age, which was more ſevere. But afterward in *Columella's* time they were held at foure thouſand Seſterces: his words are worth the noting, *Pretijs earum domini complent arcam, ſicut eximius Author Marcus Varro nobis affirmat, qui prodidit, etiam ſeverioribus ſuis temporibus paria ſingula [Columbarum] millibus ſingulis Seſtertiorum ſolita venire, nam noſtri pudet ſeculi, (ſi credere volumus,) inveniri qui quaternis millibus nummûm binas aves mercantur.* The owners of them fill their cheſts with the money which they receiue for them; as that renowned Authour *Marcus Varro* affirmes, who witneſſeth that euen in his times, which were more ſevere, a paire of pigeons were vſually ſold for a thouſand Seſterces: For, of the age in which we liue, I cannot ſpeake without bluſhing, ſome being found therein (if it be not a matter beyond beleife) who haue laid downe for two of thoſe birds foure thouſand ſeſterces. Yet were they not content with theſe ſtore-houſes at home, but muſtred in the provinces abroad whole cohorts of fowlers & hunters to bring them in prouiſion; as *Latinus Pacatus* hath elegantly expreſſed it. *Vt taceam infamiã ſæpe delectu ſcriptos in provincijs aucupes ductaſq; ſub ſignis venatorum cohortes militaſſe convivijs.* Not to ſpeake of their infamous leavying of fowlers muſtered within the Provinces, and whole bands of hunters marching vnder ſeverall colours; the end of whoſe warres was, to make worke for their feaſts: In which, their curioſitie likewiſe about their very *bread* was ſuch, that the number of them was not the leaſt, ſaith *Gellius* in his 15 booke, *cap.*19. To whom that of *M. Varro* in his Satyre, περὶ ἱδρωμάτων might not vnfitly be applied, *ſi quantum operæ ſumpſiſti vt tuus piſtor bonum faceret panem, ejus duodecimam philoſophiæ dediſſes, bonus jampridem eſſes factus, nunc illum qui norunt volunt emere millibus centum, te*

Lib.3.c.7.
Lib.8.cap.8.

qui novit nemo centuſſi: If thou hadſt beſtowed but the twelfth part of that paines in the ſtudie of Phyloſophie, which thou haſt that thy Baker might make thee good bread, thou thy ſelfe mighteſt long ſince haue beene made good; whereas now they that know him, will be content to lay downe for him fiue hundred pounds, but for thee, ſuch as knowe thee ſcarce one hundred pence.

Epiſtola. 95. Now if I ſhould herevnto adde the *appurtenances* to theſe feaſts, as their infinite variety of *ſawces*, whereof *Seneca*, *inventæ ſunt mille condituræ quibus aviditas excitaretur*, a thouſand kinde of ſawces are found out for the ſtirring vp of the appetite; their bathings & annointings before their feaſts, their perfumes & ſweet odours in diverſe kinds at their feaſts, *Croco ſparſa humus*, the very floore was ſtrowed ouer with ſaffron: the changing of their apparell, as alſo of the roofe of the roome where they ſate, with ſome new device in it at the bringing in of every ſeveral courſe. And laſtly, of their damnable practice after their feaſt ended, not fit to be named among *Chriſtians*, I ſhould tire both my ſelfe, & the Reader, and ſome of theſe I ſhall perchance haue fitter occaſion to ſpeake of, when I come to treate of their *luxury* in *buildings* and in *apparell*.

Saluſt: of Metellus:

And though it be true in the condition of the ſtate, as in the courſe of private men,

Nemo repente fit turpiſſimus;

No man euer arrived to the heigth of villany at firſt daſh; yet when their *Empire* was at the height, their riches & fulneſſe bred ſuch exceſſiue *luxurie*, as is ſcarcely matchable in all reſpects in any nation at any time: But doubtleſſe as farre beyond all that latter ages haue afforded as was the vaſt extent of their dominions. Neere about the ſecond *Punike* warre they were come to that paſſe, that *Cato* the Cenſor openly complained, *non poſſe ſalvam eſſe vrbem, in qua piſcis pluris quam bos væniret*, that it could not goe well with that city, in which a fiſh was ſold for more then an oxe. But in *Tiberius* his time it was come to another paſſe, when one fiſh was valued at the price of aboue tenne oxen, *Tres*

Capt. 34. *mullos triginta millibus nummûm væniſſe graviter conqueſtus eſt*, ſaith *Suetonius* of that Emperour: He greivouſly complained that three mullets were ſold for thirty thouſand Seſterces, which is two thouſand Seſterces vpon a fiſh beyond any yet ſpoken of; which I wonder was forgotten by *Pliny* in that place where he purpoſely mentions the exceſſiue

Lib. 9. c. 17. prices of fiſhes: But as this *Empire* declined ſo did their luxury, as we haue heard before out of *Macrobius* and *Latinus Pacatus*; by which it appeares that *Vices* haue their riſing, their raigning, and their falling, as all other things haue: As their fewell increaſeth, ſo doe their flame: but that once failing, they are ſoone extinguiſhed.

SECT. 8.

SECT. 8.

That their riot did not only ſhew it ſelfe in the delicious choyce of their fare, but in voracity and gurmandizing, in regard of the quantity ſome of them devoured at a meale.

NEither did their exceſſiue *luxurie* ſhew it ſelfe only in the *delicious choyce* of their fare, but there were among them, who likewiſe ſtrangely exceeded in *voracity* and gurmandizing, in regard of the quantity and weight thereof. *Maximinus* the Emperour devoured many times in one day *quadraginta libras carnis, vt autem Cordus dicit, etiam ſexaginta:* forty pounds of fleſh, or as *Cordus* hath it, Sixty. *Clodius Albinus* another Emperour, did eate ſo much, *quantum ratio humana non patitur,* as humane reaſon cannot well comprehend it: *Nam & quingentas ficus paſſarias quas Græci Calliſtruthias vocant jejunum comediſſe Cordus dicit, & centum Perſica Campana, & melones Oſtienſes decem, & vuarum Lavicarum pondo viginti, & ficedulas centum, & oſtrea quadraginta:* In the morning faſting, he diſpatched fiue hundred dried figges, as writeth *Cordus*, & an hundred peaches of *Campania*, and tenne melones of *Oſtia*, and twenty pound weight of grapes of *Lavica*, beſides an hundred *gnat-gnappers, and forty oyſters.

Capitolinus.

Idem.

* A bird like a nightingall, feeding on figges.

Dij talem terris avertite peſtem,
God from ſuch monſters vs defend.

But *Phago*, in whom *Aurelian* tooke ſingular delight for his wonderfull eating, ſurpaſſed in my mind both the former, ridding at one meale in the Emperours preſence, *aprum integrum, centum panes, vervecem & porcellum*, a whole bore, an hundred loaves, a weather, and a young pig: and it ſhould ſeeme, that this ſeruing in of whole bores was a thing not vnvſuall, even when they ſate alone and in private.

Vopiſcus in Aureliano.

--- Quis feret iſtas
Luxuriæ ſordes? quanta eſt gula quæ ſibi totos
Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum?
This filthy luxury who can endure? how great
Is that ſame gut, which would whole boares (a beaſt
Ordained for feaſts) to be before him ſet?

Iuven. Satyr. 1.

And the other *Satyriſt* to like purpoſe.

Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia naſus
Illis nullus erat: ſed, credo, hac mente, quòd hoſpes
Tardiùs adveniens, vitiatum commodiùs, quàm
Integrum edax dominus conſumeret.
Our Anceſtours well lik't a rancid boare, not that
They had no noſe, but (as I thinke) if gueſts came late,
'Twas thought much fitter they ſhould eate a tainted one,
Then the feaſts founder ſhould devour one all alone.

Horat. l. 2. Sat. 2.

Mark Anthony, ſaith *Plutarch*, hauing but twelue gueſts provided eight boares, one ſet to fire after one another, that whenſoeuer he came in, ſooner or later, one at leſt might come in prime. Nay *Caranus*, ſaith *Athenæus*,

thenæus, ſet before euery gueſt a boare in a ſeverall diſh.

Now I haue beene long, I confeſſe, in this point, but their *infinite vanity*, and *extreme madneſſe* therein hath made me ſo, the rather, for that this exceſſe is commonly brought as a reaſon of the generall decreaſe of mankind now a dayes, as well in ſtrength & ſtature, as age & duration: And though it be true, that we exceed this way too much, waſting that in ſuperfluous and riotous pampering of our bodies, which would be farre better beſtowed on ſuch as want neceſſaries; yet it is as true, that they as farre exceeded vs this way, as we come ſhort of them in riches & dominion: And yet I doubt, much of that which hath beene ſpoken, will hardly be beleeved, though I haue alleadged their owne Authours, and for the moſt part in their owne words, thereby to adde the greater weight, and procure the greater credit therevnto. *Nam vetera num. fere hoc fatum habent, vt etſi vera, vix videantur, an ſui magnitudine, an noſtra declinatione*, ſayth a great *Antiquarie*, ſpeaking of this very thing: Theſe ancient records are for the moſt part ſubject to this deſtiny, that although they be true, yet they ſeeme not ſo, either thorow their owne exceſſe, or our comming ſo farre ſhort of them: But I hope I ſhall prepare a way to an eaſier beleife of that which is paſt, by that which is now to follow, touching their *luxurie* in building & apparell, and other prodigall expences euery way ſutable to their *luxurie* in diet, if not exceeding it.

Lypſius Epiſt. ſelect. 63.

CAP. 8.

Of the Romans *exceſſiue luxurie in building.*

SECT. 1.

Of their exceſſe in the great variety of their farre fetcht and deare bought marble.

THe chiefeſt materialls of building, in which the *Romanes* moſt generally exceeded, was the great variety of their far fetcht & deere bought *Marble:* of which *Pliny* as being himſelfe an eye-witneſſe ſpeakes ſo feelingly, and yet withall ſo wittily, that he beſt deſerues to be heard: Though I profeſſe to make choyce of his words, as they lie here and there, and ſute beſt with the preſent purpoſe. It now ‘remaines, (ſaith he) to write of the nature of ſtones, that is to ſay, the ‘principall point of all enormous abuſes, and the very height of waſt-‘full ſuperfluities. For all things elſe which we haue handled hereto-‘fore euen to this booke, many ſeeme in ſome ſort to haue beene made ‘for *man*, but as for *Mountaines*, *Nature* hath framed them for her owne ‘ſelfe, partly to ſtrengthen, as it were certaine joynts within the veines ‘& bowels of the earth, partly to tame the violence of great rivers, and ‘to brake the force of ſurging waues and invndations of the ſea. And ‘yet notwithſtanding for our wanton pleaſures, and nothing elſe, wee ‘cut & hew, we loade and carry away thoſe huge hills and inacceſſible ‘rockes,

'rockes, which otherwiſe to paſſe only ouer, was thought a wonder.
'Our Anceſtours in time paſt, reputed it a miracle, & in a manner pro-
'digious, that firſt *Hannibal*, and afterwards the *Cimbrians* ſurmounted
'the *Alpes*: But now euen the ſame mountaines we pierce through with
'pick-axe & mattocke, for to get out thereof an hundred ſortes of mar-
'ble; we cleaue the Capes and Promontories, we lay them open for
'the ſea to let it in; downe we goe with their heades, as if we would lay
'the whole world euen, and make all levell. The mighty mountaines,
'ſet as limits to bound the frontires of diverſe countreyes, and to ſepe-
'rate one nation from another, thoſe we tranſport and carry from their
'natiue ſeate: Ships we build of purpoſe for to fraught with marble: the
'cliffes & toppes of high hills they carry to and fro amid the waues &
'billowes of the ſea. Now let euery man thinke with himſelfe what ex-
'ceſſiue prices of theſe ſtones he ſhall heare anon, and what monſtrous
'peeces and maſſes he ſeeth drawne & carried both by land and ſea, &
'then let him conſider withall how much more faire & happy a life ma-
'ny a man ſhould haue without all this, and how many cannot chooſe
'but die for it, whenſoener they goe about to doe, or if I ſhould ſpeake
'more truly, to ſuffer this enterpriſe. Alſo for what vſe elſe or pleaſure
'rather, but only that they might lie in beds & chambers of ſtones, that
'forſooth are *ſpotted*, as if they neuer regarded how the darkeneſſe of
'the night bereaveth the one halfe of each mans life of thoſe delights
'and joyes.

SECT. 2.

Of their exceſſiue ſumptuouſneſſe in their temporary or tranſient buildings, made only for paſtime to laſt but for a ſhort time.

NOw their buildings were either *private* or *publique*: and the pub-
lique again, either meerely for *pleaſure* or for *vſe*: ſuch were their
places for civill *aſſemblies*, their *bridges*, their *Aquiducts*, their
draughts vnder ground, their *market places* & high *wayes*; & theſe, though
reſpectiuely to their ſeverall ends they were very ſumptuous, yet be-
cauſe they were for *publique vſe*, I will not touch, but will only inſiſt
vpon their exceſſiue ſuperfluity, caſt away vpon thoſe which were on-
ly for publique pleaſure, or the vaine delight of private men. Among
thoſe that were deſtined to none other end, but game & paſtime, their
Theaters & *Amphitheaters* firſt preſent themſelues to our view, and a-
mong theſe, the renowned *Theater* of *Scaurus*. This *Scaurus*, ſaith *Pliny*, *Lib. 36. cap. 15.*
when he was *Ædile*, cauſed a wonderfull peece of worke to be made,
and exceeding all that euer haue beene known wrought by mans hand,
not only thoſe that haue beene erected for a month, or ſuch a thing,
but euen thoſe that haue beene deſtined for perpetuity, and a *Theatre* it
was: The ſtage had three lofts one aboue another, wherein were 360
columnes of marble; the baſe or nethermoſt part of the ſtage was all of
Marble, the middle of *glaſſe* (an exceſſiue ſuperfluity, neuer heard of
before or after) as for the vppermoſt, the boards, planks & floores were
gilded;

gilded; the columnes beneath were 40 foot high wanting twaine: and betwene theſe columnes there ſtood of ſtatues and images in braſſe to the number of 3000. The *Theater* it ſelfe was able to receiue 80000 perſons to ſit well and at eaſe. As touching the other furniture of this *Theater* of *Scaurus* in rich hangings which were cloath of gold, painted tables the moſt exquiſite that could bee found, Players apparrell, and other ſtuffe meet to adorne the ſtage, there was ſuch abundance thereof, that there being carried backe to his houſe of pleaſure at *Tuſculum* the ſurpluſage thereof, (ouer and aboue the daintieſt part whereof hee had dayly vſe at *Rome*) his ſeruants and ſlaues there, vpon indignation for this waſt and monſtrous ſuperfluitie of their Maſter, ſet the ſaid countrey houſe on fire, and burnt as much as came to an hundred millions of Seſterces. Yet was this magnificent peece of building, by the teſtimony of the ſame *Pliny* but *Temporarium Theatrum*, a Theater ſet vp but for a ſhort time: And in another place, *vix vno menſe futurum in vſu*, ſcarce to indure for a moneth.

Lib. 36 c. 2.

Sueton. c. 19.

Such a kinde of worke was *Caligula* his bridge, *novum & inauditum ſpectaculi genus*, a new and vnheard of kinde of ſhew: It reached from *Putzoll* to *Bauly* three miles and a quarter: He built it vpon ſhips in a few dayes, and in emulation of *Xerxes*, ouer this he marched with the Senate and the Souldierie in a triumphant manner, and in the view of the people, vpon this he feaſted and paſſed the night in dalliance and gaming: but like *Ionas* his gourd, it was ſuddenly vp, and ſuddenly downe, *Immenſum opus perpendenti, ſed cui laudem vanitas detrahit; nam quo ſine ſtructum niſi vt deſtrueretur?* a marveilous great worke indeede, but ſuch as the vanity thereof depriued it of commendation, for to what end was it raiſed but to be demoliſhed? thus ſported he, ſaith *Seneca*, with the power of the *Empire*, and all in imitation *furioſi & externi, & infæliciter ſuperbi regis*, of a forraine, frentique, and vnluckie proud King. Of like nature were thoſe buildings ſet vp by the command of *Caracalla*, (whom we may not vnfitly or vnjuſtly call another *Caligula*) *Vbicunq; hyematurus erat aut etiam putabatur hyematurus, cogebantur amphitheatra & circos ſtruere, & ea ipſa mox diruenda*, whereſoeuer hee wintred, or but intended to winter, they were conſtrained to erect Amphitheaters and Cirkes for publique games, and thoſe within a while to be taken downe againe: So as vpon the matter they were put to that exceſſiue charge onely for the imaginary vſe of one man.

Ipſius.

De brevit. vitæ cap. 18.

Dio.

SECT. 3.

Of their infinite expence in their permanent Amphitheaters, and the appurtenances belonging thereunto, namely their Curtaines and Arena.

BUt I paſſe by theſe *tranſient* buildings, and come to their *permanent*, among which the *Amphitheater* begun by *Veſpaſian*, but finiſhed and dedicated by *Titus*, was one of the moſt famous, *Cujus ſummitatem ægrè viſio humana conſcendit*, the height whereof was ſuch, that

Ammianus.

that the eye of man could hardly reach it. It was reared saith *Cassiodore*, *divitiarum profuso flumine*, with rivers of treasure powred out, it contained only vpon the steps or degrees, sufficient and easie seates for eighty seven thousand, so as the vacant places besides might well containe ten or twenty thousand more. *Martiall* preferres it before all the rare great workes of *Rome*.

Omnis Cæsareo cedat labor Amphitheatro,
Vnum præ cunctis fama loquatur opus.
To *Cæsars* Amphitheater all other workes must vaile,
To sound this one aboue them all Fames trump shall neuer faile.

And in another place hee bestowes vpon it the title of Venerable.

Hic vbi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.
In that place where sometimes stood cruell *Nero's* ponds,
That venerable peece th' Amphitheater stands.

Now as the masse of treasure was infinite which they cast away in the raising of these buildings, only to make the people sport, so was it incredible what they spent in the furnishing of them, and setting foorth their games therein.

Inspice ludorum sumptus Auguste tuorum, Ouid.
Empta tibi magno, talia multa leges.

Quid dicendum est de ys qui populari levitate ducti, vel magnis vrbibus sufficturas opes exhibendis muneribus impendunt? saith *Lactantius*: what shall we say of them who being led with popular applause, spend in exhibiting sword-fights, treasure enough for the building or maintaining of great Cities? And *Ambrose* to like purpose, *Magistratus in Theatris, mimis, athletis, gladiatoribus, aliisq; hujusmodi generibus hominum totum patrimonium suum largitur & prodigit, vt vnius horæ favorem vulgi acquirat.* The Magistrate vpon *Theatricall* games, jesters, wrastlers, sword-players, & such kinde of men, lavishes out his whole parrimony, and that onely to purchase the applause of the people for an houre: And surely wee may well conceiue and beleeue as much, whether we consider their *frequency*, or their *appurtenances:* for the former of which, *Augustus* alone is said to haue set foorth publique games in his owne name for himselfe, foure and twenty severall times: And for other Magistrates who either were absent or wanted meanes to goe thorow with it, three and twenty. Nay *Titus* at the dedication of his *Amphitheater* held them for an hundred dayes together. Now for the appurtenances I may say,

Instit. lib. 6.

Sermone 8.

Suetonius.

----*Materiam superabat opus.*
The workemanship did farre the stuffe exceed.

They were beyond the strangenesse of their buildings, their whole furniture was somtimes of siluer, as that of *Iulius Cæsar*, and *C. Antonius*; somtimes of gold, thus *Nero* for the ostentation of his greatnesse to *Teridates* King of *Armenia* couered ouer not the stage only, but the whole Theater with gold: All the instruments then vsed and furniture thereof were likewise gilded, and the vaile or curtaine which hung ouer them to keepe them from the heate of the Sunne was all of purple, im-

Plin. l. 33 c. 3.

Idem ibidem.

broadered

Dio. Caſsius in Neron. broadered with ſtarres of gold, *ex quo & dies ille aureus appellatus*, from whence that was euer after called, *the golden day*. To theſe kinde of curtaines which were doubtleſſe of very great charge, being coloured and ſhadowing ſo ſpatious a place, doth *Lucretius* allude.

Et vulgo faciunt id lutea rufaque vela,
Et ferrugina cum magnis intenta theatris
Per malos vulgata trabeſq; trementia pendent:
Namq; ibi conceſſum Caveai ſubter & omnem
Scænai ſpeciem, patrum, matrumque, Deorumq;
Inficiunt, coguntq; ſuo fluitare colore.

So doe thoſe curtaines yellow, ruſſet, red,
When o're the Theaters ſtreacht out and ſpred,
On maſts and beames they trembling hang: for then
The ſcaffolds vnderneath, and all the Scene
Of Gods, of Fathers, and of Matrons graue,
They with their colours dye, and cauſe to waue.

Herevnto may be added the *Arena*, the place below in which their games were exhibited, ſo called, for that it was ſtrowed ouer with ſand for the drinking in of the bloud which was ſpilt vpon it, and officers they had purpoſely for this buſineſſe, who in the Lawes and Writings of the Chriſtian Doctours are tearmed *Arenarij*, Sanders, who as they firſt ſtrowed it ouer, ſo betweene whiles during the ſame ſitting, they renewed it againe, as appeares by thoſe verſes of *Martial*, where hee ſpeakes of a Lyon ſuddenly inraged who ſlew two of thoſe Sanders.

Nam duo de tenera juvenilia corpora turba,
Sanguineam raſtris quæ renovabat humum:
Sævus & infœlix furiali dente peremit,
Martia non vidit majus Arena nefas.

Two youthfull bodies of that company,
Which did with rakes the bloudie ground renew;
With furious tooth the ſavage Lyon ſlew,
A fouler deede the ſand did neuer ſee.

Plin. 33. 5 This place *Nero* in ſteed of ſand cauſed to be ſtrowed ouer with duſt of gold, himſelfe being to try a match of Chariot-driving therein: and ſo did *Cajus Caligula*, *Edidit & Circenſes quoſdam præcipuos minio & Chryſocolla conſtrato Circo*; he ſet forth certaine notable games in the *Circus*, being ſtrowed ouer with vermilion and duſt of gold.

Suetonius c. 18.

SECT. 4.

Of their incredible expence in the hiring, and arming, and dieting of their ſword-players, in the hunting, bringing home, feeding, and keeping of their wild beaſts, in other admirable ſhewes to the aſtoniſhment of the beholders, in refreſhing the ſpectators with pretious and pleſant perfumes, and the like, & laſtly in caſting their largeſſe among the people, neither was this the practiſe of the Emperors only, but of private men.

BVt the greateſt expence of all was the *multitude of Fencers* who were all hired for great prices (and great reaſon, their liues being expoſed

expoſed to evident hazard) beſides the arming and dieting of them before they entred, and if they exhibited beaſts, it is almoſt paſt credit, the relations that are made by *Hiſtorians* touching their *number*, The *Emperour Probus* commanded to be let looſe at once, a thouſand Oſtriches, a thouſand ſtagges, a thouſand wilde boares, and a thouſand fallow deere, beſides wilde goates, wilde ſheepe, and other beaſts, all which he gaue over to the mercy, or rather the rage of the people, every one to catch what he could, the *Circus* being ſet all over with tall and mighty trees, which by the Souldiers were taken vp by the rootes as they grew in the woodes, and there planted with greene turfe about them, and faſtned with beames and yrons. The next day hee let in to the ſame place *centum jubatos leones*, one hundred maned or creſted Lyons, which with roaring filled the ayre as it had beene with thunder, one hundred Leopards of *Lybia*, one hundred of *Syria*, one hundred Lyoneſſes, and three hundred beares. Now if wee ſhould caſt vp the expence he was at for the hunting, for the bringing home, for the feeding and keeping of all theſe, it is not for any ordinary reach to comprehend: yet ſtood he not alone in this kinde. *Gordianus* exhibited in one day an hundred wilde beaſts of *Lybia*, and in another, one thouſand beares, as *Capitolinus* in his life witneſſeth. *Vopiſcus in Probo.*

And they ſtriued (as it ſhould ſeeme) who ſhould outvy one another in *rarity of ſhewes*, and *riotouſneſſe of expence*, even *Titus* himſelfe, who in their ſtories is named, *Deliciæ generis humani*, the delight or delicacy of mankinde, marveilouſly exceeded this way. Hee ſet forth the whole *tragedie* of *Orpheus*, ſo that creeping rockes and running woods were exhibited in the *Arena*, as *Martial* hath well expreſſed it.

Quicquid in Orpheo Rhodope ſpectaſſe theatro
Dicitur, exhibuit Cæſar Arena tibi.
Repſerunt ſcopuli, mirandaq; ſylva cucurrit,
Quale fuiſſe nemus creditur Heſperidum.

What *Rhodope* in *Orpheus* Theater did ſee,
Th'Amphitheater that exhibits vnto thee
O *Cæſar*: Rockes do creepe, and woods do moue apace,
The Orchard ſuch they ſay of *Atlas* daughters was.

Nay there were that together with *Land-beaſts* brought in *Sea-Monſters*, as the *Sea-calfe* and the *Sea-horſe*, which *Calphurnius* at the games of *Carinus* teſtifies that himſelfe beheld,

Nec ſolum nobis ſylveſtria cernere monſtra
Contigit, Æquoreos ego cum certantibus vrſis
Spectavi vitulos, & equorum nomine dignum
Sed deforme pecus. *Hippopotamus.*

Nor onely did I ſee wood-Monſters there,
But Sea-calues alſo tugging with the beare,
And that miſ-ſhapen vglie beaſt withall,
Which we not without cauſe the Sea-horſe call.

And that which was more ſtrange, they brought in the *Sea it ſelfe*, and therein ſhippes, repreſenting the forme of a Sea-fight. But *Heliogabalus* went *Dio in Nerone.*

went beyond all conceit: *Fertur in Euripis vino plenis naves Circenſes exhibuiſſe*, they be the words of *Lampridius*, he is ſayd to haue exhibited ſhippes in the *Circus*, ſayling and contending in wine. It was in *Hortenſius* a great folly and vanity to water his plane trees with wine, but for ſhippes to ſayle and contend in wine was a moſt monſtrous ſuperlatiue madneſſe.

Apulcius. *Spartianus in Adriano.* *Seneca Ep. 90.*

Now amid all theſe ſights, it was ordinary to refreſh the ſpectatours with pleaſant *perfumes* from gummes, or ſweete water, or oyntments, or balſamum, or ſaffron mixed with wine, or ſomewhat in that kinde, which they conveyed in cloſe pipes through the whole *Amphitheater*; and the fight ended, they commonly caſt a *largeſſe* among the people, wrapping vp the names of thoſe things in little pellets, which they intended to giue, and every one as he could catch them, brought them to the *Maſters* of the games, who delivered them the thing it ſelfe ſpecified in their pellet. Such gifts *Titus* caſt abroad by the ſpace of an hundred dayes (as witneſſeth *Dion*) for ſo long his games laſted, and many of them were of good value, as appeares by the teſtimony of the ſame *Authour*, not onely meate, and drinke, and apparell, but veſſels of ſilver and gold, horſes, cattell, ſlaues, and the like, but it is wonderfull what *Nero* did in this kinde, to the fore-named hee added curious pictures, peares, and pretious ſtone, yea *naves, inſulas, agros, ſhips, horſes, farmes: O res vix Suetonio fidiſſimo teſti credendas*, things hardly to be credited, though delivered by *Suetonius* a moſt faithfull Hiſtorian.

Suet. c. 11. *Lypſius.*

Neither was this the practiſe of *Emperours* onely, but even of private men. *Cicero* teſtifies of *Milo*, that in theſe kinde of games hee waſted three patrimonies; and *Vopiſcus* with ſome indignation relates the like of of *Meſſalla*, *Legat hunc locum Iunius Meſſalla, quem ego liberè culpare audeo; ille enim patrimonium ſuum Scænicis dedit, hæredibus abnegavit:* Let *Iunius Meſſalla* reade this place, whom I dare freely accuſe, for that hee hath caſt away his patrimony vpon ſtage-players, and defrauded his heires thereof; and then reckoning many particulars of his waſtfull riot that way, at length he thus concludes, *Et hæc quidem idcirco in literas miſi, vt futuros editores pudor tangeret, ne patrimonia ſua proſcriptis legitimis hæredibus mimis & balatronibus deputarent:* Theſe things haue I therefore committed to writing, that ſuch as hereafter ſet forth theſe kinde of games, might bluſh to conferre their patrimonies vpon jeſters and baſe raskals, excluding their lawfull heires.

Jan Cavino.

SECT. 5.

Of their ſuperfluous expence, as in the number and largeneſſe, ſo likewiſe in the beauty and ornament of Bathes, which were likewiſe of little other vſe then for pleaſure.

BVt leaving their *Theaters* & *Amphitheaters* which were onely for pleaſure, let vs take a view of their *Bathes*, which were likewiſe of little other vſe, at leaſt-wiſe as they vſed them; as appeares by that

that of *Artemidorus*, *Balneum nihil aliud ſuo ævo fuiſſe quam tranſitum ad cœnam*, that a bath in his time was nothing elſe but a paſſage to ſupper, ſo as they which often tooke repaſt, waſhed as often; it being noted of *Commodus* the Emperor, that hee waſhed ſeaven or eight times in a day. And among the *Chriſtians*, *Siſinius* a *Biſhop* was cenſured as intemperate for waſhing twice in a day: Many there haue beene, ſayth *Plutarch in his booke of the precepts of health*, who haue brought themſelues to this paſſe, that they could neither eate nor drinke vnleſſe they had firſt bathed or had ſweat in a ſtough, among whom *Titus* the Emperour was one, as they did teſtifie who had the cure of him when hee lay ſicke: and in the ſame booke he bringeth in *Zeuxippus* giving precepts of diet, perſwading that men would not thinke it ſtrange to come now and then to the table without having beene at the bath or hot-houſe before: ſo common a thing it was in thoſe dayes at *Rome* to make vſe of their baths before they came to their meales. Yet a wonder it is to conſider, to what an infinite height theſe kinde of buildings for *Bathing* amounted, aſwell in regard of their *number* and *largeneſſe*, as their *beauty* and *ornament*. *Agrippa*, as witneſſeth *Pliny*, during his *Ædilſhip*, built for publique and free vſe one hundred and ſeaventy, and the ſame *Authour* there addes, that at *Rome* in his time their number was infinite: and for the *largeneſſe*, ſome of them, ſayth *Olympiodorus*, were *ingenti*, and *Caſſiodorus*, *mirabili magnitudine*, of an huge and wonderfull bigneſſe: *Ammianus* is more particular, *Lavacra in modum Provinciarum extructa*, Bathes built in the manner of Provinces; the *Antonian*, or rather *Dioclesian Bathes* alone, were ſo capacious, as they contained for the vſe of waſhing, *Sellas mille ſexcentas, eaſque è marmore polito factas*, one thouſand ſix hundred ſeverall ſeats, and thoſe all of poliſhed marble.

Lib. 36.

Lib. 16.

Olympiodorus in Excerpts.

Neither was the *ornament* & *beauty* of theſe bathing places vnſutable to their number and largeneſſe; which *Seneca* in his eighty ſixt *Epiſtle* hath moſt elegantly expreſſed, and withall bitterly cenſured, where ſpeaking of the meaneſſe of the *Bath* which *Scipio Africanus* vſed, while he liued in baniſhment, where *Seneca* wrote that *Epiſtle*, hee thus goes on: *At nunc quis eſt qui ſic lavari ſuſtineat? pauper ſibi videtur ac ſordidus niſi parietes magnis & pretioſis orbibus præfulſerint, niſi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis cruſtis diſtincta ſint, niſi illis vndique operoſa & in picturæ modum variata circumlitio prætexatur, niſi vitro condatur Camera, niſi Thaſius lapis quondam rarum in aliquo ſpectaculum templo, piſcinas noſtras circumdiderit, niſi aquam argentea epiſtomia fuderint, & adhuc plebeias fiſtulas loquor: Quid cum ad Balnea libertinorum pervenero? quantum ſtatuarum? quantum Columnarum & nihil ſuſtinentium, ſed in ornamentum poſitarum & impenſæ cauſa? eo deliciarum venimus vt niſi gemmas calcare nolimus:* But who is there now, who would be content to waſh as he did? he ſeemes to himſelfe poore and baſe, whoſe wals do not ſhine with great and pretious circles, vnleſſe betweene the marble of *Alexandria*, be inlaid the ſhavings of that of *Numidia*, vnleſſe they haue a border round about it with diverſe colours in manner of pictures, vnleſſe their arched roofe be covered over with glaſſe, vnleſſe the *Thaſian* ſtone, heretofore a rare

ſight in ſome Temple, compaſſe our ponds; vnleſſe ſilver cockes powre vs forth water; and as yet haue I ſpoken of the ordinary and common pipes: how much beyond all this are the Bathes of freed men? how many ſtatues, how many pillars haue you there, for none other vſe, but onely for ornament and expence? wee are now come to that delicacie, that we can tread vpon nothing but iewels. By which liuely deſcription a man ſhould thinke, he rather ſpake of the pallaces of ſome great Princes, then of their common *Bathing* roomes, ordained for none other vſe, then the waſhing off of the ſwet and filth of their bodies. Yet with *Seneca* in ſome part of his deſcription *Statius* accords.

In balneo L. Tuſci.

Nil ibi plebeium, nunquam Temeſæa notabis
Æra, ſed argento fœlix propellitur vnda,
Argentoq; cadit, labriſque nitentibus inſtat,
Delicias mirata ſuas.

There's nothing vulgar, ther's no *Temeſæan* braſſe,
But happy waters there through ſilver conduits paſſe,
From ſilver fall, and into gliſtering ciſternes runne,
(Admiring their delights) with expedition.

Thereby ſignifying that not onely the pipes, thorow which the water ranne, and the cockes and conduites, out of which it ranne, but the ciſterns too, into which it fell were all of pure ſilver. And touching the glaſſe, he touches that too.

Effulgent Cameræ, vario faſtigia vitro,
In ſpecies animoſque nitent.

The arched roofes do ſhine & gliſter glorioufly,
Of diverſe glaſſe compoſ'd, both to the minde and eye.

Lib. 33. c. 2. *Plinie* goes farther, and tels vs, that not onely the ſides of the ciſternes, in which they bathed were of ſilver, but the ſeats and footing or the bottome, ſo as they could hardly ſtand for ſliding vpon it, *vt eadem materia & probris ſerviat & cibis*, ſo as the ſame matter, ſaith he, is made to ſerue both at our tables and for baſe vnworthy offices. Nay as *Roſinus* in his chapter *de thermis* affirms, they vſed to annoint the very wals of their Bathes with rich ointments, and that even ſuch Bathes as were but for the vſe of ſervants. But in truth the moſt conſiderable thing in their expences about their Bathes was (as I conceiue) the exceeding great charge which they were at in the heating of the water, eſpecially they being ſo large that one of them contained at leaſt tenne times as much in compaſſe as the Kings Bath in *Bathe*; and ſo much water together muſt needes require an infinite deale of fuell to warme it, conſidering withall that in the latter times when the exceſſe of bathings grew to the height (as witneſſeth *Plutarch* in the eight booke and ninth chapter of his *Sympoſiackes*) their bathes were ſo hot as they could hardly endure their bodies in them: hee ſayth that while they were in them they did draw in aire that was mingled as it were with fire and water, whereas in ancient times men could ſleepe, and eate, and drinke in their bathes without over heating of their bodies.

Antiq. Rom.

SECT. 6.

SECT 6.

Of the endlesse masses of treasure which they powred out in the erecting & adorning of Temples, for the worship of those images which they forged to themselues, or at leastwise knew well enough were no Gods.

BEfore wee enter into their *private houses*, it shall not be amisse in passing from their *Bathes* by the way, to cast a glance vpon their *Temples* and *Statues*. Had their temples beene consecrated to the honour and service of the *true God*, I should haue highly commended their great expence in the building and beautifying of them, as a worke of piety and devotion: But being dedicated to *Idolls* and *Devills*, & such as themselues, at leastwise the wiser sort amongst them, either laughed at, or beleeued not: the excessiue charge which that way they were at, was not only excessiue *vanity* and *folly*, but most prophaine and impious both *superstition* and *superfluety*. The number of their Temples onely in the citie of *Rome*, was foure hundred twenty foure, the greatest part of which was no doubt very magnificent, shining with gold, and jeat, and marble, as appeares by that of *Rutilius*.

1. Cor. 10. 20.

Notitia Imperii

Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus:
Ipsos credideris sic habitare Deos.
And glistering temples wandring eyes confound,
So dwell the Gods I thinke on heavenly ground.

And these chiefly, as I conceiue doth *Claudian* intend, speaking of *Rome*.

--- Quæ luce metalli,
Æmula vicinis fastigia conserit astris.
Who with her mettals light doth shine;
And with the neighbour starres her tops confine.

But most elegantly and fully hath *Arnobius* expressed it: *Sint ergo hæc licet ex molibus marmoreis structa, laquearibus aut renideant aureis, splendeant hic gemmæ, & sydereos evomant variata interstitione fulgores, terra sunt hæc omnia & ex fæce vilioris materiæ concreta:* Though they be built with piles of marble, and their vautes shine with gold; though they glister with prerious stones, which dart forth & sparkle abroad beames like the starres in a various distance, yet all these things are but earth, made of the dregges of the basest matter.

De Templis.

Amongst them all, that of the *Capitoll* was most eminent and stately, it tooke its name, as witnesseth *Arnobius*, *à Capite Toli*, from the head of a man so named, which at the laying of the foundation was digged vp: It was foure times ruined, and three times againe reedefied: It was first built by the *Tarquines*, Secondly by *Sylla*, but dedicated by *Lutatius Catulus*; in which *Augustus* bestowed vpon the seat of *Iupiter*, *Sedecem millia pondo auri & quingenties Sestertiûm in gemmis*, sixteene thousand weight of gold, and fiue hundred times an hundred thousand Sesterces in jewels: Thirdly by *Vespasian*; Fourthly and lastly, by *Domitian*. The height whereof was such, that *Silius* brings in *Iupiter*, thus prophecying of *Domitians* raysing it.

Dio. 55.

Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,
Et jungit noſtro templorum culmina cælo.
He on Tarpeian rocke ſhall place the golden Capitole,
And ſhall advance his Temples top as high as heavenly role.

In Apologetico. With whom *Tertullian* fully agrees in ſenſe, and almoſt in words: *Nam etſi à Numa concepta religio eſt, nondum tamen aut ſimulachris aut templis res divina apud Romanos conſtabat, & nulla Capitolia cælo certantia, ſed temeraria de cæſpite altaria:* Though religion was firſt brought in by *Numa*, yet then had the *Romanes* neither images nor temples for divine ſervice, no *Capitoll contending with heaven* for height, but altars were ſet vp of the turfe that came next to hand. And no doubt but the length and breadth were every way anſwerable to the height; the exceſſiue charge that *Domitian* was at in the building hereof, *Martiall* after his flattering manner hath wittily deſcribed, telling him, that thereby he had ſo farre obliged *Iupiter* and all the Gods, that if they ſhould empty their coffers and make ſale of all they had, they could never make him ſufficient recompence, but would be forced to turne *Banke-rupts*.

Lib. 9. Ep. 4.

Quantum jam ſuperis Cæſar cæloque dediſti,
Si repetes, & ſi Creditor eſſe velis,
Grandis in Ætherio licet auctio fiat Olympo,
Coganturque Dei vendere quicquid habent,
Conturbabit Atlas, & non erit vncia tota
Decidat tecum qua pater ipſe deum.
Pro Capitoliis quid enim ſibi ſolvere templis
Quid pro Tarpeiæ frondis honore poteſt? &c.
Expectes & ſuſtineas Auguſte neceſſe eſt,
Nam tibi quod ſolvat non habet Arca Iovis.
If *Cæſar*, what on Gods and heaven thou haſt beſtow'd,
Thou wouldſt as Creditour call in, and all that's ow'd;
Though in the Etheriall skies portſale of all were made,
And all the Gods were forc't to ſell what ere they had,
Atlas would bankerupt proue, and to the prince of heaven
Not one ounce would remaine to make all reckonings even.
For for the Capitals great temples how can he,
Or for Tarpeian oakes and laurels ſatisfie? &c.
Thou muſt, o *Cæſar*, needes a while forbeare and ſtay,
For why, *Ioues* coffers yet haue not wherewith to pay.

By which it appeares what account they made of the *Gods*, to whom they dedicated theſe *Temples*: Nay *Domitian* himſelfe the founder of the *Capitoll*, is ſo bold with them, as if indeede they had beene his debtors, or at leaſt-wiſe his companions, to ſtile himſelfe in his edicts, *Dominus & Deus noſter ſic fieri jubet*, our Lord and God ſo commands, *vnde inſtitutum poſthac vt nec ſcripto quidem nec ſermone cujuſquam appellaretur aliter*: And from thenceforth was it ordained, that no man ſhould giue him other title either in writing or ſpeech. Now for the riches and ornament of the *Capitoll*, wee may in part giue a gueſſe at it by this, that there was ſpent only vpon the gilding of it *ſupra duodecem millia talentorum*, aboue twelue thouſand tallents: it was all gilded over, not the

Sueton. c. 13.

the inner roofe only, but the vtter covering which was of braſſe or copper, but the doores were laid over with thicke plates of gold, which remained till *Honorius* his raigne: and then in a dearth of coyne, *Stilicho mandaſſe perhibetur* (ſayth *Zozimus*,) *vt fores in Capitolio Romano quæ auro magni ponderis erant obductæ laminis ijs ſpoliarentur: Cum autem qui hoc facere juſſi erant, id agerent, in parte forium ſcriptum repererant,* [*infœlici Regi ſervantur:*] *Quod eventus docuit: nam Stilicho paulo poſt infœliciter periit.* *Stilico* is ſayd to haue giuen command, that the doores of the *Capitoll*, which were layd over with maſſie gold, ſhould be robbed of thoſe plates, and when they who had it in charge put it in execution, they found ingraven vpon a part of the doore theſe words, [*They are reſerved for an vnfortunate King*] which the event proued to be true, for *Stilicho* within a while after periſhed vnfortunately.

Next to the *Capitoll* was the *Pantheon*; the Temple of *Honour*, of *Fortune*, of the *City*, ſtrange *Idolls*, and that of *Peace* inferiour to none. It was built by *Veſpaſian*, three hundred foote in length it was, and in breadth two hundreth; ſo as *Herodian* deſervedly calls it, *Maximum & pulcherimum omnium in vrbe operum*, the greateſt and faireſt of all the workes in the city: Wherevnto he adds, *ditiſſimum, ornamentis auri & argenti exceltum*, the moſt ſumptuous in ornaments of gold & ſilver: of which *Ioſephus* thus writes, *Omnia in hoc templum collata & diſpoſita ſunt ob quæ homines videndi cupiditate antea per totum orbem vagabantur.* Vpon this temple were beſtowed all the rarities which men before travelled thorow the world to ſee. And *Pliny*, *ex omnibus quæ retuli clariſſima quæque in vrbe, jam ſunt dicata à Veſpaſiano Principe in templo Pacis*, of all the choice peeces that I haue ſpoken of, the moſt excellent are laid vp and dedicated by *Veſpaſian* the *Emperour* in the temple of *Peace*: thus they made *Idolls* to themſelues, which the ſimpleſt of them could not but diſcerne were *no Gods*, and then without *meaſure* or *reaſon*, powred out infinite maſſes of treaſure in the ſerving and worſhipping of them.

Lib.7. Excidij.

Lib. 34. 8.

SECT. 7.

Of their wonderfull vanity in erecting infinite numbers of ſtatues & thoſe very chargeable, and that to themſelues.

YEt in this was ſome pretence of *Religion*, but in their *Statues* they worſhiped themſelues, vainely imagining thereby to eternize their names. *Quidam æternitati ſe commendari poſſe per ſtatuas æſtimantes eas ardenter affectant, atque auro curant inbracteari*, ſaith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ſome hoping to recommend themſelues to eternity by ſtatues, infinitely affect them, cauſing them to be overlayd with gold. This itching humour of theirs, *pene parem vrbi populum dedit quàm natura procreavit*: in time begat almoſt as many inhabitants to the city as nature brought forth, meaning that the number of their ſtatues, did in a manner equall their citizens: And no marvell, they being *ſine numero*, without number, in ſo much as they filled every corner, peſtered their ſtreetes, and ſtraitned their wayes, which gaue occaſion to that *Edict* of

Lib. 16.

Caſſiodorus. l. 7. Victor.

Dio lib. Vltimo. of *Claudius*, whereby private men were inhibited the erecting of ſtatues to themſelues, but by leaue firſt obtained from the *Senate*, ſuch onely excepted as had done ſome *publique ſervice*.

For the price of the ſtuffe whereof they were made, the moſt common and baſeſt of them were of *Marble*, the reſt of *Yvorie*, and *Silver*, & *Gold*, and thoſe ſolide and maſſie, *Statuas ſibi in Capitolio non niſi aureas argenteaſque poni permiſit ac ponderis certi*, they be the words of *Suetonius* touching *Domitian*, hee forbad any ſtatues to be erected to him in the *Capitoll*, ſaue onely of gold and ſilver, and thoſe of a certaine weight: which weight perchaunce thoſe verſes of *Statius* expreſſe,

cap. 13.

Da Capitolinis æternum ſedibus aurum,
Quo niteant ſacri centeno pondere vultus.
Grant to the Capitoll eternall gold, wherein
Thoſe ſacred faces of one hundred weight may ſhine.

Dion. in compendio. But that of *Commodus* fare exceeded this weight, *Statuam mille librarum auream habuit*, hee had a Statue erected to him of a thouſand pound weight. Now as they were at this great charge in the making and erecting of their Statues: So were they likewiſe in the *guarding* of them. They were kept with no leſſe caution, then they were ſet vp with care & coſt: And to this purpoſe maintained they an Officer of great honour *Caſſiodorus. l. 7* who had the title of *Comes Romanus* giuen him. This man with his ſouldiers walked thorow the ſtreetes of the citie in the night to ſee good order: but chiefely to prouide that no wrong ſhould be offered to the Statues; thus prodigally carefull they were of their owne *ſhadowes*, and as prodigally careleſſe of the liues of others: ſo as I cannot eaſily determine whether their *cruelty* were greater in the one, or their *folly* in the other.

SECT. 8.

Their prodigall ſumptuouſneſſe in their private buildings, in regard of their largeneſſe & height of their houſes, as alſo in regard, of their marble pillars, walls, roofes, beames, and pauement full of art and coſt.

NOw for their dwelling houſes and *private buildings*. *Claudian* ſpeaking of *Rome* thus ſets them out in generall.

Qua nil in terris complectitur altius æther;
Cujus nec ſpatium viſus, nec corda decorem,
Nec laudem vox vlla capit.
On earth nought higher do the Heavens embrace:
Her largeneſſe ſight, her beauty hearts, her praiſe
Tongue comprehends not---

It was the vaunt of *Auguſtus*, *marmoream ſe relinquere quam lateritiam accepiſſet*; that he left the citie of marble having found it of bricke: but S. *Epiſt. ad Gaudentium.* *Hieromes* complaint, *Vivimus quaſi altero die morituri, & ædificamus quaſi ſemper in hoc ſeculo victuri*, we ſo feede as if we were to die to morrow, & ſo build as if we were here to liue for ever. The number of their houſes belonging to one of their Senatours was ſuch, that as *Blondus* in his booke

booke *de Roma triumphante* ſhewes, *Cicero* alone had eighteen great houſes in the countrey, and by his deſcription of one of them, it was as fare & large as any of the Kings. The *largeneſſe* of their houſes was ſtrange, & ſuch as a man would wonder what vſe they could haue of it: The words of *Valerius* are to this purpoſe very pertinent, where ſpeaking of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, to whom the *Dictatorſhip* was offered, though hee plowed but foure acres of land, with ſome indignation hee addes, *angusteſe habitare nunc putat, cujus domus tantum patet quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt*; hee thinkes hee is ſtraitned in his dwelling, whoſe houſe is no larger then were all *Cincinnatus* his grounds. Some of *Neroes* ſlaues had *Kitchins* that tooke vp aboue two acres of ground; and the Lands of thoſe who layd the ground of their Empire were of leſſe extent then the Cellars of ſome that came after: ſo that by this proportion their houſes came almoſt to the greatneſſe of *Cities*; *domos atque villas cognoveris in vrbium modum exædificatas*, they be the words of *Saluſt*, wee may vnderſtand their houſes and farmes to be built in the manner of Cities. Nay they went beyond them: *ædificia privata laxitatem vrbium magnarum vincentia*, private mens houſes exceeded the largeneſſe of great Cities. And of theſe ſometimes they joyned two or three together, as *Catiline* in his Oration to his Souldiers vpbraides his enemies; & in this ſenſe it ſeemes is *Martiall* to be vnderſtood.

Lib 4 c 6. Plin. l 8. 1. 36. 15. Senec. de Benef. 7. 10.

Et docti Senecæ ter numeranda domus.

Lib 4. Epig. 40.

And learned *Seneca's* thrice to be numbred houſe.

Neither was the height of their houſes diſproportionable to the largeneſſe.

Ædificant auro ſedeſque ad ſydera mittunt.

They build with gold and raiſe their ſeats vnto the ſtarres.

There were of them who built to the height of their chiefeſt Temples that of *Hercules* and *Furtune*, nay exceeded the *Capitoll* it ſelfe.

Ædificator erat Centronius, & modò curvo
Littore Caietæ ſumma nunc Tyberis arce,
Nunc Prænestinis in montibus alta parabat
Culmina villarum, Græcis longeque petitis
Marmoribus, vincens Fortunæ atq; Herculis ædem;
Vt ſpado vincebat Capitolia noſtra Poſides.

Iuven Sat. 14.

Centronius was a builder, ſometimes on
Crooked *Cajetas* ſhore, ſometimes vpon
Tyburs high tops raiſing his palaces,
And on *Prænestine* hils fetching from *Greece*
And farre away his marbles, to controll
(As th'Eunuch *Poſid* did our Capitoll)
The Church of *Fortune* and of *Hercules*.

Yet to this height they farther added ſomewhat, by planting *gardens* & *orchards* and *groues* vpon their houſe toppes: therein like *Antipodes* running a contrary courſe to nature, as *Seneca* truly and juſtly taxes them. *Non vivunt contra naturam qui pomaria in ſummis turribus ſerunt, quorum ſylvæ in tectis domorum ac faſtigijs nutant, inde ortis radicibus quo improba cacumina egiſſent?* Do they not liue contrary to the rules of Nature, who

Epiſt. 122.

who make themſelues orchards vpon their higheſt towres, whoſe woods ſhake vpon the tops of their houſes, their rootes there ſpringing vp where the top ſhould haue reached?

Neither was the *riches* and *ornament* vnſutable either to the largenes or height of their building. Thither they called to their great expence the moſt skilfull *Architects* from *Greece* and *Aſia*, and all the parts of the knowne world, *Quibus ingenium & audacia fuit, etiam quæ natura denegaviſſet, per artem tentare,* whoſe wit and daring was ſuch, that by art they attempted to effect that, which Nature ſeemed to deny. *Lucullus* neere vnto a houſe of pleaſure which he built by the ſea ſide, not farre from *Naples* cauſed mountaines to be cut through, only to let in the ſea into his houſe for places to keepe his fiſh in, and roomes hee built alſo in the ſea it ſelfe to that purpoſe; in ſo much as *Tubero* a Stoicke Philoſopher having ſeene thoſe workes, ſaid that *Lucullus* was a *Roman Xerxes*, for ſo ſaid he *Xerxes* in old time cauſed the mountaine *Athos* to be cut in ſunder, and a channell to be digged there to paſſe his ſhips through. Among the reſt of their ornaments, their infinite number of marveilous high *pillars*, & thoſe of diverſe ſorts of the choiſeſt kinds of marble was not the leaſt. The height of ſome of them was 38 foote, and to their height was their beauty and greatneſſe every way anſwerable. *Pueros reperti in littore calculi leves & aliquid habentes varietatis delectant, nos ingentium maculæ columnarum ſiue ex AEgyptiis arenis, ſiue ex Africæ ſolitudinibus advectæ porticum aliquam vel capacem populi cænationem ferunt.* Children are delighted with pebble ſtones or ſhells of diverſe colours taken vp from the ſhore, and wee with diverſe ſpots of huge marble pillars, drawne hither from the ſands of *Egypt*, and the deſerts of *Africa*, for the ſupporting of a gallery or ſome ſpacious dining roome. Their number was likewiſe very great,

Tacit. Annal. 15. 10.

Plin. 36. 2. Senec ep. 115.

Statius in Epithalamia Stellæ.

Pendent innumeris faſtigia nixa columnis.

Whoſe roofe doth reſt on pillars numberleſſe.

Sometimes an hundred of them ſtood together,

Martial 5. 13.

At tua centenis incumbunt tecta columnis.

Thy roofe vpon an hundred pillars ſtayes.

Capitolinus in Gordiano. 3.

Sometimes as many more as in the houſe built by *Gordianus* in the *Preneſtine* way, *ducentas columnas vno periſtylo habens*, having in one entry or gallery two hundred pillars, diſtinguiſhed by fifties from diverſe countries, and all of an equall height. And if wee deſire to know the price of ſome of theſe, *Craſſus* tels vs, *decem columnas centum millibus nummûm emi*, I bought ten pillars for one hundred thouſand Seſterces And as their pillars were of ſolide marble, ſo their walls were artificially cruſted over with peeces of diverſe colours. *Miramur parietes tenui marmore inductos, cùm ſciamus quale ſit quod abſconditur, oculis noſtris imponimus:* Wee ſtand wondring at the walls laid over with thinne cruſts of marble, though wee know well enough what lyes vnder them, wee are content to coſen our owne eyes. To this *Lucan* alludes,

Valerius.

Seneca Ep. 116.

Nec ſummis cruſtata domus, ſectiſque nitebat
Marmoribus.

Nor was the houſe with cruſts of marble lin'd,
Nor with hewen ſtones of precious marble ſhin'd.

And

And *Fabianus Papyrius*, *In hos igitur exitus varius ille ſecator lapis, vt tenui fronte parietem tegat*: To this purpoſe is that diverſely coloured ſtone ſawed into diverſe peeces, that with a thinne ſurface it may cover the wall. The firſt inventor or ſetter vp of this device was *Mamurra*, as witneſſeth *Pliny* out of *Cornelius Nepos*. *Seneca Contro-ver. ſ. 2. l.* *Lib. 36. c. 6.*

But their beames exceedes theſe wals being all guilded over. *Statius in Tiburtino Manlij Vopiſci.*

Aurataſnè trabes an mauros vndique poſtes
Mirer?
But whereat ſhould I wonder moſt,
The golden beames or yvorie poſt?

Propertius.

Non tenarijs domus eſt mihi fulta columnis,
Nec Camera auratas inter eburna trabes.
Nor is my houſe on *Spartan* pillars plac't,
Nor yvorie roofe with guilded beames is grac't.

And they were either laid over with thicke guilding or plates of gold. *Lucanus.*

--Craſſumque trabes abſconderat aurum.
Thicke gold did hide the beames.

As were likewiſe their roofes. *---Craſſa laquearia fulta metallo.* *Statius.*
Thicke mettals lin'd the roofes.

This their beſt *Authours* every where teſtifie and cenſure. *Quo pertinent hæc atria columnata? quò variæ iſtæ colorationes? quò aurata lacunaria?* to what vſe are their entries ſet with rowes of pillars of diverſe colours? to what end are their roofes guilded? they be the words of *Muſonius* in *Stobæus*. The roofe of the *Capitoll*, ſayth *Pliny*, was not guilded till the razing of *Carthage*, *Quæ nunc & in privatis domibus auro teguntur*, which now adayes even in private mens houſes are covered with gold, Nay he goes farther and tells vs, that this practiſe paſſed from the roofs and beames, to their chambers and walls, *Qui & ipſi jam tanquam vaſa inaurantur*, which are now guilded as well as our drinking veſſels. With whom S. *Hierome* accords, *Auro parietes, auro laquearia, auro fulgent capita columnarum*, with gold their wals, with gold their roofes, with gold the heads of their pillars ſhine. And herein they had diverſe ſhapes artificially expreſt, as it appeares by *Statius*, and pretious ſtones here and there gliſtering among. *¶ 33. 3.* *Ep. ad Gaudentium.* *In Tiburtino.*

Vidi artes veterumque manus variiſque metalla
Viva modis, labor eſt auri memorare figuras,
Aut ebur, aut dignas digitis contingere gemmas.
Their ancient workes their liuing mettals I
Of ſundry ſorts did ſee, a labour 'twere
To tell the ſhapes of gold, the yvory,
The pretious ſtones on fingers fit to weare.

But that which I thinke was more coſtly then gold, was their admirable variety and change of roofes, with-drawing one face, and exhibiting another at their pleaſure, *Verſatilia Cœnationum laquearia ita coagmentant, vt ſubinde alia facies, atq; alia ſuccedat, & toties tecta quoties fercula mutentur*. They ſo fram'd the moueable roofes of their dining roomes that one face ſucceedes another, wich they vary as often as they ſerue in a new courſe. And it ſhould ſeeme by *Rutilius* that in theſe they ſom- *Senec. ep. 90.*

time

time repreſented groues with birds ſinging in them.

Quid loquar incluſas inter laquearia ſylvas?
Vernula qua vario carmine ludit avis.

They pleaſant groues within their roofes do ſhut,
Where birds do chant and vary many a note.

And from theſe ſometimes they caſt downe flowers in ſuch abundance that they buried men vnder them, *Oppreſſit in triclinijs verſatilibus paraſitos ſuos violis & floribus, ſic vt animam aliqui efflaverint, cum eripi ad ſummam non poſſent*, ſayth *Lampridius* of *Heliogabalus*, He ſo over-loaded his jeſters in his dining roomes that had changeable roofes, with violets and other flowers, that ſome of them died vpon the place, being brought to that paſſe as at laſt they could not be reſcued. Nay ſo curious they were, that the very floore which they trode vpon muſt anſwere the roofe, *Impenditur cura vt lacunaribus pavimentorum reſpondeat nitor*, a ſpeciall care muſt be had, that the ſhining of the floore muſt be anſwereable to the roofe. And in another place, *domus etiam qua calcatur pretioſa, divitijs per omnes angulos diſſipatis*: pretious things are ſpread there even where men tread, riches being ſcattered through every corner of the houſe. And this exceſſiue curioſity *Statius* glances at.

Senec. Ep. 115.

De Tranq. c. 1.

Dum vagor aſpectu vultuſq; per omnia duco,
Calcabam nec opinus opes: Nam ſplendor ab alto
Deſluus, & nitidum referentes aera teſtæ
Monſtravere ſolum, varias vbi picta per artes
Gaudet humus, ſuberantque novis Aſarota figuris.

Whilſt to and fro my wandring eyes ſurvaid
All things, vnwares on riches did I tread,
Downe from aboue came light, the roofe the aire
Reflecting on the ſoyle, ſhewed what lay there,
The artificiall pauement ſeem'd to ſmile,
And figures new were pictur'd on the tile.

And ſo doth *Martial*,

Calcatuſque tuo ſub pede lucet Onix.

lib. 5. epig. 15.

Vnder thy feete the Onix ſtone doth ſhine.

SECT. 9.

The profuſe expences of Domitian *and* Nero *in their buildings, as alſo of* Caligula *in his madde workes.*

NOw as the greateſt part of theſe was ordinary even in private mens houſes, ſo wee may well conceiue that the palaces of the *Emperours* farre exceeded them. I will inſtance onely in two, thoſe of *Domitian* and *Nero*. Touching the former, *Plutarch* treating of thè ſumptuous furniture of the *Capitoll*, thus writes. *Quod ſi quis hunc Capitolij magnificum inſtructum miretur, idem ſi Domitiani in aula vnam porticum vel baſilicam, vel balneum, vel pellicum dictam viderit, exclamet cum Epicharmo.*

Non liberalis aut benignus tu clues,
Profuſione gaudes.

Not

Not bountifull nor liberall
Art thou, but plainely prodigall.

If any wonder at this magnificent ſtructure of the *Capitoll*, the ſame man if in *Domitians* palace he ſhould behold but one gallery, or hall, or bath, or parlour for his Concubines, he would preſently cry out with *Epicharmus*, &c. where he makes all the glory of the Capitoll, which we haue in part opened before, to bee but as a trifle or toy, in compariſon of *Domitians* owne houſe.

The other was that of *Nero*, which himſelfe named *domum auream*, a golden houſe; and *Suetonius* in his life thus deſcribes it. *Veſtibulum ejus fuit in quo Coloſſus centum viginti pedum ſtaret ipſius effigie, tanta laxitas vt porticus triplices milliarias haberet. Item ſtagnum maris inſtar, circumſeptum ædificijs ad vrbium ſpeciem. Rura inſuper arvis atq; vinetis & paſcuis ſylviſq; varia cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum, in cæteris partibus cuncta auro lita diſtincta gemmis vnionumq; conchis erant. Cænationes laqueatæ tabulis eburneis verſatilibus vt flores, & fiſtulatis vt vnguenta deſuper ſpargerentur, præcipua Cœnationum rotunda quæ perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur: Ejuſmodi domum cum abſolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, vt ſe diceret quaſi hominem tandem habitare cœpiſſe.* In the porch was ſet a *Coloſſus* ſhaped like himſelfe of one hundred and twenty foote high, the ſpatiouſnes of the houſe was ſuch that it had in it three galleries, each of them a mile long, a ſtanding poole like a ſea, beſet with buildings in the manner of a city; fields, in which were arable grounds, paſtures, vineyards, and woods, with a various multitude of tame and wilde beaſts of all kindes. In the other parts thereof, all things were covered with gold, and diſtinguiſhed with pretious ſtones or mother of pearle. The ſupping roomes were roofed with yvorie plankes, that were moveable for the caſting downe of flowers, and had pipes in them for the ſprinkling of oyntments. The roofe of the principall ſupping roome was round, which like the heaven perpetually day & night wheeled about. This houſe when he had thus finiſhed and dedicated, hee ſo farre forth approved of it, that hee ſaid, *hee had began to dwell like a man.*

Cap. 31.

Algentem rapiat Cœnatio ſolem. Iuvenal. Sat. 7.

See *Tacitus* of this houſe, *Annal.* 15. c. 42.

I had thought nothing could be added to this extreame madneſſe of *Nero* & *Domitian*, which made me reſolue here to conclude this chapter; but I know not whether that *Caligula*, though perchance in ſomewhat a different kinde exceede them both. *Fabricavit & de Cedris liburnicas gemmatis puppibus, verſicoloribus velis, magna thermarum, & porticuum, & triclinjorum laxitate, magnaq; etiam vitium & pomiferarum arborum varietate: quibus diſcumbens de die inter choros ac Symphonias littora Campaniæ peragraret. In extructionibus Prætoriorum atque villarum omni ratione poſthabita, nihil tam efficere concupiſcebat quam quod poſſe effici negaretur, & jactæ itaque moles infeſto ac profundo mari, excisæ rupes duriſſimi ſilicis, & campi montibus aggere æquati, & complanata foſſuris montium juga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum moræ culpa capite lueretur.* He built of Cedar, barges or gallifoiſts, their ſternes being ſet with pearle and pretious ſtone, carrying ſayles of diverſe colours, hauing in them bathes, galleries, and parlours of great largeneſſe, with great varietie of

Suet. c. 37.

Contracta piſces æquora ſentiunt jactis in altum molibus: Horat.

vines and trees bearing fruite, lying along in theſe amid his muſicke of voyces and inſtruments, he was carried vp & downe vpon the coaſt of *Campania*. In the building of his countrey or mannour houſes, ſetting aſide all reaſon, hee deſired nothing ſo much to be done, as that which was denied could be done: ſo as that he would lay huge mighty piles in the deepe ſea, to ſtop the courſe of it, he would cut thorow rockes of the hardeſt flint, equall the Champian to the mountaines, and levell the toppes of high hills; and all this he did with ſpeede incredible, the leaſt delay being preſently puniſhed with death.

SECT. 10.

That the Romanes *luxurious exceſſe in their houſhold-ſtuffe and the ornaments of their houſes, was ſutable to that of their buildings.*

WEE may adde as an *appendix* to their luxury in buildings, that in their *houſhold-ſtuffe*, and the *ornaments of their houſes*; their exceſſe in their tables, and diſhes, and cups I haue already touched, as being appurtenances of their *luxury* in diet; paſſing by theſe then we may take a *ſurvey* of the reſt. And firſt of their *beds*: Theſe were either *Tricliniares* or *Cubiculares*, ſuch as they vſed for diet, or lodging, in their ſupping roomes, or their chambers. Theſe by degrees came to be of ſiluer, then were they gilded, & laſtly of pure maſſy gold: which *Carvilius Pollio* firſt brought in vſe: And *Suetonius* reports of *Iulius Cæſar, in aureo lecto veſte purpurea decubuiſſe*, that hee lay d him downe in a bed of gold with a purple covering. And *Gellius* of more ancient times out of *Favorinus*; *Stratus auro, argento, purpura, amplior aliquot hominibus quam Dijs immortalibus adornatur*: a bed for ſome men is furniſhed more magnificently with gold, & ſiluer, & purple; then for the Gods immortall. Theſe they likewiſe perfumed with rich and pretious odours, which the *Epigrammatiſt* deſervedly laughs at.

Plin. 33. 11. c. 49.

15. 8.

Martial. 2. 16.

Quid thorus à Nilo? quid Syndone tectus olenti?
Oſtendit ſtultas quid niſi morbus opes?

What meanes thy bed from Nile, & quilt perfumed ſo?
What doth thy ſicknes but thy fooliſh riches ſhow?

Next their beds wee may ſet their *Chariots*, which were in a manner running beds, as their beds were a kind of ſtanding chariots. Theſe *Heliogabalus* had not only of gold, but ſet with pearle and pretious ſtone. And ſuch a one belike was that whereof *Martiall* ſpeakes,

Lampridius.

Aurea quod fundi pretio carruca paratur.

Martial. 3. 62.

That for a mannours price thou bought'ſt a golden coach.

So as that which the Poet fained of the *Chariot* of the *Sunne*, might indeede be verified of theirs.

Ovid. Met. 2.

Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea ſummæ
Curvatura rotæ, radiorum argenteus ordo.

The axel-tree was gold, the beame, the wheele,
The ſpokes of ſiluer were--

Their

Their harneſſe belonging to theſe was likewiſe very coſtly, & the Caparizons of their horſes & mules imbroydered with gold & ſilver. Of theſe *Nero* whē he journeyed had never leſſe then a thouſand, his mules being ſhod with ſilver, and his muleters richly apparelled: but *Poppæa* his wife therein exceeded him, cauſing the choyſeſt of her travelling beaſts to be ſhod with gold: Yet *Heliogabalus* went a ſtraine farther, and put it to a baſer vſe; as he made water *in Myrrinis* & *Onichinis*, in Murrin veſſels and of the Onix ſtone, ſo made he his ſtoole-pans of gold: Which *Pliny* out of *Meſſala* likewiſe reports of *Anthony*, *in contumeliam naturæ vilitatem auro fecit, opus proſcriptione dignum*, to the reproach of nature he vſed gold to the baſeſt offices, a worke even worthy proſcription. And the ſame doth *Martiall* vpbraid *Baſſa* with:

Sueton. [illegible]

Plin. 33. [illegible]

Lampridius.

Lib 33.3

Ventris onus miſero nec te pudet excipis auro,
Baſſa.

Lib. 1 [illegible]

Thy bellies load thou doeſt exonerate
O Baſſe, in gold, yet ſhameſt not thereat.

Their caldrons, their ſeething-pots, their grid-irons, and frying-pans were vſually of ſilver, as witneſſeth *Vlpian*, and *Pliny*, *vaſa coquinaria ex argento fieri queritur*; *Calvus* the *Oratour* complaines, that our very kitching veſſels are all of plate. The ſame *Pliny* affirmes, that the price of a candleſticke was the ſalarie or ſtipend of a *Tribune*, which was fifty thouſand Seſterces: Nay a little hatchet or axe, if we may credit *Martiall*, was ſold for foure hundred thouſand.

L. cum aurum.

Plin. 33. 11.

14. 35

Cum fieret triſtis ſolvendis auctio nummis,
Hæc quadringentis millibus empta fuit.

When ſale was made that debts might be defraid,
Foure hundred thouſand for this was well paid.

Now for ornament of their houſes, they bought them *pictures* of exceſſiue prices: the counterfeit taken from a table made by *Pauſias*, wherein was repreſented his Miſtris *Glycera* with a chaplet of flowres in her hand, curiouſly plaited and twiſted, *Lucius Lucullus* bought of *Dyoniſius* a Painter of *Athens*, and it coſt him two talents of ſilver. *Cydias* in a table, repreſented the *Argonautes*, for which *Hortenſius* the Oratour was content to pay one hundred forty foure thouſand Seſterces. And what difference is there herein betweene vs and children, ſaith *Seneca*, who value counterfeit rings, and jewels, and bracelets at high prices? *niſi quod nos circa tabulas & ſtatuas inſanimus charius inepti*, ſaue that we dote about ſtatues and pictures, playing the foole at a dearer rate.

Pl. 35. 11.

Ep. 115.

But as they were luxurious in the price, ſo were they likewiſe in the worke it ſelfe, which many times was *laſcivious* and *beaſtly*.

Quæ manus obſcœnas depinxit prima tabellas,
Et poſuit caſtâ turpia viſa domo,
Illa puellarum ingenuos corrupit ocellos
Nequitiæque ſuæ noluit eſſe rudes.

propertius.

The hand that firſt laſciuious picture drew,
And filthy ſights in houſes chaſt did ſhew,
He maids chaſt eyes did firſt corrupt, and he

Would haue them train'd vp in their lechery.

Sueton. 43. Thus did *Tyberius* adorne his chambers: *Cubicula plurifariam diſpoſita tabellis ac ſigillis laſciviſſimarum picturarum ac figurarum adornavit.* So did *Hor. Speculato cubiculo ſcorta dicitur habuiſſe diſpoſita, &c.* That they likewiſe for ornament the ſhells of Tortoiſſes artificially wrought, *& ingentibus emptas*, bought at wonderfull high rates. But I leaue their houſes, together with the ſtuffe and ornament thereof, and come to their apparell and ornament of their bodies, in which they exceeded as much or more then in their houſes.

Idem in vita Horatij.

Seneca de beneficiis 7. 9.

CAP. 9.

Of the Romanes exceſsiue Luxury in their dreſsing and apparell.

SECT. 1.

How effœminate they were in regard of their bodies, ſpecially about their haire.

Nat. qu. ſ. 7. 31. THeir effœminate ſoftnes and nicenes in regard of their bodies, *Seneca* hath well both obſerued and cenſured: *Adhuc quicquid eſt boni moris extinguimus levitate & politura corporum, muliebres munditias anteceſsimus, colores meretricios matronis quidem non induendos viri ſumimus, tenero & molli ingreſſu ſuſpendimus gradum, non ambulamus, ſed repimus:* whatſoeuer is yet left of good faſhion we extinguiſh it by the decking and trimming of our bodies, wee haue exceeded the neatneſſe of women, euen wee men weare light and whoriſh colours, not becomming matrons, we faſhion our gate to a wanton & mincing pace, we doe not walke but creepe. And of the ſame hee grievouſly complaines in the proeme to the firſt booke of his Controverſies: *Capillum frangere, & ad muliebres munditias vocem extenuare, mollitie corporum certare cum fœminis, & immundis ſe excolere munditijs noſtrorum adoleſcentium ſpecimen eſt:* it is now held the accompliſhed gallentry of our youth to friſle their haire like women, to ſpeak with an affected ſmalnes of voice, and in tendernes of body to match them, & to bedeck themſelues with moſt vndecent trimming. But their extreame curioſity in plaiting and folding their haire, he in another place moſt liuely deſcribes, and as ſharply, but juſtly reproues: *Quomodo iraſcuntur, ſi tonſor paulo negligentior fuit tanquam virum tonderet? quomodo excandeſcunt ſi quid ex juba ſua deciſum eſt? ſi quid extra ordinem jacuit, niſi omnia in annulos ſuos reciderũt? Quis eſt iſtorum qui non malit Remp. turbari, quam comã? Qui non ſolicitior ſit de capitis ſui decore, quã de ſalute? qui non comptior eſſe malit, quã honeſtior?* How doe they chafe if the barbour be neuer ſo little negligent, as if he were trimming a man? How doe they take on if ãny thing be lopped off of their feakes or fore-tops? if any thing lye out of order, if every thing fall not even into their rings or curles, which of theſe would not rather chooſe that the ſtate whereof he is a member ſhould be in combuſtion

De brevit. vit. l. cap. 12.

buſtion then his haire ſhould bee diſplatted? who is not much more ſollicitous of the grace of his head then of his health? who maketh not more account to be fine then honeſt? Euen *Iulius Cæſar* himſelfe was this way too too nice, *Circa corporis curam moroſior, vt non ſolum tonderetur diligenter ac raderetur, ſed velleretur etiam, vt quidam exprobraverunt:* He was too ſtudious about the care of his body, ſo as he was not onely curiouſly cut, but ſhaven, nay had his haires plucked off with pincers, which ſome vpbraided him with. No marveile then if *Nero* exceeded this way: *Circa cultum habitumq; adeo pudendus,* ſo ſhamefull was hee in the dreſſing of himſelfe, that he alwayes wore his haire after the *Greeke* faſhion plaited behind. Theſe plaitings they likewiſe beſmeered with oyntments and perfumes:

Sueton. in Iul. c. 45.

Sueton. in Ner. c. 51.

Et matutino ſudans Criſpinus amomo,
Quantum vix redolent duo funera.

Iuven. Sat. 4.

And *Criſpin* ſweating with his oyntment and perfume,
Two funerals ſcarce ſmell ſo much I dare preſume.

And ſometimes they died their haire.

Cana eſt barba tibi, nigra eſt coma, tingere barbam
Non potes, hæc cauſa eſt, ſed potes Ole comam.

Mart. lib. 1. epig. 99.

Neither was the vſe of perruques vnknowne in thoſe times as may appeare by this of the Epigrammatiſt.

Caluo turpius eſt nihil comato.
Then buſhie baldneſſe nothing's more deform'd

Mart lib. 10. epig. 71.

And for the face they vſed ſo much ſlibber-ſauce, ſuch dawbing and painting, that a man could not well tell,

---facies dicatur an vlcus.
May it a face or els a botch be call'd?

Iuven. Sat. 6.

Suetonius reports it of *Otho*, that he ſhaved every day, and rubbed his face ouer with moiſtned bread, *idq; inſtituiſſe à prima lanugine, ne barbatus vnquam eſſet*, and that this he practiſed from the time of his firſt appearance of the haires on his chinne, that he might neuer haue a beard. Neither were theſe things onely practiſed by them, but Schooles they had to teach them, and open ſhoppes to ſell what they had in this kinde.

Cap. 12.

Senec. ep. 95.

SECT. 2.

Of the preſsing, plaiting, ſtore, die, and price of their garments, as alſo of their rings and jewels of ineſtimable value.

NOw as they were thus effœminate and curious about their Bodies, ſo were they likewiſe about the apparelling of them. Their *garments* were artificially preſſed, *ponderibus ac mille tormentis ſplendere cogentibus*, with waights and a thouſand rackings and tortures to make them ſhine the brighter.

Senec. de tranquill. c. 1.

Sic tua ſuppoſitis perlucent præla lacernis.
So doe thy preſſes ſhine with garments vnder-laid.

Martiall. 2. 46.

And as they were thus artificially *preſſed*, ſo were they moſt curiouſly

plaited, as appeares by this, that *Hortenſius* hauiug one day with much adoe compoſed himſelfe to the looking-glaſſe, he commenced a ſuit againſt his fellow in office, for that meeting him by chance in a narrow way, he had diſordered the plaites of his Robe, *& capitale putavit quod in humero ſuo locum ruga mutaſſet*, he held it a capitall matter that a fold vpon his ſhoulder was diſplaced. And therefore *Tertullian* alluding herevnto accompts it among the commodities of his cloake, that it needed no Artificer, *qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet*, who the day before he wore it, ſhould ſet in due forme & order the plaites thereof: and a while after, *etiam cum reponitur nulli cippo in craſtinum demandatur*: whē it is laid aſide, it is not cōmitted to the ſtocks till the morrow. Of theſe they had ſuch variety and ſtore, that *Nero* was neuer ſeene twice in the ſame garment; & when a *Prætor* intending to ſet forth the moſt ſumptuous & magnificēt ſhewes he could deviſe, came to *Lucullus* to borrow of him ſome ſtore of ſhort clokes; his anſwer was, that he wonld take a time to ſee if he had ſo many as the *Prætor* deſired; and the next day ſending to know what number would ſerue the turne, it being told him an hundred, *ducentas accipere juſſit*, he bid them take two hundred. But *Horace* ſpeaketh of a farre greater number, no leſſe then fiue thouſand.

Macrob. Satur. 3. 13.

De Pallio, c. 5.

Suetonius c. 30.

Plutarchus in Lucullo.

Epiſt. 6.

---Chlamydes Lucullus vt aiunt
Si poſſet centum ſcenæ prebere rogatus,
Qui poſſum tot? ait tamen & quæram, & quot habebo
Mittam, Poſt paulo ſcribit ſibi millia quinque
Eſſe domi chlamydum, partem vel tolleret omnes,
Lucullus asked once,, if he could lend
Vnto the ſtage one hundred cloakes, replyed
How can I man, ſo many? yet Ile ſend
As many as I haue when I haue tried,
Soone after writes, fiue thouſand cloaks I haue,
Take all, or part, as many as you craue.

Martial. lib. 2. epig. 46.

Sic micat innumeris arcula ſyntheſibus
Atq; vnam veſtire tribum tua Candida poſſint
Apula non vno quæ grege terra tulit.
The cheſt with ſupper garments infinite,
Shines in like manner, and thy fleeces white
From more then one flocke in Apulia ſhorne
By one whole tribe ſuffice well to be worne.

Marcellinus lib. 28.

When they went to the publique Bathes, they had of theſe ſo many brought after them as might well ſuffice a dozen men; At their publique feaſts they changed often only for oſtentatiou to ſhew their variety, at leaſt ſo often as *ſeverall courſes* were ſerved in.

Martial. lib. 5. epig. 81.

Vndecies vna ſurrexti Zoile cœna
Et mutata tibi eſt Syntheſis vndecies.
Eleuen times at one ſupper thou
O *Zoilus* didſt ariſe.
As many times thou didſt I trow
Thy mantle change likewiſe.

Neither was the *price* vnſutable to their ſtore, they dared to lay downe for

for a cloake ten thouſand Seſterces.

Millibus decem dixti Epig.l 4.ep 61.
Emptas lacernas munus eſſe Pompillæ.
Pompilla gaue thee, thou didſt boaſt,
A cloake that might ten thouſand coſt.

And in another *Epigram,*

Emit lacernas millibus decem Baſſus. 8.10.
Ten thouſand Baſſus for a cloake did pay.

Now that which principally hoiſed vp the price of the garments to this immoderate hight, was the *rich dye* which they borrowed from ſhel-fiſh, *Quibus eadem mater luxuria paria pœnè etiam margaritis pretia fecit*, which our Luxury, ſaith *Pliny*, hath brought to prizes almoſt equall to thoſe of pearles. A pound of *violet purple* in the time of *Auguſtus*, as witneſſeth *Cornelius Nepos*, who lived and wrote during his raigne, was ſold for an hundred pence, in ſteede whereof the *Tyrian* double dye grew in vſe, which could not be bought for a thouſand. Lib.9.c 35. Lib. 9.c 39.

Their lightneſſe farther appeared in the light apparell which they wore; This is the making of that fine Say, whereof ſilke cloath is made, (ſaith *Pliny*) which men alſo are not abaſhed to put on and vſe, becauſe in ſummer-time they would goe light and thin. And ſo farre doe men draw backe now a dayes from carrying a good corſlet and armour on their backes, that they thinke their ordinary apparell doth over-loade them. And theſe tranſparent garments the *Satyriſt* thus deſervedly inveighs againſt. Lib.11.c.23.

--Sed quid
Non facient alij cùm tu multitia ſumas
Cretice, & hanc veſtem populo mirante perores
In Proculas & Pollineas? Eſt mœcha Labulla,
Damnetur ſi vis, etiam Carfinea: talem
Non ſumet damnata togam. Sed Iulius ardet,
Æſtuo, Nudus agas, minus eſt inſania turpis.
En habitum quo te leges ac jura ferentem
Vulneribus crudis populus modò victor, & illud
Montanum poſitis audiret vulgus aratris.
Quid non proclames in corpore judicis iſta
Si videas? quæro an deceant multitia teſtem?
Acer & indomitus, libertatiſq; magiſter
Cretice pelluces?

What will not others doe, ſince *Creticus* doth vſe
Light garments, and therein *Pollineas* doth accuſe
And *Proculas*, while as the vulgar ſort therefore
Both game and wonder makes. *Labulla* playes the whore
Condemne her if thou wilt, condemne *Carfinia* too,
Yet will ſhe not condemn'd weare ſuch a gowne I trow.
But *Iuly* ſcaldeth, and I fry. Plead naked then,
Leſſe ſhame' tis to be mad. Behold the weed wherein
The conquering people yet freſh bleeding from the warre
And hardie mountainer leaving both plough and ſhare

May heare thee talke of law and right, didſt thou but ſee
A Iudge in ſuch attire, what out-cryes would there bee?
Would lawne a witneſſe fit? Thou *Creticus* ſo ſad,
So fierce, ſo free, art in tranſparent garments clad.

Herevnto they added rings and jewels of ineſtimable value. At the
Plin. 33. 1. battle of *Cannæ* the *Carthaginians* gathered frō the fingers of the ſlaughtered *Romanes* who died in that battle three *modij*, which by *Hannibal* were ſent to *Carthage* as a token of the greatnes of his victory. *Nonnius* the Senatour, being proſcribed by *Anthony*, betooke himſelfe to flight, and of all his goods carried with him onely one ring, wherein was ſet
Plin. l. 7. c. 6. an opall *Quem certum eſt, ſeſtertijs viginti millibus æſtimatum*, which it is certaine was valued at twenty thouſand Seſterces. Rings they wore vpon euery finger.

Per cujus digitos currit levis annulus omnes,
Martial. e. 63. On whoſe each finger was a gold ring ſet.

Nay for euery joynt they had a ring, and that ſet with a pretious ſtone, *exornamus annulis digitos, & in omni articulo gemma diſponitur*, we garniſh
Senec. Nat Quæſt l. 7. 31. our fingers with rings, & vpon euery joynt ſhines a pretious ſtone, ſaith *Seneca*, & *Pliny*, ſome will haue the little finger loaden with three rings; nay now adayes, the middle finger onely excepted, all the reſt are charged with them, *atq; etiam privatim articuli minoribus alijs*, yea and euery
33. 1. joynt by themſelues muſt haue ſome leſſer rings & gemmals to fit them. *Charinus* wore vpon euery finger ſix, neither would he euen in the night disburden himſelfe of them.

Senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit
Mart. lib. 11. epig. 10. *Nec nocte ponit annulos.*

And as if all this had beene too litle, they wore vpon one joynt pretious ſtones.

Martial. 5. 11 *Sardonichas, Smaragdos, Adamantas, Iaſpidas vno*
Verſat in articulo Stella Severe meus.
Sardonyx, Smaragd, Iaſper, Diamond,
My Stella weares on one joynt of his hand.

Parum ſcilicet fuerit in gulas condi maria, niſi manibus, auribus, capite, totoq; corpore à fœminis juxta viriſq; geſtarentur: forſooth it was too little that the ſeas were made for our gluttony, vnleſſe we alſo wore them vpon
Lib. 9. c. 35. our hands, in our eares, vpon our heads, & ouer all our body, ſaith *Pliny*, ſpeaking of the great abundance of pearle and purple, that was worne as well by men as women. To this luxury of theirs in the vſe of rings may not vnfitly be added, that the rings which they wore in ſummer, in winter they layd aſide, and inſteed of them vſed others, diſtinguiſhing them into *ſummer* and *winter* rings. *Luxuria* (ſaith *Probus*) *invenerat alios annulos æſtivos alios vero hyemales*. And *Iuvenal. Sat. 1.*

---Cum verna Canopi
Criſpinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æſtivum digitis ſudantibus aurum,
Nec ſufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ.
---When an *Egytian* ſlaue
Criſpin a *Tyrian* cloake ſhall on his ſhoulders haue,

And

And ſummer gold-ring on his ſweating fingers weare,
Nor can endure the weight of greater gemme to beare.

SECT. 3.

The great exceſſe and immodeſty of their women in the ſame kinde.

NOw if their men were herein thus effœminate, wee may well conceiue their women exceeded more: *Video ſericas veſtes, ſi veſtes vocandæ ſunt, in quibus nihil eſt quo defendi aut corpus, aut deniq; pudor poſſit. Quibus ſumptis, mulier parum liquido nudam ſe non eſſe jurabit. Hæc ingenti ſumma ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accerſuntur, vt Matronæ noſtræ, ne adulteris quidem, plus ſui in cubiculo quam in publico oſtendunt.* I ſee their ſilken clothes, if they may be called clothes, wherewith neither their bodies nor ſhame are covered; which a woman wearing, cannot ſafely ſweare that ſhee is not naked: Yet are theſe at huge prizes, fet from Nations with whom we haue no traffique, that our women may expoſe no leſſe to the publique view, when they come abroad, then they doe to their Paramours in the bed. This immodeſty of the women is thus alſo taxed by *Horace* Sen. de Benef. 7. 9.

Cois tibi pæne videre eſt
Vt nudam.
In her lawne ſhee doth appeare
Almoſt as if ſhee naked were

And touched by *Martial*,

Egregium lucet ſic per bombycina corpus. Lib. 8. epig. 62.

Now beſides this, they were ſo loaden with coſtly ornaments, that one Poet tells vs. Ovid.

Pars minima eſt ipſa puella ſui.
The leaſt part of her ſelfe a maiden is.

And another,

Matrona incedit cenſus induta Nepotum. Propert. l. 3. Eleg. 11.
Te Matron jets attir'd in all her heires eſtate.

And a third,

Perq; caput ducti lapides, per colla manuſque,
Et pedibus niveis fulſerunt aurea vincla. Manilius, l. 5.
The head, the necke, the hands were deckt with pretious ſtone,
And chaines of gold did ſhine their ſnowie feete vpon.

I my ſelfe haue ſeene, ſayth *Pliny*, *Lollia Paulina*, late wife and after widow to *Caius Caligula* the *Emperour*, when ſhee was dreſſed and ſet out, not in ſtately wiſe, nor of purpoſe for ſome great ſolemnity, but onely when ſhee was to goe to a wedding ſupper, or rather to a feaſt when the aſſurance was made, & great perſons they were not that made the ſaid feaſt; I haue ſeene her, I ſay, ſo beſet and bedeckt all ouer with emrauls and pearles ranged in rowes one by another round about the tyre of her head, her cawle, her borders, her perruke of haire, her bungrace and chaplet at her eares pendant, about her necke a carcanet, vpon her wreſts in bracelets, and vpon her fingers in rings, that ſhe gliſtered and ſhone Lib. 9. 35.

ſhone againe as ſhe went. The value of theſe ornaments ſhe eſtemed & rated at foure hundred hundred thouſand Seſterces, and offered openly to proue it out of hand, by her books of accounts & reckonings. Their ropes of pearle were ſo rich, that S. *Hierome* tells vs, *vno filo villarum inſunt pretia*, vpon one rope hang the prices of diuerſe Lordſhips. And *Tertullian*, *vno lino decies Seſtertium inſeritur*, vpon one twine were threaded vp tenne hundred thouſand Seſterces. And againe, *ſaltus & inſulas tenera cervix fert*, the tender necke carries woods and Ilands vpon it; nay, one pearle which *Iulius Cæſar* bought for *Servilia* the mother of *Brutus*, *Sexagies Seſtertio mercatus eſt*, coſt him ſixtie hundred thouſand Seſterces: But ſpecially they exceeded in the jewels they wore in their eares. *Quare vxor tua locupletis domus cenſum auribus gerit*, ſayth *Seneca*? why doth thy wife weare in her eares the revenewes of a rich familie? And in another place, *Video vniones, non ſingulos ſingulis auribus comparatos: iam enim exercitatæ aures oneri ferendo ſunt. Iunguntur inter ſe & inſuper alij binis ſupponuntur. Non ſatis muliebris inſania viros ſubjecerat, niſi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus ſingulis pependiſſent.* I ſee their pearles not fitted ſingle to their eares, which are now inured to the bearing of weight; they are coupled together, and others are added to the two firſt, the madneſſe of our women had not ſufficiently brought men into ſubjection, did they not hang two or three patrimonies at each eare. And with him *Pliny* accords, *Binos ac ternos auribus ſuſpendere fœminarum gloria eſt*, to hang theſe by couples or more in each eare, is the pride of our women. And their luxury (ſayth he) hath found out a name for this, calling it *Crotalia*, as if they gloried in the ſound and ſtriking of the pearles each againſt another. Nay he goes farther, *affectantq; jam & pauperes, lictorem fœminæ in publico vnionem eſſe dictantes:* It is come to that paſſe, that euen the poorer ſort affect the ſame faſhion; their common ſaying being, that a pearle is the womans ſerjeant to waite vpon her when ſhee ſhewes her ſelfe abroad. But their extreme folly herein, hath *Tertullian* after his *African* manner wittily expreſſed, *Graciles aurium cutes Kalendarium expendunt*, the tender libbets of their eares conſume their Kalender, that is, ſaith the learned *Iunius* in his notes on that paſſage, *vniverſum domus cenſum qui præſcribitur in Kalendario:* the whole revenew or expence of their houſe, which was ſet down in their Kalender, or rentrole, or count-booke: Yet had this beene more tollerable, had they not worne them vpon their feete too. *Pliny* can hardly ſpeake of this with patience; Let our women, (ſayth he) haue their pearle and pretious ſtones vpon euery finger, about their necks, in their eares, vpon their chaplets and treaſes, *etiamne pedibus induitur?* muſt they needes weare them vpon their feete? And in another place, but not without ſome indignation too, *Quin & pedibus nec crepidarum tantum obſtragulis, ſed totis ſoculis addunt: neq; enim geſtare jam margaritas niſi calcent, ac per vniones etiam ambulent ſatis eſt*: Nay they garniſh their feete with them, and not only the higher, but the lower part of their ſlippers; ſo as now it is not held ſufficient to weare pearle, vnleſſe we tread and walke vpon it And the ſame hath *Tertullian* likewiſe obſerued, *in peronibus vniones emergere de luto cupiunt*, the pearle in their ſhooes labours

In vita Pauli Eremitæ.

De habitu muliebri cap. 9.

Sueton. cap. 50.

De vita beata, cap. 17.

De benef. 7. 9.

De habitu muliebri, l. 1, cap. 9.

Lib. 33. 3.

Lib. 9. 35.

De habitu muliebri 7. cap.

to

to keepe it ſelfe out of the mire. But *Lampridius* tells vs of *Heliogabalus*, that he wore jewels curiouſly engraven on his feete, which (ſaith he) moved laughter to all men, *quaſi poſſent ſculpturæ nobilium artificum videri in gemmis quæ pedibus adhærerent*, as if the gravings of famous Artificers could be diſcerned in jewels that were ſet on his feete.

Moreover, their women did not bluſh to haue it knowne, that vſually they painted not their faces onely, but their very eye-browes:

Scitis & inducta Candorem quærere cera,
Sanguine quæ vero non rubet, arte rubet. Ovid. de Rem. Amor.
Arte ſupercilij confinia nuda repletis,
Parvaque ſynceritas velat aluta genas:
Nec pudor eſt oculos tenui ſignare favilla,
Vel prope te nato livide Cydne croco.

They friſled and curled their haire with hot irons:

Cum graciles eſſent, tamen & lanuginis inſtar,
Heu mala vexatæ quanta tulere comæ!
Quam ſe præbuerant ferro patienter & igni!
Vt fierent torto nexilis orbe ſinus. Ovid. de Rem. Amor.
Clamabam ſcelus eſt, iſtos ſcelus vrere crines,
Sponte decent, capiti ferrea parce tuo.

They likewiſe dyed their haire:

Fœmina canitiem germanis inficit herbis,
Et melior vero quæritur arte color. Idem ibidem.

They alſo wore haire which they bought, inſteed of their owne:

Iurat capillos eſſe quos emit ſuos
Fabulla, nunquid illa Paule pejerat? Mart. 6. 11.

Fabulla ſweares her haire (which at a rate
ſhee bought) is hers, is ſhee forſworne in that?

And this without any ſhame they openly bought:

Fœmina procedit denſiſſima crinibus emptis,
Proque ſuis alios efficit ære ſuos; Ovid. de Rem. Amor.
Nec pudor eſt emiſſe palam ---

Beſides, they vſed artificiall teeth in defect of naturall:

Thais habet nigros, niveos Lecania dentes,
Quæ ratio eſt? emptos hæc habet, illa ſuos. Mart. 5. 43.

And againe to *Lælia*:

Dentibus atque comis (nec te pudet) vteris emptis
Quid facies? oculus Lælia non emitur.

Laſtly, they had infinite little boxes filled with loathſome traſh of ſundry kindes of colours and compoſitions for the hiding of their deformities, the very ſight and ſmell whereof was able to turne a mans ſtomacke.

Pyxidas invenies, & rerum mille colores,
Non ſemel hinc ſtomacho nauſea facta meo. Ovid. de Medic. fac.

SECT. 4.

SECT. 4.

More of the exceſſiue nicenes of their women, as alſo of Caligula *his monſtrous phantaſticalneſſe in his apparell, together with their extreame vanity in the multitude of their ſervants and ſlaues waiting on them.*

BEſides all this exceſſe in apparell and dreſſing themſelues, their niceneſſe was ſuch, that if but an *haire* were amiſſe, they called a councell about them, for the reforming of it,

Iuvenal. *---Tanquam famæ diſcrimen agatur*
Aut animæ.---

As if their credit or their life in queſtion were.

Nay, if but *tenuis radiolus*, the leaſt beame pierced thorow any little hole of their fanne, or a fly chanced to ſit vpon it, *queruntur quod non ſint apud Cymmerios natæ*, ſayth *Ammianus Marcellinus*, they preſently complaine, that they were not borne among the *Cymmerians*. Their *looke-ing-glaſſes* were in height & breadth anſwerable to their bodies, ingraven in their borders with gold and ſiluer, and emboſſed with pretious ſtone: *Et pluris vnum ex his fœminæ conſtitit quam antiquarum dos fuit, illa quæ publicè dabatur Imparatorum pauperum filiabus*: Some one of theſe hath ſtood a woman more then was the dowry of the Ancients, yea that which by publique allowance was giuē the daughters of the poorer Emperours. And within a while after, *jam libertinorum virgunculis in vnum ſpeculum non ſufficit illa dos quam dedit Populus Romanus filiæ Scipionis*: Now adayes that dowry, which the people of Rome gaue with *Scipio* his daughter, will not ſuffice to buy a glaſſe for the daughter of a manu-miſſed ſlaue. Now that dowry was *vndecem millia æris*, eleven thouſand *aſſes*: what then ſhall we thinke of the daughters of their *free-borne Citizens*, of their *Knights*, of their *Senatours*? Surely theſe, as they were ſuperiour in meanes and ranke, ſo were they likewiſe in expence.

Lib. 28.

Sen. Nat. Quæſt. l. 1. 17.

I will conclude this diſcourſe of *apparell* with *Caligula* his monſtrous phantaſticallneſſe therein, deſcribed by *Suetonius*, *Veſtitu neq; patrio neque civili, ac ne virili quidem aut deniq; humano ſemper vſus eſt*. Hee vſed not the apparell of his countrey, nor that which was civill or manlike, and ſometimes not ſo much as humane: for at times would he imitate *Deorum inſignia*, the enſignes of the Gods: And at other times againe, would he come abroad & ſit in judgment, *in ſocco muliebri* in womens ſlippers; wherein *Suetonius* ſeemes to allude to that ſtory, which is by *Seneca* reported more at large. *Cæſar* (ſayth he) gaue to *Pompeius Pœnus* his life, if he giue it who takes it not away: But being acquitted and giving thankes, he reached forth his left foote for him to kiſſe: Now they who goe about to excuſe him herein as being not done out of inſolency, *aiunt, ſocculum auratum imo aureum margaritis diſtinctum oſtendere eum voluiſſe*, ſay for him that it was but to make ſhew of his gilded, nay golden ſlipper ſet with pearle.

Cap. 52.

De benef. l. 2. 12.

To their exceſſe in apparell and dreſſing, may not vnfitly be added the extreame vanity in the *multitude* of their *ſervants* & *ſlaues* waiting on

on them. *Ammianus* ſpeakes of fifty attending, when they went to the publique Bath: And in another place he cals them *familiarum agmina*, troopes of houſhold ſervants: and *Pliny*, *mancipiorum legiones*, legions of ſlaues, which as a traine they drew after them. *Horace* tels vs, that *Tigellius* had often two hundred that followed him at heeles: But *Athenæus* much exceedes him, *decem imò viginti mille, & plures quoque ſervos habent, non quæſtus cauſâ vt ille Græcorum ditiſſimus Nicias, ſed pleroſque in publico comitantes*: They haue ten, nay twenty thouſand ſervants and more, not ſo much to make a gaine of them as did *Nicias*, the richeſt of the *Grecians*, but the greateſt part to waite on them when they went abroad. And me thinkes, *Seneca* againe outvies *Athæneus*, *Familia bellicoſis nationibus major*, a family more populous then ſome warlike Nations. Neither were the women in this exceſſe inferiour to the men, but rather went beyond them. *Marcellinus* deſcribes the order of ranging their ſervants when they went abroad, as it had beene an army marching in the field: And S. *Hierome* calls one part of them, *an army*, *noli ad publicum ſubinde procedere & ſpadonum exercitu præeunte viduarum circumferri libertate*: Do not walke abroad with an army of Eunuches marching before you after the manner of licentious widowes: inſomuch as they were driven to haue their *Nomenclators*, controllers or remembrancers to tell them the names of their ſervants and people about them, ſo many they were. Many of theſe they bought at a deare rate, and clad richly: They vſually payd for a ſlaue ſix thouſand Seſterces: And *Iulius Cæſar* layd downe ſuch incredible prices for ſome of them, that himſelfe was aſhamed thereof: *Sic vt rationibus vetaret inferri*, ſo as hee gaue ſpeciall charge it ſhould not be brought into his accounts. But their Ieaſters were commonly the deareſt:

Lib. 28. *Lib. 14.* *Lib. 1. Satyr. 3.* *Lib. 6.* *De ben. 7. 10.* *Lib. 14.* *Epiſt. Furiam.* *Sueton. c. 47.*

Morio dictus erat viginti millibus emi,
Redde mihi nummos Gargiliane: ſapit.

Martial. l. 8. epig. 13.

A foole I bought for twenty thouſand price:
Reſtore it backe, *Gargilian*, he is wiſe.

And for the rich apparrelling of them at times, wee haue a memorable place in *Seneca*, *diligentius quam intra privatum larem veſtita & auro culta mancipia, agmen ſervorum nitentium*; their ſlaues are more carefully apparelled and decked with gold when they appeare in publique, then within doores, and the troopes of their Servants ſhining and glittering.

De Tranq. c. 1.

SECT. 5.

Of their prodigall, or rather prodigious gifts of their Emperours, and the extreame vnthriftineſſe of private men.

I May happily ſeeme to ſome to haue beene tedious in dwelling too long vpon the *exceſſiue Luxury* of this people: but ſurely their extreame folly and madneſſe therein haue made me ſo: And if not the rarity, yet the variety of the matter hath beene ſuch, as I preſume it cannot quickly cloy the appetite of an attentiue Reader. And though

much hath beene ſaid, yet much more might be added, ſpecially touching their *prodigall*, or rather *Prodigious gifts*, which their great *Patron Iuſtus Lypſius* thus cenſures. *Si quis Midas fuiſſe fingatur qui omnia tacta faceat aurea, defecerit inaurare quantum iſti ſunt largiti*: If wee could faine a *Midas* that could turne all hee touched into gold, ſurely he would be weary to make the gold they gaue. And againe, *Vbi eſtis qui novum orbem & novas in eo divitias reperiſtis? huc ite, oſtendent & effundent eas Duumviri iſti vnâ largitione:* where are you that ſpeake of a new world, and the great treaſure that is there to be found? Come hither and behold two *Duumviri* (meaning *Anthony* and *Octavius*) that will emptie it all at one gift: And would you know to what great good purpoſe all theſe profuſe largitions were? the ſame *Authour* ſhall tell you, though ſomewhat againſt his will, *vt ad imperium veniant, imperium pæne ipſum donant:* They in a manner giue away the *Empire*, that they may come vnto it. *Quid? donant? perdunt certè, & quomodo tot iſti pecuniarum cumuli ſine aperta pernitie Provinciarum, Civiumque colligi potuere?* What ſaid I, they giue away? nay they rob and ſpoyle the *Empire*, in as much as ſo great maſſes of treaſure could not poſſibly be gathered without the evident ruine as well of the Citizens as of the Provincials. *Caligula* in leſſe then a yeare ſcattered and conſumed thoſe infinite heapes of gold and ſilver which *Tiberius* his Predeceſſour had layd vp, *vicies ac ſepties millies ſeſtertium*, ſeaven and twenty hundred millions of Seſterces. Of *Vitellius*, *Ioſephus* yeelds this teſtimony, *Octo menſes ac dies quinque potitus imperio, jugulatur in media vrbe, quam ſi vivere diutius contigiſſet, ejus luxuriæ ſatis eſſe imperium non potuiſſet*; having raigned eight moneths and fiue dayes he was ſlaine in the midſt of the City, whoſe luxury ſhould hee haue lived longer, the Empire could not haue ſatisfied: And leſt wee ſhould thinke *Ioſephus* paſſionate herein, as being a *Iew* and oppreſſed by the *Romanes*; againſt the teſtimony of *Tacitus* himſelfe a *Romane* and partiall for his Countrey wee cannot except: let vs then heare his evidence touching the ſame *Vitellius*: *Ipſe abundè ratus ſi præſentibus frueretur, nec in longum conſultans novies millies ſeſtertium pauciſſimis menſibus intervertiſſe credatur*, heholding it fully ſufficient if he injoyed the preſent, and not caring for the future, within the compaſſe of a few moneths, is ſayd to haue ſet going nine hundred millions of Seſterces; which ſumme *Budæus* caſting vp, thus pronounces of it, *hanc ego ſammam non minorem ducenties vicies quinquies centenis millibus eſſe dico*, I affirme that this ſume is no leſſe then twenty fiue hundred thouſand Crownes. And for *Nero, divitiarum ac pecuniæ fructum non alium putabat quam profuſionem*, hee thought there was no other end of money and riches but to caſt them away. Thoſe hee held baſe fellowes, who tooke any account of their expences, but gallant and noble ſpirits, if they waſted and laviſhed it out. Hee in nothing ſo much commended and admired his Vncle *Caius*, as for that in ſo ſhort a ſpace hee brought going the infinite maſſes of treaſures which *Tiberius* had hoarded vp, *Quare nec largiendi nec abſumendi modum tenuit*, ſo as he never ended giuing and waſting:

De Magn. Rom. 2. 11.

Suetonius. 37.

De bello Iudaico. 5.

Hiſtor. 2. 27.

ib. 4.

Suetonius. c. 30.

Iuven. l. 2. ſat. 6.

...Velut exhauſta redivivus pullulet arca
Nummus.

As

As if when nought did in the cheſt remaine,
Moneyes would grow there and reviue againe.

When once he had given ſo vnreaſonable a ſumme, that his mother *Agrippina* thought it fit to reſtraine his boundleſſe prodigality, ſhe cauſed the whole ſumme to be layd before him on a table as hee was to paſſe by, that ſo the ſight of it might worke in him a ſenſe of his folly; but he ſuſpecting it belike to be his mothers device, commands preſently ſo much more to be added therevnto, and withall was heard to ſay aloud, *Neſciebam me tam exiguum dediſſe*, I knew not that I gaue ſo little. To *Teridates* (which ſcarce ſeemes credible to *Suetonius* himſelfe) during his abode in *Italy* by the ſpace of nine moneths, he allowed dayly *octingenta nummûm millia*, eight hundred thouſand Seſterces: And beſides at his parting for a farewell, beſtowed on him *Seſtertium millies*, no leſſe then an hundred millions; the reſt of his prodigall gifts were not diſproportionall therevnto, ſo that in the whole, *bis & vicies millies ſeſtertium donationibus Nero effuderat*, hee caſt away in prodigall needleſſe gifts two and twenty hundred millions of Seſterces. *Menecrates* a fidler, and *Specillus* a fencer, *triumphalium virorum patrimonijs ædibuſque donavit*, hee rewarded with the patrimonies and houſes of Triumphers: Nay *Luxuriæ tam effrænatæ fuit*, ſayth *Oroſius*, ſo luxuriouſly waſtefull hee was, beyond all reaſon and meaſure, *vt piſcaretur retibus aureis quæ purpureis funibus extrahebantur*, that he would not fiſh but with nets of gold drawne with purple coloured cords. Neither was his gaming vnanſwerable to his giuing, *Quadringenis in punctum ſeſtertijs aleam luſit*, he adventured foure hundred thouſand Seſterces vpon every pick of the dice.

In Dionis Compendio.

Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 6.

Suetonius c. 6.

Suetonius.

But yet all this might perchance ſeeme more tollerable in their Emperours, had not their private men according to the proportion of their meanes gone beyond them in theſe mad monſtrous prodigalities. *Sylla* (as *Plutarch* in his life reports it) would ſometimes giue a whole country, or province, or the whole revenues, or certaine cities to a pleaſant jeaſter, or a minſtrell, or a wicked ſlaue made free, or to a woman whom he affected for her beauty. *Pyramides regum miramur*, ſaith *Pliny*, *cùm P. Claudius quem Milo occidit Seſtertium centies & quadragies octies domo empta habitaverit, quod non ſecus ac regum inſaniam miror.* Do we wonder at the *Pyramides* of the *Ægyptian* Kings, ſince *Clodius* whom *Milo* ſlew dwelt in an houſe which coſt one hundred forty eight hundred thouſand Seſterces, which truly I as much admire as the madneſſe of thoſe Kings. And going on, touches *Milo* himſelfe vpon the ſame veine: *Itaque & ipſum Milonem ſeſtertium ſeptingenties æris alieni debuiſſe inter prodigia animi humani duco*: And *Milo* himſelfe to haue beene indebted ſeaven hundred hundred thouſand Seſterces, I cannot but ranke it among the prodigies of humaine wit. *Curio* the ſonne ranne in debt, as witneſſes *Valerius*, *Seſtertium ſex centies*, ſix hundred hundred thouſand Seſterces,

Lib. 36. 15.

Lib. 9. 1.

--Decies centena dediſſes
Huic parco paucis contento, quinque diebus
Nil erit in loculis.

Hor. l. 1. Sat. 3.

Ten hundred thouſand were you pleaſd to giue

Vnto the ſparing man, ſo well content
With little, yet might he but fiue dayes liue,
In fiue daies all would be conſum'd and ſpent,

Saith *Horace* of *Tigellus*. And *Martiall* of *Cinna*;

Bis quartum decies non toto tabuit anno,
Dic mihi non hoc eſt Cinna perire citò?

Lib.9.Ep.84.

An hundred thouſand eighteene times
Leſſe then one yeare did ſpend:
Tell mee, O *Cinna*, is not this
To come ſoone to an end?

And of *Matho*,

Centenis ludit Matho millibus, O le quid ad te?
Non tu propterea ſed Matho pauper erit,

Lib.7.epig.8.

For hundred thouſands *Matho* playes
Olus, what's that to thee?
Not thou by meanes thereof I trow
But *Matho* poore ſhall bee.

CAP. 10.

Of the Romanes extreame arrogancie and confidence in admiring and commending themſelues together with their groſſe and baſe flattery, ſpecially to their Emperours: and laſtly their impudent, nay impious vain-glory and boaſting of their owne Nation and City, together with a briefe view of their ingratitude towards their beſt deſerving Citizens.

SECT. 1.

Of their extreame arrogancie in admiring and commending, and even deifying themſelues.

THus haue we ſeene the *Covetouſneſſe* & *Cruelty*, but ſpecially the *prodigious Luxury* of this *Nation* (ſo renowned in *Hiſtory* for their *Vertues*, as if they had beene the onely *patternes* and *Maſters* of *morality*) in part diſplayed: Neither were theſe three vices the onely ones which they were generally and notoriouſly ſubject vnto, I might inſtance in many more, but will onely touch by the way their extreame *arrogancie* and *confidence* admiring and commending themſelues & their owne perſonall abilities, their groſſe and baſe *flattery* to others, ſpecially their Emperours both liuing and dead; and laſtly their impudent, nay impious *vain-glory* and boaſting of their owne *Nation* and *City*. For the firſt of thoſe, ſo farre they were from *humility*, that their greateſt *Moraliſts*, no not the *Stoicks* themſelues any-where in their writings remember it as a vertue, it being indeed the proper vertue of *Chriſtian* Religion. Nay ſo farre they were from ranging it among the *Vertues* that they held it a *Vice*.

Faciunt animos humiles formidine Divûm.
To feare the gods doth much abaſe the minde.

No marvell then that whereas wee finde the pen-men of holy Scripture publiſhing to the world, and regiſtring to poſterity their owne infirmities,

firmities,thoſe men on the other ſide vaunt every where of their worth and ſufficiencie. Not ſo much but old *Ennius* bragges of himſelfe,that being yet aliue he was growne ſo famous that hee needed no mourning for him after his death.

Nemo me lacrymis decoret, neque funera fletu
Faxit,cur? volito vivus per ora virum.

Martial, if hee haue nothing elſe to brag of, will ſtand vpon his ſingular gift in trifling.

Ille ego ſum nulli nugarum laude ſecundus. *Ad Avitum.6.1.*
In praiſe for toyes I ſecond am to none.

Ovid thus boldly concludes his *Metamorphoſis*,

Iamque opus exegi quod nec Iovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.
Now haue I finiſhed the worke,which nor Ioues ire,
Nor ſword aboliſh ſhall,nor ravening time,nor fire.

And in another place:

Mantua Virgilium laudet, Verona Catullum,
Romanæ gentis gloria dicar ego.
Let *Mantua Virgill* praiſe, *Catull Veron*,
But glory of *Rome* let me be tearm'd alone.

And *Horace* is no way behind him,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius, *Carm l.3.od.30*
Regalique ſitu Pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax,non Aquilo impotens
Poſſit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum ſeries & fuga temporum.
A monument then braſſe more laſting,I,
Then Princely Pyramids in ſite more high,
Haue finiſhed,which neither fretting ſhowres,
Nor bluſtering windes,nor flight of yeares and houres,
Though numberleſſe can raze.

And though it be true that they divined aright, yet doubtleſſe, ſuch arrogant confidence, or rather confident arrogancie touching the fruites of their owne braines, would better haue ſounded out of other mens mouths,and more modeſty (the very grace and crowne of other vertues and gifts) haue much better beſeemed them. What a *vaine-glorious* vnſavory verſe was that of *Tullies* owne making, touching the good government of the ſtate during his *Conſulſhip*:

O fortunatam natam me Conſule Romam!
O happy Rome and fortunate
Through mee,and through my Conſulate!

But their Emperours went farther; *Diocleſian* calling himſelfe the brother of the Sunne and Moone,and in ſalutations, not admitting any to farther familiarity then to the kiſſing of his toe. Nay *Auguſtus*,ſo much magnified by them, made a ſupper, in which *Suetonius* witneſ- *Cap.70.*
ſeth, *Deorum Dearumque habitu diſcubuiſſe convivas, & ipſum pro Apolline ornatum*, that his gueſts ſate downe in the habite of Gods and Goddeſſes,and himſelfe attired like *Apollo*: But this was but a play, though

such as *Augustus* himselfe blushed to heare of. *Domitian* (as before hath beene touched) went to it in good earnest, sending out his writtes with this forme, *Dominus & Deus noster sic fieri jubet*, Our Lord and God so commands it to be: *vnde institutum posthac vt ne scripto quidem ac sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter*, from thence-forth it was ordained, that he should neither by the writing nor speech of any man be otherwise named: Yet these were but words, *Caligula* proceeded to deedes.

Suet. Cap. 13.

Suet. cap. 22.

---Divûmque sibi poscebat honores,

Assuming and challenging to himselfe, not the name onely but the honours due to the Gods: Hee caused the statues of the Gods, among which was that of *Iupiter Olympicus* to be brought out of *Greece*, and taking off their heads, commanded his owne to be set on insteed thereof, and standing betweene *Castor* and *Pollux*, exhibited himselfe to be worshipped of such as resorted thither, *Templum etiam numini suo proprium & Sacerdotes & excogitatissimas hostias instituit*, hee farther erected a Temple, and instituted both Priests, & most exquisite sacrifices to the service of himselfe. In his Temple stood his image of gold taken to life which every day was clad with the same attire as was himselfe, his sacrifices were phœnicopters, peacockes, bustards, turkeyes, pheasants, and all these were daily offered, and at nights in case the moone shined out full and bright, he invited her to imbracements aud to lie with him, but the day hee would spend in private conference with *Iupiter Capitolinus*, sometimes whispering and laying his eare close to him, and sometimes againe talking aloud as if he had beene chiding: Nay being angry with heaven, because his interludes were hindred by claps of thunder, and his banqueting by flashes of lightning, *ad pugnam provocavit Iovem*, hee challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him, *& quidem sine intermissione Homericum illum exclamans versum*, and without ceasing roared out that verse of *Homer*.

Senec. de ira. lib. 1. c. 16.

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἦ τις σεῖο θεοὺς ἀτάσθαλος ἄλλος,

None is, ô *Iupiter*, more mischievous then thou.

Insteed of which verse of *Homer*, some copies haue this *Hemistichium*.

ἀλλ' μ' αἶψα θέλοις ἠμαθσι,

Dispatch thou mee
Or I will the.

Wherevpon *Seneca* inferres (as well he might) *Quanta dementia fuit? putavit aut sibi noceri, ne à Iove quidem posse; aut se nocere etiam Iovi posse*: what extreame madnesse was that, to thinke that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him, or that himselfe could hurt *Iupiter*? Good God! who would imagine that pride and selfe-loue should so farre intoxicate and infatuate a man (captivated to sinne and sensuality) as to make him vtterly to forget himselfe to be a man, & command others to worship him as a God, or which is more, aboue God! But surely herein I must confesse, they be somewhat the more to be pitied, & the rather to be pardoned, for that the Gods whom they worshipped, had not only bin men, but like themselues, too notoriously wicked: And withall I am perswaded, the grosse flattery of their subjects, but specially the *Poets*, drew them on to the acting of that, which perchance of themselues they were inclinable enough vnto.

SECT. 2.

SECT 2.

Of their groſſe flattery, ſpecially toward their Emperours both liuing and dead.

HOw notable doth *Martiall* play the Paraſite with *Domitian*, telling him, that if the Gods ſhould ſell all they had, they would not be able to ſatisfie their debt to him, but would be forced to turne banke-rupts.

These verſes of *Martiall* are vpon another occation, formerly alleaged and engliſhed.

Grandis in Ætherio licet auctio fiat Olympo
Coganturq; Dei vendere quicquid habent
Conturbabit Atlas, &c.

And againe,

Expectes & ſuſtineas Auguſte neceſſe eſt,
Nam tibi quod reddat non habet arca Iouis.

But this in *Martiall* a profeſſed flatterer, is more tollerable then in *Virgill* and *Lucan*, who carry the name of graue and ſad Poets, yet the one divides the *Empire* betweene *Iupiter* and *Auguſtus*.

Diviſum Imperium cum Ioue Cæſar habet.
Twixt *Ioue* and *Cæſar* th'Empire ſhared is.

Nay more then ſo he calls him his God, promiſing to erect altars and offer ſacrifice vnto him,

In Tytyro.

O Melebœe deus nobis hæc otia fecit
Namque erit ille mihi ſemper deus, illius aram
Sæpe tener noſtris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.

And againe in another Ecloge,

In Daph.

Ipſa ſonat arbuſta deus, deus ille Menalca
Sis bonus o fœlixque tuis, en quatuor aras
Ecce duas tibi Daphni, duoque altaria Phœbo

The other profeſſes, that all the outrages committed in their *civill* wars, were nothing diſpleaſing vnto them, but rather acceptable and advantagious, in regard they helpt to prepare a way for *Nero's* comming to the Empire

Lib. 2.

His Cæſar Peruſina fames mutinæque laboris,
Accedant fatis, aut ſi quid durius iſtis:
Multum Roma tamen debet civilibus armis
Quod tibi res acta eſt.
Adde *Cæſar* to theſe fates *Modena* broiles,
Peruſin famine, or elſe harder toiles:
Yet *Rome* to civill armes thou art in debt
Since all this worketh to thy benefit.

Ibid.

Quod ſi non aliam venturo fata Neroni
Invenere viam,
Iam nihil ô Superi querimur ſcelera iſta nefaſque
Hac mercede placent.
If other way the fates could not invent
For *Nero's* comming, then we reſt content,
This villanie ô Gods, this foule offence

Miſlikes

Miſlikes vs not with ſo great recompence.

And when *Domitian* challenged to himſelfe *divine wroſhip*, how ready were they to ſooth him in it? *Magiſteria Sacerdotij ditiſſimus quiſque & ambitione & licitatione maxima vicibus comparabant*, Every one as he was richeſt by great ſutes and bribes, got him a turne in the Magiſtracie of the Prieſt-hood; nay *quidam eum Latialem Iovem conſalutárunt*, there wanted not ſome among them, who ſaluted him by the name of *Iupiter Latialis*. But this I muſt acknowledge, as it was foule in the higheſt degree, ſo was it vnvſuall: For though (as noteth *Proſper*) in their petitions to their Princes, they vſually ſtiled them, *Numini veſtro, Perennitati veſtræ*, to your divine power, to your eternity: *Quæ vanitas non veritas tradidit, atque execrabilia ſunt*, which vanity not verity hath found out, and are indeed abominable. Nay the *Emperours* themſelues in their *Reſcripts*, ſhamed not to write, *Perennitas noſtra, æternitas noſtra, numen noſtrum &c.* And we ſometimes reade, *Oracula Auguſti* for *Edicta*. Yet *Horum honor Principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines deſierat*, ſaith *Tacitus*, wee do not commonly giue the honour of the Gods to our Princes as long as they liue; thereby implying that aſſoone as they were deceaſed they did it. Though *Valerius Maximus* in his prologue prefixed to his booke of *memorable ſpeeches* and *deedes* doubts not to invoke *Tiberius* then liuing, as a power divine, and withall to juſtifie himſelfe therein, in as much as the moſt ancient Oratours alwayes began with the invocation of *Iupiter*, and the moſt excellent Poets of ſome deitie, which they worſhipped; nay, that himſelfe had more reaſon ſo to do, in as much as their Gods ſtood but in opinion, his, in ſenſible effects. And at laſt concludes *Deos reliquos accepimus, Cæſares dedimus*, other gods we haue receiued, the *Cæſars* wee haue made. *Auguſtus* likewiſe while hee was yet liuing was worſhipped as a God, not at *Rome* perchance & *Italy* (for that he refuſed) yet abroad in the *Provinces*: Whereupon temples were erected vnto him, and a *Colledge of Prieſts* both men and women; and coynes were ſtamped with rayes or beames about his head: whence the *Poet*,

Præſenti tibi maturos largimur honores.

To thee while thou doſt liue
Honours divine we giue.

Now the Ceremonies of the *Apotheoſis* or deifying their Emperours (as appeares in *Herodian.* and others) was briefely thus. After the Princes death, the body being ſumptuouſly and honourably interred, they framed an image of waxe, reſembling in all reſpects the party deceaſed, but paliſh and wanne as a ſicke man; and ſo being laid at the entry of the palace in an yvorie bed, covered with cloth of gold the Senate and Ladies aſſiſting in mourning attire; the Phyſitions dayly reſorted to him to touch his pulſe & conſider in Colledge of his deſeaſe, doctorally at their departure, reſolving that hee grew in worſe and worſe tearmes and hardly would eſcape it. At the end of ſeaven dayes (during which time, ſaith *Xiphilinus*, there ſtood a page with a fanne of peacockes feathers to keepe off the flies from the face, as if hee had beene but aſleepe) they opened and found by their learning, (the *criſis* belike being

In dimidio Temporis, c. 7.

Annal. l. 1 5

l. 10. 4.

being badde)that the patient was departed. Whereupon ſome of the Senate appointed for that purpoſe, and principall gentle-men taking vp the bed vpon their ſhoulders, carried it thorow *Via ſacra* into the *Forum*, where a company of yong Gentle-men of greateſt birth ſtanding on the one ſide and maydeson the other,ſung hymnes and ſonnets the one to the other in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a ſolemne and mournfull note, with all kinde of other muſicke and melodie,as indeede the whole ceremony was a mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeares by *Seneca* at the conſecration of *Claudius*: who thus flouts at it. *Et erat omnium formoſiſſimum (funus Claudij) & impenſa cura plenum,vt ſcires Deum efferri, tibicinum, Cornicinum, omniſque generis æneatorum tanta turba,tantus Conventus, vt etiam Claudius audire poſſit.* It was the goodlieſt ſhew and the fulleſt of ſollicitous curioſity, that you might know a God was to be buried; ſo great was the rabble of trumpetters, cornetters and other Muſitians, that even *Claudius* himſelfe might haue heard them. After this, they carried the herſe out of the Citie into *Campus Martius*, where a ſquare tower was built of timber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receiue wood & faggots ſufficiently,outwardly bedeckt & hung with cloaths of gold, imagerie worke, and curious pictures. Vpon that tower ſtood a ſecond turret in figure and furniture like to the firſt, but ſomewhat leſſe, with windowes and doores ſtanding open,wherein the herſe was placed, & all kinde of ſpiceries and odours, which the whole world could yeeld heaped therein: And ſo a third and fourth turret,and ſo forth, growing leſſe and leſſe towards the toppe: The whole building repreſenting the forme of a lantherne or watch-tower, which giueth light in the night. Thus all being placed in order the Gentle-men firſt rode about it marching in a certaine meaſure: then followed others in open coaches with roabes of honour, and vpon their faces vizards of the good Princes, and honourable perſonages of ancient times. All theſe Ceremonies thus being performed; the Prince which ſucceeded taketh a torch,and firſt putteth to the fire himſelfe, and after him all the reſt of the company, and by and by as the fire was kindled,out,of the toppe of the higheſt turret, an Eagle was let flye to carry vp his ſoule into heaven,and ſo hee was afterward reputed, and by the *Romanes* adored among the reſt of the *Gods*. Marry before the conſecration it was vſuall, that ſome Gentle-men at leaſt, ſhould beſtow an oath to proue their *Deitie*, *Nec defuit vir Prætorius qui ſe effigiem cremati euntem in cælum vidiſſe juraſſet*, ſaith *Suetonius* of *Auguſtus:* neither was there wanting one who had beene *Prætor*(*Dion* names him *Numerius Atticus*)to ſweare, that hee ſaw his *Effigies* mounting into heaven. The like was teſtified of *Druſilla*, ſiſter and wife to *Caius*, by one *Levius Geminius* a Senatour,of which *Dion* thus writes. One *Livius Geminius* a Senatour ſwore that hee ſaw *Druſilla* aſcending vp into heaven, and converſing with the Gods, wiſhing to himſelfe and his children vtter deſtruction if hee ſpake an vntruth, calling to witneſſe both ſundry other *Gods*,and ſpecially the *Goddeſſe* her ſelfe of whom he ſpake. For which oath he receiued a million of Seſterces, which makes 7812l 10ſ Sterling.

In ludo de morte Claudij.

Thau.

Cap. 10.

Lib. 59.

What

What a deale of *fopperie* and *impiety* was here mixed together? Yet this leſſon, (as Sir *Henry Savill* from whom I haue borrowed the greateſt part of this laſt narration conjectures) they may ſeeme to haue learned of *Proculus Iulius*, who tooke an oath not much otherwiſe for *Romulus deitie*, whom the Senate murdered and made a *God*; from whence this race of the *Romane Gods* may ſeeme to haue taken beginning. And I doubt not, but many of the wiſer ſort of the *Romans* themſelues ſecretly laughed at this follie, ſure I am that *Lucan* durſt openly ſcoffe at it.

Annot. in Tac. l. hiſt. 1. c. 1.

lib. 7.

---Cladis tamen hujus habemus
Vindictam, quantum terris dare numina fas eſt;
Bella pares Superis facient civilia divos,
Fulminibus manes, radijſque ornabit & aſtris.
Inque Deûm templis jurabit Roma per umbras.

Yet of this ſlaughter ſuch revenge wee haue
As heavenly powers may giue, or earth can craue:
Gods like to thoſe aboue theſe civill warres
Shall make, and Rome with lightning, beames, & ſtarres
Shall them adorne, and in the temples where
The Gods do dwell ſhall by their ſhadowes ſweare.

It is true, that in our time after the death of the late *Charles* in *France*, his image was layd in a rich bed, in triumphant attire, with the crowne vpon his head, & the coller of the order about his necke, and forty dayes at ordinary houres, dinner and ſupper was ſerved in with all accuſtomed ceremonies, as ſewing, water, grace, carving, ſay taking, &c. all the Cardinalls, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, & Officers attending in far greater ſolemnity, then if he had beene alive. Now this I confeſſe, was a peece of *flattery* more then needed, but not comparable to that of the *Romans*, in making their Emperours *Gods*, which they might well haue conceiued, was neither in the power of the one to giue, nor of the other to receiue. Yet was not this honour conferred vpon the *Emperours* alone; *Tully*, as wiſe as hee would be held, would needes haue his daughter *deified*, and the ſame did *Adrian* by *Antinous* his minion, which no doubt might as well be juſtified as *Caligula's* making his horſe a Prieſt, or the ſame *Adrians* erecting monuments to his dead dogges.

SECT 3.

Of their impudent, nay impious vain-glory, and boaſting of their owne nation and city.

YEt their *inordinate prepoſterous Zeale* in extolling every where their *Empire* and city beyond meaſure, and modeſty, and truth, ſeemes to haue exceeded this toward their Emperours; & from hence I beleeue hath chiefely growne in the world ſo great an admiration of them in many things beyond all ſucceeding ages, and their deſerts. But certaine it is, that never any people vnder the Sunne, more daringly challenged to themſelues the toppe of all perfection. *Nulla vnquam Reſp. nec major nec ſanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit*, ſayth *Livy*,

Lib. 1.

Livy, Never was there any common-wealth more ample or holy, or rich in good examples. *Gentium in toto orbe præstantissima vna & in omni virtute haud dubie Romana exstitit*, sayth *Pliny*. The *Romane* Nation hath beene doubtlesse of all others in all kinde of vertue the most excellent. *Nulla gens est quæ non aut ita subacta sit, vt vix exstet; aut ita domita, vt quiescat; aut ita pacata, vt victoria nostra imperioque lætatur*, sayth *Tully*: There is no Nation which either is not so vtterly vanquished, as it is extinguished; or so mastered, as it is quieted; or so pacified, that it rejoyceth in our victory. And Empire and *Claudian*,

Hæc est exiguis quæ finibus orta tetendit
In geminos axes, parvaque à sede profecta
Dispersit cum sole manus.
Small were her confines when she first begun,
Now stretcheth to both poles; small her first seat,
Yet now her hands she spreadeth with the Sunne.

This seemed not enough vnto *Cæcilius*, against whom *Arnobius* writes, for he sayth, that the *Romanes* did, *Imperium suum vltra solis vias propagare*: They enlarged their dominion beyond the course of the Sunne. And *Ovid*, hee commeth not a steppe behind them in this their exaggerated amplification. For hee sayth, that *if God should looke downe from heaven vpon the earth, he could see nothing there without the power of the Romanes.*

Iupiter, arce sua, totum cum spectet in orbem, *Fast.*
Nil, nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet.

Yea, and (as *Egesippus* recordeth) there were many that thought the *Romane Empire* so great, and so largely diffused over the face of the whole earth, that they called *orbem terrarum*, *Orbem Romanorum*, *The globe of the earth, the globe of the Romanes, the whole world, the Romane world. Hyperbolicall* speeches, which though *Lypsius* put off with an *animosè magis quam superbè dicta*, as arguing rather magnanimitie then ostentation; yet *Dyonisius Halicarnassæus* somewhat more warily limits them thus: *Romana vrbs imperat toti terræ quæ quidem inaccessa non sit*, the city of *Rome* commands the whole earth, where it is not inaccessable: But *Lypsius* himselfe more truly, *Quicquid opportunum aut dignum vinci videbatur, vicit*, it overcame whatsoever it could well overcome, or thought worthy the overcomming. And *Macrobius* (though himselfe a *Romane*) ingenuously acknowledgeth *Gangem transnare aut Caucasum transcendere Romani nominis fama non voluit.* The fame of the *Romanes* as great as it was, yet was never so great as to be able to swimme over the river *Ganges*, or climbe over the mountaine *Caucasus*, so that even their fame came short of their swelling amplifications vsed by their Orators and Poets, but their dominion came much shorter, as is expressely affirmed by the same Authour, *Totius terræ quæ ad cœlum puncti locum obtinet minima quædam particula à nostri generis hominibus possidetur.* Though the whole Earth compared with the Heavens be no bigger then a Center in the midst of a Circle, yet scarce the least parcell of this little earth, did ever come into the hands of the *Romanes*. *De somn. Scip. 2. 10.* *Ibid.*

Yet how could a man well devise to say more then *Propertius* hath sayd of that City.

Omnia

Omnia Romanæ cedant miracula terræ,
Natura hic posuit quicquid vbique fuit.
All miracles to Rome must yeeld, for here
Nature hath treasur'd all what's every-where.
Except *Martiall* perchance out-vie him.

lib 12.8. *Terrarum Dea gentiumque, Roma,*
Cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum.
Of Lands and Nations Goddesse, Rome, and Queene,
To whom nought peere, nought second yet hath beene.

Libro de aquæductibus. Which *Frontinus* seemes to borrow from him, but with some addition of his owne, *Romana vrbs indiges terrarumque Dea, cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum.* Now sayth *Crinitus*, alleaging those words of *Frontinus*, *Eos dicimus fere indigites, qui nullius rei egeant, id enim est tantum Deorum*, wee vsually call those *indigites*, which want nothing, for that is proper to the Gods. *Hubertus Golzius* in his *treasure of Antiquity* hath effigiated two peeces of coine, the one with a *Greeke* Inscription ΡΩΜΑ ΘΕΑ, the other with this in *Latine*, *ROMA DEA*, the meaning of both being that *Rome* was a *Goddesse*, neither was this figuratiuely, but properly vnderstood, shee having advanced her selfe into the number of the *Gods*, as witnesseth *Dion* in *Augustus*; nay erected Temples, and addressed sacrifices to her selfe, as testifie *Victor* and *Onuphrius* in their descriptions of *Rome*, which *Prudentius* a *Christian Poet* both glances at, and deservedly derides,

De hon. disc. l. 1. c. vlt.

Cap. 1. & 3.

lib. 1. cont. Symmachum.

--Colitur nam sanguine & ipsa
More Deæ, nomenque loci seu numen habetur,
Atque Vrbis Veneris que pari se culmine tollunt
Templa, simul geminis adolentur thure deabus.
Shee Goddesse-like is worshipped with blood,
A places name is hallowed for a God:
As high as *Venus* Cities Church doth rise,
And joynt to both they incense sacrifice.

And *Lucan*, as to a *Goddesse*, directs his prayer solemnely vnto her,

--summique ô numinis instar
Roma fave cæptis. *Lib. 1.*
--And thou as greatest power divine,
Favour, O Rome this enterprise of mine.

Her temple was situate vpon mount *Palatine*, as appeares by that of *Claudian*, bringing in the Provinces as suppliants to visite the *Goddesse*.

Conveniunt ad tecta Deæ, quæ candida lucent *lib. 2.*
Monte palatino.
They meete at th'Goddesse Temple which doth shine
So white and glorious on mount Palatine.

But this was in truth such a mad drunkennesse with pride & selfe-loue, that *Lypsius* himselfe cannot hold from crying out, *O insaniam ædificijs & inanimato corpori non vitam solùm attribuere, sed numen!* O strange madnesse, to ascribe vnto houses and stones and a dead body not life onely, but a deity! And being now a *Goddesse*, shee might well take to her selfe that of old *Babylon*, a type of her pride, *I sit as a Queene, and am no widdow,*

De Magist Rom. c. 6.

Isay. 47.8. Revel. 18.7.

now, & shall see no sorrow, and challenge to her selfe *eternity* as most blasphemously she did, as is to be seene in the coyne of the Emperour *Probus*, in which we haue *Rome* set forth sitting in her Temple in a victorious triumphant manner, hauing on the one side this inscription, *Conserv: vrbis suæ*, and on the other, *Romæ æternæ*, and so is it expressely named both by [a] *Symmachus*, and [b] *Ammianus Marcellinus*. And *Suetonius* testifies in the life of *Nero* (*cap.* 11) that of all their severall kindes of playes, *pro æternitate imperij susceptos appellari maximos voluit*, those which were exhibited for the eternity of the Empire should bee had in greatest state, in which persons of all orders and sexes played their parts. Whereby S. *Hierome*, not without good reason expounds these words in the *Revelation*, *I saw a woman sit vpon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy*, and so doth *Prosper Aquitanicus*, *æterna cùm dicitur quæ temporis est, vt iq; nomen est blasphemiæ*, in that she is called *eternall*, being transitory, it is doubtlesse a name of blasphemy.

Hubertus Goltzius verum Antiq. c. 4.

[a] *Apud Amb. ep.* 30.
[b] *lib.* 15 *c.* 6. & 16. 6.

Ep. ad Algasiam q. 11.
In dimidio temporis, c. 7.

SECT 4.

Of the monstrous ingratitude of the Romans toward their best deseruing Citizens.

It cannot but seeme very strange, that this people should be so wonderfully zealous of the renowne of their nation, and glory of their Citie, and yet withall so injurious, and ingratefull toward their best patriots, and most deseruing Citizens, in which kinde might easily be produced a great number of instances out of *Livie*, *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Appian*, *Valerius*, and others; but I will content my selfe with a few, as I finde them gathered to my hand by *Valerius Maximus* in his fifth booke and third Chapter, though himselfe a *Romane*, descended from the *Valerian* and *Fabian*, two very noble families, and exceeding tender of the honour and reputation of his Countrey. To let passe then the great ingratitude of *Sextilius* toward *C. Cæsar* the Oratour, as also that of *Pompey* the Great, toward *Cn. Carbo*, it is most certaine, that *Popilius* shewed himselfe most prodigiously ingratefull toward *Marcus Cicero*, who had deserved exceeding well, not onely of the state in generall, but of him in particular, by defending his life in a very doubtfull case, with no lesse care then eloquence, & sending him home to his house in safety, when himselfe in a manner despayred thereof; yet this man, even this very man, after all this, being no way wronged by *Cicero* either in word or deed, sues to *Antonie* of his owne accord, that he might be imployed in the prosecution and murder of *Cicero* then proscribed; and having obtained a commission or warrant for the acting of this detestable execution, even dancing for joy, he gets him in post hast to *Caieta*, and there instantly commands a man not onely of eminent ranke & high desert, but the authour of his breathing, and even meriting in private veneration at his hands, to yeeld his throate to the stroake of his sword, and forthwith securely and in cold bloud, chops off, not onely the right hand of the Romane peace, but the head of the Romane eloquence, and with that burden as with rich spoiles triumphantly returnes into that Citie, which by it had beene preserved more then once;

neither in the carriage thereof did the villaine call to minde that hee then bore in his armes, that head which not long before had pleaded & prevailed for the ſafetie of his. But truly theſe lines are to weake to paint out, and in lively colours to ſet forth this monſter; and ſufficiently to expreſſe and bewaile this lamentable death of *Cicero*, wee ſhould neede the tongue or pen of *Cicero* himſelfe, there being none other left in the world of abilitie to performe it.

But this was the act but of a private man. I now come to thoſe in which the ſtate, that is the Citie or at leaſtwiſe the Senate were ingaged. The Senate then it was which being by *Romulus* aduanced to the higheſt pitch of honour tore him in peeces in open Court, not doubting or fearing to imbrew their hands in the bloud of their founder, and ſo to bereaue him of life, who firſt breathed an immortall ſpirit of life into the Roman Empire, neither can the greateſt pietie or moſt reverent reſpect of poſteritie towards antiquitie, by any meanes either diſſemble, or excuſe ſo foule a peece of impiety.

Likewiſe *Furius Camillus* being the cheifeſt meanes both for the happie increaſe and ſure defence of the *Romane* power, could not in that Citie maintaine his owne ſafetie, the ſafetie whereof himſelfe had well ſetled, and much aduanced the felicitie, for being impeached and indited by *L. Appuleius* Tribune of the people, as having ſecretly imbeazled a part of the Veientan ſpoiles, he was by an hard & cruell ſentence adjudged to baniſhment, and that truly, at that very time, when being robbed of a ſonne of excellent hope, he was rather to be cheriſhed with comfort, then oppreſſed with new miſeries; yet Rome altogether vnmindefull of the deſerts of ſo great a man, to the funerals of the Son added the condemning of the father: but you will perchance ſay that the Tribune found wanting fifteene thouſand æra or aſſes, for ſo much was laid to his charge: Cettes a poore & vnworthy ſumme, that for it Rome ſhould be content to bereaue her ſelf of ſo worthy a Captain & Patron.

With *Camillus* may well be coupled *Scipio Africanus* the elder, who did not only reſtore the Common-wealth ſorely bruiſed and torne by the armes of the *Punicke* warre, but brought in a manner the Queene of *Africa* vpon her knees and euen to deaths doore; whoſe moſt renowned acts, the people of *Rome* rewarded, by forcing him to inhabite a baſe obſcure village ſtanding vpon a forlorne lake; neither did he dye altogether ſilent, as being inſenſible of the bitterneſſe of this baniſhment, but at his parting gaue order that vpon his ſepulcher ſhould bee ingrauen this memorandum.

Ingrata patria, nec oſſa quidem mea habes.
Vngratefull Countrey, thou art not owner
Of ſo much as my bones.

And what I pray you could be either more vnworthy then that want? or more juſt then that complaint? or then that revenge more moderate? he denied his aſhes to that Citie which by his wiſedome and valour he had preſerued from being turned into aſhes.

Now that greivous accident which in the ſame kinde befell his brother might happily, being compared with his, in ſome ſort ſeeme a kinde

kinde of comfort; who having vanquiſhed *Antiochus*,& thereby annexed *Aſia* to the *Romane* Empire, and therevpon preparing for a glorious triumph,vnder a pretence of robbing the common treaſury, he was accuſed and caſt into priſon.

Africanus the younger,was to theſe in vertue nothing inferiour,nor in his end leſſe vnhappie:for having vtterly razed two Cities, *Numantia* and *Carthage*,which threatned ruine to the *Romane* Empire,this notwithſtanding,he found one at home ready to robbe him of his life, but in the court of juſtice none to revenge his death.

Who knowes not that *Scipio Naſica* deſerved as much by the gowne, as did either of the *Africani* by armes? who reſcued the Commonwealth out of the jawes of *Tiberius Gracchus*;yet his vertues too being moſt vnjuſtly vndervalued and diſeſteemed by his fellow-citizens,vnder pretence of an embaſſage, he retired to *Pergamus*, and there ſpent the reſidue of his life, his ingratefull Countrey not ſo much as finding him wanting, or deſiring his returne.

I am ſtill vpon the ſame name, neither haue I yet done with the *Cornelian* familie. For *P. Lentulus*,a famous man, and moſt dearely loving his Countrey, when in mount *Aventine* he had fruſtrated the wicked attempts of *C. Gracchus*, and in a valiant and pious fight, having firſt received many dangerous wounds, put the traitours armie to flight: of this victorie he bare away this reward, that he was not ſuffered to die in that citie, the lawes, and peace and liberty whereof he had by this meanes ſetled, in as much as being therevnto forced by envy and ſlander,he obtained from the Senate an employment abroad, & in his farewell Oration,praying the immortall Gods,that he might never returne againe to ſo ingratefull a people,he got him into *Sicilie*, and reſolutely ſetting vp his reſt there,he made himſelfe partaker of his vow. *Quinq; igitur Cornelij totidem ſunt notiſsima ingratæ patriæ exempla*; ſo as no leſſe then fiue of the *Cornelian* familie alone, may well ſerue as ſo many notorious examples of a moſt ingratefull nation.

SECT. 5.

Of two rare examples of this latter age,ſuch as cannot be parallelled either among the Romans,*or any other of the Ancients;the one of incomparable* Gratitude *in the* L.Cromwell; *the other of admirable friendſhip betweene* Barbadicus *and* Tarviſanus,*two Gentlemen of* Venice.

That the baſe ingratitude of the *Romans* towards their beſt Citizens may yet appeare the more odious,I will here ſet beſides it,the vnparallel'd example of gratitude in the *L. Cromwell*, *Lord Chancellour* of *England*,vnder King *Henry* the 8th, toward *Francis Freſcobald*, a *Florentine* Merchant, as I finde it reported by Mr *Foxe* out of the hiſtory of *Bandello* an *Italian*.

Not many yeares paſt, ſaith the Authour, there was in *Florence* a Merchant, whoſe name was *Francis*, deſcended from the Noble and ancient family of the *Freſcobalds*: This Gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall minde, vnto whom alſo, through proſperous ſucceſſe, and fortunate lucke in his affaires and doings, much abundance of riches increaſed, ſo that hee

grew in great wealth, hauing his coffers repleniſhed with many heapes of much treaſure; He according to the cuſtome of Merchants vſed his trade into many countreyes, but cheifely into *England*, where long time he liued, ſojourning in *London*, keeping houſe to his great commendation & praiſe. It happened that *Frances Freſcobald* being in *Florence*, there appeared before him a poore young man asking his almes for Gods ſake; *Freſcobald* as he earneſtly beheld this ragged ſtrippling, who was not ſo diſguiſed in his tatter'd attire, but that his countenance gaue ſignification of much towardnes and vertue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the ſame being moued, with pitty, demanded of what countrey he was and where he was borne. I am (ſir quoth he) of *England*, & my name is *Thomas Cromwell*, my father is a poore man and by his occupation a cloath-ſhearer. I am ſtrayed from my countrey & am now come into *Italy* with the campe of *Frenchmen* that were ouerthrowne at *Gatylion*, where I was the page to a footman, carying after him his pike & burganet. *Freſcobald* partly conſidering the preſent ſtate of this young man, & partly for the loue he bare to the *Engliſh* nation of whom he had receiued in times paſt ſundry pleaſures, receiued him into his houſe & with ſuch curteſie entertained his gueſt, as at his departure when he was minded to returne to his countrey, he prouided ſuch neceſſaries as he any way needed. He gaue him both horſe and new apparell & 16 duckates of gold in his purſe, to bring him into his countrey. *Cromwell* rendring his harty thankes tooke leaue of his hoſt & returned into *England*. This *Cromwell* was a man of noble courage and heroicall ſpirit, giuē to enterpriſe great matters, very liberall, & a graue Counſeller, &c. But to our purpoſe. At what time *Cromwell* was ſo highly fauoured of his Prince, and aduanced to ſuch dignity as is aforeſaid, *Frances Freſcobald* (as it many times happeneth vnto merchants) was by many miſfortunes and great loſſes caſt backe & become very poore. For according to conſcience and equity, he paid whatſoeuer was due to any other frō himſelfe, but ſuch debts as were owing vnto him, he could by no meanes obtaine: yet calling farther to remembrance, that in *England* by certaine Merchants, there was due to him the ſumme of 15000 Duckats, he ſo purpoſed with himſelfe, that if he could recouer that money, he would well content himſelfe, & no longer deale in the trade of Merchants, but quietly paſſe ouer the reſt of his dayes. All things prepared for his journey, he ſetting forward towards *England*, at laſt arrived at *London*, having vtterly forgotten what courteſie he had long before ſhewed to *Cromwell*, which is the property alwayes of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefites he hath ſhewed to other, but to keepe in minde continually what he hath received of other. *Freſcobald* thus being now arrived at *London*, and there travelling earneſtly about his buſineſſe, it chanced him by the way to meete with this Noble-man as hee was riding toward the Courte. Whom as ſoone as the Lord *Cromwell* had eſpyed, and had earneſtly beheld, he bethought with himſelfe that hee ſhould bee the man of *Florence*, at whoſe hands in time paſt, hee had received ſo gentle entertainment, and therevpon ſuddenly alighting (to the great admiration of thoſe that

Note that this cloath-ſhearer was his father in law.

that were with him) in his armes he gently embraced the ſtranger, and with a broken voyce ſcarce able to reſtraine teares, he demanded if he were not *Frances Freſcobald* the *Florentine:* yea ſir (he anſwered) and your humble ſeruant; my ſeruant (quoth *Cromwell*): no, as you haue not beene my ſeruant in times paſt, ſo will I not now account you otherwiſe then my great and eſpeciall friend, aſſuring you that I haue juſt reaſon to be ſorrie, that you knowing what I am (or at the leaſt what I ſhould be) will not let me vnderſtand of your arriving in this land, which knowne vnto me, truly I ſhould haue paid part of that debt which I confeſſe to owe you: but thankes be to God I haue yet time. Well ſir in concluſion you are hartily welcome. But haueing now waighty affaires in my Princes cauſe, you muſt hold me excuſed, that I can no longer tarrie with you. Therefore at this time I take my leaue, deſiring you with the faithfull minde of a friend, that you forget not to come this day at my houſe to dinner, and then remounting on his horſe he paſſed to the court. *Freſcobald* greatly marvelled with himſelfe who the Lord ſhould be, at laſt after ſome pauſe his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the ſame whom long before (as you haue hard) he had releiued in *Florence*, and thereat not a little joyed, eſpecially conſidering how that by his meanes he ſhould the better recouer his debts. The houre of dinner drawing neare, he repaired to the houſe of this honourable Counſellour, where walking a while in his baſe Court, he attended his cōming. The Lord ſhortly returned frō the Court, and no ſooner diſmounted, but he againe imbraced this Gentleman, with ſo friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admirall and all the noble men of the Court being then in his company did not a little maruell thereat. Which thing when the Lord *Cromwell* perceiued, he turned towards them, & holding *Freſcobald* faſt by the hand: doe ye not marvell my Lords (quoth he) that I ſeeme ſo glad of this man, this is he, by whoſe meanes I haue atcheiued the degree of this my preſent calling: and becauſe ye ſhall not be ignorant of his curteſie when I greatly needed, I ſhall tell it you: and ſo there declared vnto them euery thing in order according as before hath beene recited vnto you. His tale finiſhed holding him ſtill by the hand, he entred his houſe, and comming into the chamber, where his dinner was prepared he ſate him downe to the table, placing his beſt welcommed gueſt next vnto him. The dinner ended and the Lords departed, he would know what occaſion had brought *Freſcobald* to *London*. *Frances* in few words opened his cauſe, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his onely portion to maintaine the reſt of his life was 15 thouſand Duckates which were owing him in *England*, and two thouſand in *Spaine*. Wherevnto the Lord *Cromwell* anſwering againe, ſaid, touching the things Mr *Freſcobald* that be already paſt, although it cannot now be vndone by mans power, nor by pollicie called againe, which hath hapned vnto you by the vnſtable condition and mutability of this world altering to and fro: yet is not your ſorrow ſo peculiar to your ſelfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall loue, I muſt alſo bewaile with you this your ſtate and condition: which ſtate and condition of yours, though it may worke in you

matter of juſt heavineſſe, yet notwithſtanding to the intent you may receiue in this your heavy diſtreſſe ſome conſolatiō for your old courteſie ſhewed vnto me in times paſt, the like courteſie now requireth of me againe, that I likewiſe ſhould repay ſome portion of that debt, wherein I ſtand bound vnto you, according as the part of a thankefull man bindeth me to doe, in requiting your benifites on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true freind, that during this life and ſtate of mine, I will neuer faile to doe for you, wherein my authoritie may prevaile, to ſupply your lacke and neceſſity. And ſo let theſe few words ſuffice to giue you knowledge of my freindly meaning, but let me delay the time no longer. Then takeing him by the hand he led him into his chamber, whence, after that euery man by his commandment was departed, he locked faſt the dore; Then opening a coffer, full heaped with treaſure he firſt tooke out ſixteene duckats, and delivering them to *Freſcobald*, he ſaid: Loe here, my freind, is your money which you lent me at my departure from *Florence*, and here other tenne which you beſtowed in my apparell, with tenne more you diſburſed for the horſe I rid away on. But conſidering you are a merchat, it ſeemeth to me not honeſt to returne your money without ſome conſideration, for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore theſe 4 bags, and in euery of them is 400 duckates, theſe you ſhall receive and injoy from the hands of your aſſured freind. *Freſcobald* although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebbe and (almoſt) an vtter decay, yet expreſſing the vertue of a modeſt minde, after gentle thankes giuen to the Lord *Cromwell* for his exceeding kindenes ſhewed, curteouſly would haue refuſed that which was offered, had not the other enforced him againſt his will to receiue it. This done he cauſed *Freſcobald* to giue him a note of the names of all his debtors, & the ſūme that frō euery one of thē was owing him, this ſchedule he delivered to one of his ſervants, vnto whom he gaue charge diligently to ſearch out ſuch men, whoſe names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the Realme, and then ſtraitly to charge them to make payment within fifteene dayes, of thoſe ſummes, or els to abide the hazard of his diſpleaſure. The ſervant ſo well performed his maſters commandment, that in very ſhort time they made payment of the whole ſumme: and if it had liked *Freſcobald* ſo to haue demanded, they ſhould haue anſwered to the vttermoſt ſuch commodity, as the vſe of his money in ſo many yeares would haue giuen him profite: but he contented with his principall would demand no further. By which meanes he got both harty love and great eſtimation, and the more for that he was ſo deare to the Lord *Cromwell* and ſo highly eſtemed of him. And during all this time *Freſcobald* continually lodged in the houſe of the Lord *Cromwell*, who euer gaue him ſuch entertainment as he had right well deſerved, & oftentimes moved him to abide in *England*, offering him the loane of 60000 Duckates, for the ſpace of foure yeares if he would continue and make his banke in *London*. But *Freſcobald* who deſired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the reſt of his life, with the great favour of the Lord *Cromwell*, after

ter many thankes for his high and noble entertainement, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving, he gaue himselfe quietly to liue; but this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first yeare of his returne he dyed.

To this transcendent example of gratitude, I will adde such another of faithfull and constant freindship, as I thinke no former histories either of the *Grecians* or *Romans* can afford, betweene *Barbadicus* and *Tarvisanus* two gentlemen of *Venice* fully and liuely expressed in this ensuing inscription, as I finde it in a copie printed at *Venice*, and allowed by publique authoritie, anno 1627.

Nicolai Barbadici, & Marci Tarvisani philophilia.

Regina Adria, orbis miraculum, intemerata virgo, propria virtute gravida, tandem peperit, at quidnam? miraculum seipsa majus:

Monstra vitio carentia.

Barbadicum, et Tarvisanum, gemellos, quorum duo corpora vna animat anima. Pylades & Orestes transeant inter fabulas, & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia: commorientes deliria sunt Poetarum somniantium: at isti vnanimes, digni quos operi intentus suo Deus respiciat: magna ingeniorum disparitas:

Maior geniorum paritas:

Non maior vnus, nec melior alter: ijdem & non ijdem, ipsi nec ipsi sunt, Pereuntem Barbadicum seruat Tarvisanus: Perditum Tarvisanum redimit Barbadicus,

Auri hic, sanguinis ille prodigus.

De vno Tarvisano sollicitus Barbadicus, conjugis, liberorum, nepotum, postponit curam: vni Barbadico vt placeat Tarvisanus, veneri aleæq; (delicijs suis) valedicit: vitam dedit huic ille: animam hic illi: vtrique debetur cœlum, philomachiam istam vidit Adria, stupet orbis, admirabitur posteritas.

Cum duo certarent, victor vterq; fuit.

CAP. 11.

Wherein the objections brought in behalfe of the Romanes touching their pretended Iustice, prudence, and fortitude, are examined and fully answered.

SECT. 1.

The first objection touching the pretended Iustice of the Romanes answered out of Lactantius.

BVt happily it may be said, that as fertile grounds abound as well in weedes as wholesome hearbes: so the *Romanes* had many *vertues* no lesse commendable, then odious and detestable *vices*, which to be ignorant of were childish simplicity, to dissemble or suppresse, envious partiality. The principall of these vertues are pretended to bee their *justice*, their *prudence*, and their *fortitude*. But if there be a chaine of all the Vertues, (as both *Aristotle* and their owne great *Oratour* haue taught) so that he who truly possesseth one, is owner of all, and he that wants but one, vpon the matter hath none at all, but shadowes insteed

of ſubſtances, then certainly the *Romans*, whom we haue proved to be exceſſiuely *cruell*, *covetous*, *luxurious*, *ambitious* and *vaine-glorious*, could not properly be ſaid to be either *juſt*, *wiſe*, or *valiant*, but rather formall then *juſt*, crafty or cunning then *wiſe*, adventurous or daring then *valiant*. And I would willingly learne, how they who with ſuch an inſatiable thirſt of gaine and glory (as hath beene ſhewed) robbed, ſpoyled, oppreſſed, not the provincials onely, but their owne fellow Citizens, can be ſaid to be *juſt*, or how they who admitted ſo many ſo baſe *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, and honoured them with ſuch beaſtly prophaine ſeruices, can be ſaid to be *wiſe*, or laſtly how they who were wholly drowned in ſoftnes and in delicacy, could be truly valiant; And I will neuer doe that wrong to *Chriſtian* Religion, as not to beleeue, but that it hath yealded more *juſt*, more *wiſe*, more *valiant*, then *Pagan Rome* euer did. And therein if *Tertullian* in his *Apologetique*, *Cyprian* againſt *Demetrianus*, *Lactantius* in his Inſtitutions, and *Auguſtin* in his bookes *de Civitate dei* erre not, I am ſure I am right.

Lactant. Inſtit. l.5.c.10.

I will firſt then take a view of their *Iuſtice*, *Nec eſt difficile dicere, cur Deorum cultores juſti & boni eſſe non poſsint* (ſayth *Lactantius*, ſtriking indeed at the very roote of their injuſtice) it is not hard to ſay why the worſhippers of ſuch Gods cannot be either juſt or good: he goes on and particularizeth in the ſeverall branches of their injuſtice. *Quomodò enim ſanguine abſtinebunt qui colunt cruentos Deos Martem atq; Bellonam? quomodò aut parentibus parcent qui expulſorem patris ſui Iovem, aut natis ex ſe infantibus qui colunt Saturnum? quomodo pudicitiam tuebuntur qui colunt Deam nudam & adulteram, & quaſi apud Deos proſtitutam? quomodò ſe à rapinis & fraudibus abſtinebunt qui Mercurij furta noverunt, docentis non fraudis eſſe decipere ſed aſtutiæ? quomodo libidines coercebunt qui Iovem, Herculem, Liberum, Apollinem, cæteroſq; venerantur quorum adulteria & ſtupra in mares & fœminas non tantùm doctis nota ſunt, ſed exprimuntur etiam in Theatris, atq; cantantur vt ſint omnibus notiora. Poſſuntne inter hæc juſti eſſe homines, qui etiamſi naturâ ſint boni ab ipſis tamen Dijs erudiantur ad injuſtitiam? ad placandum enim Deum quem colas, ijs rebus opus eſt quibus illum gaudere ac delectari ſcias, ſic fit vt vitam colentium Deus pro qualitate numinis ſui formet: quoniam religioſiſſimus eſt cultus imitari.* How ſhould they abſtaine from blood who worſhip bloody Gods as *Mars* and *Bellona*? how ſhould they either ſpare their Parents who worſhip *Iupiter*, or their children who worſhip *Saturne*? How ſhould they haue a care of their chaſtity who worſhip a naked and adulterous *Goddeſſe*, as it were the proſtituted ſtrumpet of the *Gods*? How ſhould they abſtaine from rapine and coſenage who are acquainted with the thefts of *Mercury*, teaching, that to deceiue was not fraude but wylineſſe? how ſhould they bridle their luſt who adore *Iupiter*, *Hercules*, *Baccus*, *Apollo* and the reſt, whoſe adulteries and incontinencies both with males and females are not onely knowne to the learned, but are acted and ſung in their Theaters, that ſo they may be knowne to all. Is it poſſible for men in this caſe to be juſt? who though they were naturally well diſpoſed, yet by the examples of their very Gods are they taught injuſtice. For to pleaſe the God you worſhip, it is requiſite you doe ſuch things as you know he

is

is delighted with, and may giue him content: ſo as according to his owne quality and condition he formes and conformes the liues of ſuch as worſhip him, in as much as imitation is the moſt religious kinde of worſhip.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, it ſeemes by the ſame godly *Father*, that they ſtood much vpon their owne juſt & vpright dealing, reproaching the *Chriſtians* with the contrary, which giues him occaſion in another place thus to expoſtulate the matter with them. *Audent igitur homines improbiſſimi juſtitiæ facere mentionem qui feras immanitate vincunt?* Lib. 4. c. 9.

----Lupi ceu
Raptores atra in nebula quos improba ventris
Exegit cæcos rabies.

Like ravening wolues whom in a gloomie day,
Their bellies rage driues forth to ſeeke their pray.

Verùm hos non ventris, ſed cordis rabies efferavit, nec atra in nebula, ſed aperta prædatione graſſantur: nec eos vnquam conſcientia ſcelerum revocat, ne ſanctũ ac pium nomen juſtitiæ ore illo violent, quod cruore innocentium tanquam rictus beſtarium madet. Doe theſe moſt diſhoneſt men dare mention juſtice who exceede the ſavage Beaſts in cruelty? &c. But theſe not ſo much the fierceneſſe of their ſtomakes, as of their owne wicked hearts hath inraged, neither doe they ſlinke in the darke, but make havocke & lay waſte by open violence. Neither are they euer touched with any remorſe of Concience for prophaining the holy and divine name of juſtice with thoſe mouthes, which like the chaps of beaſts, are dyed with the blood of Innocents. And leſt we ſhould conceiue he thus ſpeakes by reaſon of their cruelty towards the *Chriſtians*, he goes on in the ſame Chapter, and tels vs, *Non de noſtro ſed ex illorum numero ſemper exiſtunt qui vias obſideant armati, maria predentur, vel ſi palam graſſari non licuit, venena clam temperent, qui vxores necent vt dotes earum lucrentur, aut maritos vt adulteris nubant: qui natos ex ſe pueros aut ſtrangulent, aut ſi nimium pij fuerint exponant: qui libidines inceſtas, nec à filia, nec à ſorore, nec à matre, nec à ſacerdote contineant; qui adverſus cives ſuos patriamq; conjurent. Qui deniq; ſacrilegia committant, & Deorum quos colunt templa diſpolient.* They are not of ours, but yours, who rob by the high wayes, and turne pyrats by Sea. Or if open violence will not ſerue the turne, they prepare poyſon, who make away their wiues, that they may gaine their dowries, or their husbands, that they may marry with their Adulterers, who either ſtrangle their infants, or if they bee very devout, expoſe them; who forbeare not inceſtuous luſtes with their owne daughters, their ſiſters, their mothers, no nor with their conſecrated Prieſts, who treacherouſly conſpire againſt their owne Country; Laſtly, who commit ſacriledge, and robbe the Temples of thoſe very Gods whom they worſhip.

And leaſt wee ſhould imagine, that he ſpeakes of the *Gentiles* in generall, and not rather of the *Romanes* in particular, he referres vs to the teſtimonies of *Seneca* & *Lucilius*. *Qui volent ſcire plura, Senecæ libros in manum ſumant, qui morum vitiorumq; publicorum, & deſcriptor veriſſimus, & accuſator acerrimus fuit.* They who deſire to vnderſtand more hereof, let

let them take into their hands *Seneca's* bookes, who both muſt truly deſcribes, and moſt ſharply cenſures the publique manners and vices. And to the teſtimonie of *Seneca*, he addes that of *Lucilius: Sed & Lucilius tenebroſam iſtam vitam circumſcriptè breviterq; depinxit his verſibus:* *Lucilius* alſo hath briefely and pithily painted out that baſe kinde of life.

Nunc vero à mane ad noctem feſto atque profeſto,
Totus item pariterq; die populuſq; patreſque
Iactare, indufori ſe omnes, decedere nuſquam,
Vni ſe atque eidem ſtudio omnes dedere, & arti,
Verba dare vt cautè poſsint, pugnare, doloſè
Blandiri, certare, bonum ſimulare virum ſe,
Inſidias facere, vt ſi hoſtes ſint omnibus omnes.

From morne to night on dayes profane or feſtivall,
They meete at th' common place commons and fathers all,
There they beſtirre themſelues, thence will they not depart,
One ſelfe ſame ſtudy all attending and one art,
How cloſely they may cheate, ſtriue, flatter cunningly,
Contend, and as good men pretend ſincerity,
Yet vndermine, as each were others enemy.

Noſtro autem populo quid tale poteſt obiici? Cuius omnis religio eſt ſine ſcelere & ſine macula vivere? But now vnto thoſe of our profeſſion what can be objected in this kinde? whoſe religion conſiſts wholy in this, to liue without wickednes and pollution? Nay ſo much he ſtands vpon the powerfulnes of *Chriſtan* Religion, that he makes it beyond all the rules of Morall Phyloſophy, ſtrongly effectuall to expell vice, and plant in men all kinde of vertue: *Da mihi virum qui ſit iracundus, maledicus, effrænatus: pauciſsimis Dei verbis tam placidum quàm ovem, reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem; jam tibi eum liberalem dabo, & pecuniam ſuam propriis pleniſque manibus largientem. Da timidum doloris ac mortis: jam cruces & ignes & Phalaridis taurum contemnet. Da libidinoſum, adulterum, ganeonem; jam ſobrium, caſtum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, & ſanguinis appetentem; jam in veram clementiam furor ille mutabitur. Da injuſtum, inſipientem, peccatorem; continuò & æquus, & prudens, & innocens erit. Ad quòd efficendum non mercede, non libris, non lucubrationibus opus eſt. Gratis iſta fiunt, facilè, cito: pateant modo aures, & pectus ſapientiam ſitiat.* Giue me a man that is wrathfull, foule-mouthed, vnruly; with a few words of Gods booke, I will make him as gentle as a lambe. Giue me one that is cloſe-fiſted, covetous, greedy of money: I will ſend him backe vnto thee, liberall, bountifully diſtributing his money with his owne hands. Giue me one that is fearefull of torments and death, he ſhall ſoone deſpiſe croſſes, and fires, and *Phalaris* his bull. Giue me a lecher, an adulterer, a haunter of brothell houſes; you ſhall ſee him ſober, chaſt, continent. Giue me one that is cruelly diſpoſed, and thirſting after blood; that fury of his ſhall be changed into true clemency. Giue me one who is vnjuſt, vnwiſe, a ſinner; he quickely ſhall be juſt, wiſe, vpright. For the effecting whereof, there is no need of a reward, of bookes, of watchings, thoſe things are done gratis, eaſily, ſuddainely: onely let the

Lib. 3. c. 26.

eares

eares be open, and the heart long for wiſedome. Thus writes *Lactantius*, and much more to this purpoſe, attributing a quickning efficacie to the divine oracles of *Gods* word, in the reformation of manners, which was not to be found in the writings of any of the Heathen.

SECT. 2.

The ſame anſwere farther confirmed by the teſtimonie of Saint Auguſtine.

St *Auguſtine* preſſes them farther, that their *Gods* neuer taught them to be good, or at leaſt-wiſe, that their *Prieſts* neuer publiſhed any precepts tending that way in the name of their *Gods*. *Dicatur in quibus locis hæc docentium Deorum ſolebant precepta recitari, & à Cultoribus eorum populis frequenter audiri; ſicut oſtendimus ad hoc Eccleſias inſtitutas, quaquaverſum religio Chriſtiana diffunditur.* Let it be ſhewed in what places ſuch precepts, giuen by direction of their Gods, were wont to be read and heard of the people, who came frequently to worſhip them; as we ſhew that among vs, temples are to that purpoſe erected, as farre as *Chriſtian* Religion is ſpread: Where (ſayth he in another place) out of the *Prophets*, the *Goſpells*, the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, the *Epiſtles*, many things are read to the people being aſſembled, againſt covetouſnes & luxury, ſo excellent, ſo divine, as if they were rather thundrings from heaven, then wranglings from the Phyloſophers Schooles. And for the particular point in matter of juſtice, hee floutes at *Saluſt* for ſaying, that *jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quàm natura valebat*, right and equity did as much prevaile with them, through the goodnes of their Nature, as by the force of the Lawes: *Ex hoc jure ac bono credo raptas eſſe Sabinas; quid enim juſtius & melius quàm filias alienas fraude ſpectaculi inductas non à parentibus accipi, ſed vi vt quiſque poterat auferri?* From this loue of right I trow it was that the *Sabin* women were raviſhed. For what can be more juſt, then not to receiue from their parents hands, but to take and carry away by violence other mens daughters, drawne on vnder the pretence of beholding a ſpectacle? From the ſame loue of this right too belike *Iunius Brutus* being *Conſull*, cauſed *Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus* husband to *Lucretia*, an innocent and good man and his Colleague, to quite both his office and the city, only becauſe he bore the name & was of kinne to the *Tarquins*: *Quod ſcelus favente vel patiente populo fecit, à quo populo Conſulatum idem Collatinus ſicut etiam ipſe Brutus acceperat:* And this moſt vnjuſt act he did by the favour or connivence of the people, from whom *Collatinus* had receiued his *Conſulſhip* as well as *Brutus*. From the loue of this right, it likewiſe came to paſſe that *Marcus Camillus*, who had done his countrey ſo great ſeruice, being queſtioned through the inſolency of the Tribunes & the enuy of his great vertues, *tam ingratam ſenſit quam liberaverat Civitatem, vt de ſua damnatione certiſsimus in exilium ſponte diſcederet, & decem millibus æris abſens etiam damnaretur, mox iterum à Gallis vindex patriæ futurus ingratæ:* He found that city which hee had ſaued ſo ingratefull, that being fully aſſured hee ſhould haue ſentence paſſe againſt him, he put himſelfe into voluntary baniſhment,

De Civ. Dei. lib. 2. c. 6.

Cap. 19.

Cap. 17.

Raptas ſine more Sabinas, Virg. æn. 8.

baniſhment, & being abſent, they laid a mulct vpon his head of 10000 *aſſes*, though he were afterward recalled to free his vnthankfull countrey from the forces of the *Gaules*. To theſe examples of injuſtice in other places he addes the vnjuſt putting to death of *Rhemus* by his brother *Romulus*, their vnjuſt warre vpon the *Albans* the mother of *Rome*,
Lib. 3 c. 21. the vnjuſt exile of *Scipio Affricanus* at *Linternum* in *Campania*, where he ended his dayes, giuing ſtrait charge, *ne ſaltem mortuo ingrata patria funus fieret*, that being dead, his funerals ſhould not be ſolemnized in his vngratefull Countrey. Nay *Saluſt* himſelfe he confutes, by teſtimonies drawne from his owne writings, where he tells vs, that *diſcord, covetouſnes, ambition*, and other miſchiefes which were wont to waite vpon proſperity, *poſt Carthaginis excidium maximè aucta*, after the fall of *Carthage* mightily increaſed, and from that time, *Majorum mores non*
c. 18. *paulatim vt antea, ſed torrentis modo præcipitati*, the ancient manners not by degrees as before, but like a torrent were carried downe headlong. By which confeſſion of *Saluſt*, it appeares, that it was not ſo much the goodneſſe of their Nature, as the emulation and feare of *Carthage* that bridled them, and kept them in order. S. *Auguſtines* concluſion in the fore alleadged chapter is: *Multa commemorare jam piget fœda & in-*
c. 17. *juſta quibus agitabatur illa Civitas: Cum potentes plebem ſibi ſubdere conarentur, plebſq; illis ſubdi recuſarent, & vtriuſque partis defenſores magis ſtudiis agerent amore vincendi quàm æquum & bonum quicquam cogitarent.* So many were the foule and vnjuſt acts with which this City was burdened, that it grieveth me to recount them; whiles the Nobility ſought to trample vpon the Commons, and theſe againe refuſed to obey them, & the chiefe abettours on both ſides were rather carryed with faction then loue of juſtice.

Virgil. *Nuſquam tuta fides,--*
Faith is no where to be found,
Is the complaint of one of their Poets; and of another,

Ovid. *-- Qua terra patet fera regnat Erinnys,*
In facinus juraſſe putes.
As farre as land doth reach doth fierce *Erinnys* rage,
A man would thinke they ſworne had to all outrage.

And of a third,

Juven. *Simplicitas, cujus non audeo dicere nomen:*
Simplicity, whoſe name
I dare not ſpeake for ſhame.

SECT. 3.

Another anſwere, that none can be truly juſt which are not truly religious, nor any truly religious which profeſſe not the Chriſtian Religion.

Hooker, s. 1. AND to ſpeake a truth, ſo naturall is the vnion of *true religion* with *juſtice*, that we may boldly deeme there is neither, where both are not: For how ſhould they be vnfainedly juſt, whom Religion doth not cauſe to bee ſuch? or they religious, who are not found ſuch

ſuch by the proofe of their juſt actions? If they which imploy their labour and travell about the publique adminiſtration of *Iuſtice*, follow it onely as a trade with vnquenchable and vnconſcionable thirſt of gaine, being in heart not perſwaded that *Iuſtice* is Gods owne worke, and themſelues his Agents in the buſineſſe; the ſentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themſelues his Prieſts to deliver it: formalities of juſtice do but ſerue to ſmoother right, and that which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good is through ſhamefull abuſe, made the cauſe of common miſery. It is moreover the proper effect of true Religion, to qualifie all ſorts of men, and to make them in publique affaires the more ſerviceable, Governours the more apter to rule with conſcience, inferiours for conſcience ſake the willinger to obey. *Gaudere & gloriari ex fide ſemper volumus,* (ſaith the good Emperour *Theodoſius*) *ſcientes magis religionibus quàm officijs & labore corporis, vel ſudore Rempub. noſtram contineri:* Wee will alwayes rejoyce and glory in our faith, as well knowing that our Empire conſiſts rather by Religion, then any other meanes. And doubtleſſe the *Chriſtian* Religion hath herein the ſtart of all others, that it ſtrikes ſo much vpon the ſoule, whereby it is brought to paſſe, that men fearing God, are thereby a great deale more effectually then by poſitiue lawes, reſtrained from doing evill, in as much as thoſe lawes haue no farther power then over our outward actions onely, whereas vnto mens inward cogitations, vnto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, *Chriſtian* Religion ſerveth for a bridle. What more ſavage, wilde, and cruell then man, if hee ſee himſelfe able, either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-beare the lawes wherevnto he ſhould be ſubject? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſſe to offend; it behooueth that men ſhould be held in awe, not by a vaine furmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of that which no man may thinke himſelfe able to withſtand. *Summum præſidium regni eſt juſtitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos:* The chiefe ſafegard of a kingdome is juſtice againſt open diſorders, and religion againſt ſecret. And our beſt writers of the *Primitiue Chnrch* forgat not to preſſe this againſt the *Ethnicks*, *Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus,* ſayes *Minutius Fælix:* You puniſh wicked acts committed, with vs to thinke wickedly is a ſinne, you feare to be convinced of guiltineſſe, wee feare the guiltineſſe of our conſcience, which wee alway carry about with vs, and without which wee cannot be. But aboue all, *Tertullian* notably vrgeth this point. *Tanta eſt prudentia hominis ad demonſtrandum bonum, quanta authoritas ad exigendum, tam illa falli facilis, quàm iſta contemni. Age ideo quid plenius dicere, non occides? aut docere, ne iraſcaris quidem? quid perfectius? prohibere adulterium, an etiam ab oculorum ſolitaria concupiſcentia arcere? quid eruditius? de maleficio, an et de maleloquio interdicere? quid inſtructius? injuriam non permittere, an nec vicem iniuriæ ſinere?* Such is the wiſedome of man to direct what is good, as is his authority to exact it, the one may as eaſily be deceiued, as the other contemned. Which commands more fully? either hee who ſayth, thou ſhalt not kill, or he who charges not to be angry? which of the two is more perfect,

C.Thi.l.16.tit.

Cardan.de ſubtil. ent.l.3.

In Octau.

Apolog.adverſ. Gentes.45.

fect, to forbid adultery, or to reſtraine the eyes from concupiſcence? whether more wiſely done, to forbid evill deedes, or evill words? whether more like to do good, the not permitting of injuries, or the not ſuffering the revenge of them? and beſides all this, the Ethnickes onely threatned the death of the body to malefactors, but we (ſayth the ſame *Tertullian*) feare to offend God, *& pro ſcientiæ plenitudine, & pro latebrarum difficultate, & pro magnitudine cruciatus, non diuturni, verùm ſempiterni:* in regard of the fulneſſe of his knowledge, the difficulty of being hid, and the greatneſſe of the puniſhment, not for a long time, but for ever. And thus haue wee ſeene that the Ancient *Romans*, neither were, nor indeed had the meanes to be ſo juſt as is pretended, or as the *Chriſtians* were, whom they perſecuted. But it will be ſayd, that howſoever they might be defectiue in matter of *juſtice*, yet they excelled in *wiſedome* and *courage*: Let vs then take a view of theſe, and firſt of their wiſedome.

SECT 4.

The ſecond objection touching the pretended wiſedome of the Romans anſwered by taking a briefe view of their courſes, but ſpecially by the teſtimony of Pliny.

IF wee ſhould ſpeake of *true wiſedome*, it is onely that which ſerues to make vs wiſe vnto *ſalvation*, which without *true Religion* can never be attained, as *Lactantius* moſt divinely: *Omnis ſapientia hominis in hoc vno eſt, vt Deum cognoſcat & colat, hoc noſtrum dogma, hæc ſententia eſt: quanta itaq; voce poſſum teſtificor, proclamo, denuntio, hoc eſt illud quod Philoſophi omnes in tota ſua vita quæſierunt, nec vnquam tamen inveſtigare, cõprehendere, aut tenere valuerunt, quia religionem aut pravam retinuerunt, aut totam penitus ſuſtulerunt:* All the wiſedome of man conſiſts onely in this, that he know and worſhip *God*, this is our doctrine, this our opinion, and this with as loud voyce as I can, I teſtifie, profeſſe, proclaime: This is it which all the Philoſophers during their whole life haue ſought, and yet could never finde out, comprehend, or attaine vnto, becauſe they either retained a corrupt religion, or wholy extinguiſhed it. I would willingly learne how they, who (as hath already beene proved) worſhipped ſtockes and ſtones, the workes of their owne hands, or ſuch a rabble of filthy, wicked, odious *Gods*, and that in ſuch a beaſtly or cruell manner like men voide of common reaſon, could be ſayd to be *wiſe?* Or how they, who ſuffered the moſt notorious vices of their Gods to be deſcribed by their Poets, acted by their Players, drawne to life by their Painters, whom they highly applauded and rewarded, as if thereby they meant to inſtruct their youth in vertue, could be ſaid to be *wiſe?* Or how they who waſted ſuch infinite maſſes of treaſure in ſuch vaine buildings, banquettings, and ſpectacles could be ſayd to be *wiſe?* Or they, who by their ſword-playes, or wilde beaſts (onely to ſatisfie their beaſtly pleaſure) devoured ſo many millions of men, as might haue ſerved to inlarge or preſerue their Empire, could be ſayd to be *wiſe?*

lib. 3.

wise? Or how they, who gaue way to men to make themselues away vpon all occasions as they thought fit, nay exhorted them to it, & commended them for it (which must needes be a meanes to weaken their state) could be sayd to be *wise?* Lastly, how they, who professed that they most desired to traine vp their citizens to a military course of life, and yet suffered them to wallow in all kinde of luxury, could be sayd to be *wise?* What great peece of *wisedome* did they ever shew in the making of their *Lawes*, in their stratagems of warre, or treaties for peace, which hath not beene exceeded, or at leastwise equalled by the *Christians* in latter ages? It is to this purpose a memorable passage which *Andreas Rey* a *Polonian* in his preface to his *Politicall discourses* hath left vpon record. *Si Consilia Romanorum, qualia partim à Livio, partim à Dione & alijs gravissimis historicis descripta sunt, conferantur cum ijs quæ ab annis centum in Hispania, Italia, & hujus parte Repub: Veneta, Gallia, Germania, Anglia, Polonia, alijsq; regnis, sive ad pacem, sive ad bellum inventa susceptaq; à Comineo, Guicciardino, Sleidano, recentioribus item Gallicæ historiæ authoribus, Meterano, itemque alijs ex parte annotantur: fatendum erit ætatem hanc inveniendi prompto acumine, & judicandi exquisita dexteritate, antiquitatem non tantum æmulari, sed et superare,* If the Counsels of the ancient *Romans*, as they are described partly by *Livie*, partly by *Dion* & other graue Authours, were compared with those which within the compasse of these last hundred yeares haue bin observed in *Spaine*, in *Italy*, & a part thereof the Common-wealth of *Venice*, in *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Poland*, & other states, & reported in part by *Cominæus*, *Guicciardin*, *Sleydan*, the late *French Historiographers*, *Meteranus* & others: it must be cõfessed that as in sharpenesse of wit, so likewise in depth of judgement this age not emulateth only but surpasseth Antiquity. But the notable folly of the whole body of this state, notoriously appeared in one action of theirs, which I finde thus at large described & censured by *Pliny* their Country-man, & 'a great admirer of his owne Nation. Certes, when I consider & behold 'the monstrous humors of these prodigall spirits, my mind is drawne a-'way still from the progresse of mine intended journey, & forced I am to 'digresse out of my way, & to annexe vnto this vanity of *Scaurus* as 'great folly of another, not in Masonry & marble, but in Carpentry and 'timber. And *C. Curio* it, was hee who in the civill wars betweene *Cæsar* '& *Pompey* lost his life in the quarrell of *Cæsar*. This Gentle-man desi-'rous to shew pleasure vnto the people of *Rome*, at the funerals of his fa-'ther deceased, as the manner then was; and seing that he could not out-'goe *Scaurus* in rich & sumptuous furniture was put to his shifts, and de-'vised to surpasse him in wit, since hee could not come neere him in 'wealth. And what might his invention be? Certes it is worth the know-'ledge; if it were no more but this, that wee may haue ioy of our owne 'conceites and fashions, and call our selues worthily as our manner is '*Maiores*, that is to say superiour every way to all others. This *Curio* 'then in emulation of *Scaurus* caused two Theaters to bee framed of 'timber & those exceeding bigge, howbeit so as they might be turned 'about as a man would haue them; approach neere one to the other, 'or be removed farther asunder as one would desire; and all by the

Lib. 3. cap. 13.

'meanes of one hooke a peece that they hung by, which bare the weight 'of the whole frame; the counterpoiſe was ſo even, and all the whole 'fabrique thereof ſure and firme. Now he ordered the matter thus, that 'to behold the ſeverall ſtage-playes and ſhewes in the fore-noone be-'fore dinner, they ſhould be ſet backe to backe, to the end, that the ſta-'ges ſhould not trouble one another; and when the people had taken 'their pleaſure that way, he turned the *Theaters* about in a trice againſt 'the after-noone, that they affronted one another; and toward the lat-'ter end of the day, and namely when the fencers and ſword players 'were come in place, he brought both the *Theaters* neerer together (and 'yet every man ſate ſtill & kept his place according to his rank &order) 'in ſo much as that by the meeting of the hornes or corners of thē both 'together in compaſſe, he made a faire round *Amphitheater* of it, & there 'in the midſt betweene, hee exhibited indeede vnto them all joyntly a 'ſight and ſpectacle of ſword-fencers, fighting at ſharpe, whom hee had 'hired for that purpoſe. But in truth a man may ſay more truly, that hee 'carried the whole people of *Rome* roud about at his pleaſure, bound 'ſure enough for ſtirring or removing.

'Now let vs come to the point and conſider a little better of this 'thing: what ſhould a man wonder at moſt therein, the deviſer or the de-'viſe it ſelfe? The workeman of this fabrique, or the Maſter that ſet him 'a worke? Whether of the twaine is more admirable, either the ventu-'rous head of him that deviſed it, or the bold heart of him that vnder-'tooke it? To command ſuch a thing to be done, or to obey, and yeeld, 'and go in hand with it? But when wee haue ſayd all that wee can, the '*folly* of the blinde and bold people of *Rome* went beyond all, who tru-'ſted ſuch a tickliſh frame, and durſt ſit there in a ſeate ſo moueable; loe 'where a man might haue ſeene the body of that people, which is Com-'maunder and ruler of the whole earth, the Conquerer of the world, the 'diſpoſer of kingdomes & Realmes at their pleaſure, the divider of coū-'tries and Nations at their wils, the giuer of lawes to forraine ſtates, the 'vicegerent of the immortall *Gods* vnder heaven, and repreſenting their 'image vnto all mankind, hanging in the aire within a frame at the mer-'cy of one onely hooke, rejoycing, & ready to clap hands at their owne 'danger: What a cheape market of mens liues was here toward? what 'was the loſſe at *Cannæ* to this hazard? how neere vnto a miſchiefe were 'they, which might haue hapned hereby in the turning of a hand? Cer-'tes, when there is newes come of a city ſwallowed vp by a wide chink, 'and opening of the earth, all men generally in a publique commiſerati-'on doe grieue thereat, and there is not one but his heart doth yearne; 'and yet behold the vniverſall ſtate and people of Rome, as if they were 'put into a couple of barkes, ſupported betweene heaven and earth, and 'ſitting at the devotion onely of two pinnes or hookes. And what ſpe-'ctacle do they behold? a number of Fencers trying it out, wit hvnre-'bated ſwords? Nay ywis, but even themſelues rather entred into a 'moſt deſperate fight, and at the point to breake their neckes every mo-'thers ſonne, if the ſcaffold fayled never ſo little and the frame went out of joynt.

SECT. 5.

I will conclude this *Section* with their vanity in hiding of treaſure vnder ground, which Sir *Thomas Moore* in the ſecond booke of his *Vtopia* thus wittily cenſures. *Aurum quo nunquam ſint vſuri, fortaſſis nec viſuri amplius abſcondunt & ſolliciti ne perdant, perdunt: quid enim aliud eſt vſibus demptum tuis & omnium fortaſſe mortalium telluri reddere, & tu tamen abſtruſo theſauro velut animi iam ſecurus lætitia geſtis: quem ſi quis furto ſuſtulerit, cuius tu ignarus furti, decem poſt annos abieris: toto illo decennio quo ſubſtractæ pecuniæ ſuperfuiſti, quid tuâ retulit ſurreptum an ſalvum fuiſſet? Vtroque certè modo tantundem vſus ad te pervenit.* They hide gold which perchance they ſhall never vſe, no nor ſee againe, and ſo looſe it outright for feare of looſing it, for what is it elſe by burying of it, to bereaue thy ſelfe and perhaps all other men too of the vſe thereof, and yet thou, thy treaſure thus hid, hugg'ſt thy ſelfe as being now ſecure: and if any happen to ſteale it away and thou being ignorant thereof dyeſt ten yeares after; all that ſpace of time, in which thou out-liuedſt the ſtealing away of thy money what advantage was it to thee whether it was ſafe or ſtolne? Surely both wayes the vſe thereof was alike to thee.

SECT 5.

The third obiection touching the pretended fortitude of the Romanes anſwered, in as much as their Empire is by their owne writers in a great part aſcribed to Fortune, and by Chriſtians may be referred to Gods ſpeciall providence for the effecting of his owne purpoſes, rather then to any extraordinary worth in them.

NOw that which is moſt of all ſtoode vpon, as well by the *Romans* themſelues, as by their Proctours & Patrons is their great *fortitude* & *courage*, as appeares in their ſubduing the greateſt part of the knowne world: and in truth, placing their chiefe happineſſe in the honour and glory of their names; and withall ſuppoſing that there was for the purchaſing thereof no readier meanes, then the ſacrificing of their liues for the inlarging & advancement of their *Empire*, they were in this regard for the moſt part, even prodigall of their blood: But ſhall we call that *fortitude*, which neither aimed at *Iuſtice*, nor was guided by *true wiſedome*, or rather obſtinacie and adventurous boldneſſe? It is very true, that they were often in their warres very ſucceſſefull: but

---Careat ſucceſſibus opto,
Quiſquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

May that mans actions never well ſuceede,
Who by th'event doth cenſure of the deede.

By the confeſſion of their owne Writers they owed as much to *Fortune* as their valour, whom therefore they made a *Goddeſſe* and placed in heaven.

Te facimus Fortuna Deam Cæloque locamus.

Thee, Fortune, we a Goddeſſe make,
And grant thee place in heaven to take.

Theſe two *Fortune* and *Fortitude*, *Ammianus* ſo chayneth and linketh to-

gether, as neither of them could well be wanting in the raiſing of their Empire: *Roma vt augeretur ſublimibus incrementis, fœdere pacis æternæ virtus convenit atq; fortuna, quarum ſi altera defuiſſet ad perfectam non venerat ſummitatem*: That Rome ſhould riſe to that height and greatneſſe, *Fortitude* & *Fortune* made a league of eternall peace, ſo as had either of them beene wanting, it could never haue riſen to that perfection. Both of them performed their parts herein, ſeeming to ſtriue which ſhould preceede the other, which *Plutarch* diſputes at large in his booke *de fortuna Romanorum*, and *Florus* hath briefely, but roundly and clearely expreſſed: *Ad conſtituendum Romanum Imperium virtutem ac fortunam contendiſſe videri*, that to the ſtabliſhing of the *Romane* Empire *Fortitude* and *Fortune* ſeemed to contend which ſhould be more forward. Now if themſelues attributed as much to fortune as to their fortitude, wee may well conceiue that the latter was ſhort of the former, rather then otherwiſe.

And ſurely, if by *Fortune* wee ſhould vnderſtand *Gods Providence*, we may ſafely ſay, that for the effecting of his owne purpoſes (though happily vnknowne to them) rather then for any extraordinary worth or merit in them, he conferred vpon them the *Empire* of the world. As *Auguſtus Cæſar* was by Gods ſpeciall providence directed in taxing the world, that ſo every man repairing to his owne City, *Chriſt* by that meanes might be borne at *Bethleem*, as was fore-told by the Prophet *Mica*: ſo likewiſe was he by the ſame hand and power ſetled in the Empire, that hee might thorow the world ſettle an vniverſall peace, when the *Prince of Peace* was to be borne into it, as was fore-told by another *Prophet*. *They ſhall beate their ſwords into plough-ſhares, and their ſpeares into pruning hookes*. And may we not well conceiue that the world was therefore by the divine Providence brought vnder the yoake of the *Romane* government, made ſubject to their Lawes, and acquainted with their language, that ſo when the Emperours themſelues ſhould become *Chriſtians*, as afterwards they did, the propagation of the *Goſpell* of *Ieſus Chriſt* might finde an eaſier paſſage? The *Romans* then perchance might challenge, that as due to their owne worth in the conquering of the world, which is rather to be aſcribed to the hand of Heaven, diſpoſing theſe earthly *Monarchies* for the good of the *Church*, or for the chaſtiſing of his enemies: To which purpoſe he gaue to *Nebuchadnezzar* ſuch great victories and large dominions. *Thou O King art a King of Kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdome, power, and ſtrength, and glory*, which was not for any extraordinary worth or vertue that wee read of in *Nebucadnezzar*, but onely to make him as a ſtaffe or a rod in his hands for the ſcourging of other rebellious nations, an inſtrument for the accompliſhment of his owne deſignes. Anſwerable wherevnto is that memorable ſpeech of S. *Auguſtine*. *Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperij poteſtatem niſi Deo vero qui dat fœlicitatem in regno cœlorum ſolis pijs, regnum verò terrarum & pijs & impijs, ſicut ei placet cui nihil iniuſtè placet*; Let vs not referre the power of conferring Kingdomes, but onely to the true God, who giues happineſſe in the kingdome of heaven only to the godly, but theſe earthly kingdomes, both to the godly and vngodly, as pleaſes

Luc. 2.

v. 2.

Iſay. 2. 4.

Ier. 43. 10.

Dan. 2. 37.

De ciu dei. 5. 21.

pleaſes him whom nothing pleaſes that is vnjuſt. I conclude this point with that of *Salomon*, *The race is not to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong, nor bread to the wiſe, nor riches to men of vnderſtanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, but time and chance hapneth to them all.* The meaning is, that the ſucceſſe of theſe outward things is not alwayes carried by deſert; but by chance in regard of vs, though by Providence in regard of God. Eccleſiaſtes 9 11.

SECT. 6.

Secondly, the Romanes having no right or juſt title to thoſe Nations they ſubdued, wee cannot rightly tearme their ſtrength in conquering them, Fortitude.

Secondly, ſicut non martyrem pœna, ſic non fortem pugna, ſed cauſa facit, as the torture doth not make a martyr, ſo doth not the conqueſt, but the juſtneſſe of the cauſe make a valiant man, if the *Romanes* then cannot ſhew vs by what right they conquered the world, we will never call their ſtrength in conquering it, *Fortitude*, or crowne it with the name of *Vertue*, vnleſſe withall, wee ſhall call the out-rage of robbers and cut-throates, who with fire and ſword ſpoyle and lay waſte all they can, *Courage* and *Valour*. *Remota itaque juſtitia quid ſunt regna niſi magna latrocinia?* ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, take away the juſtneſſe of the cauſe, and tell me what is the acquiſition of Kingdomes, but great robberies? vnleſſe wee ſhould ſay, that the killing and robbing of one is a ſinne, but of many a vertue, as S. *Cyprian* wittily ſpeakes, *homicidium cùm admittunt ſinguli crimen eſt, virtus vocatur cum publicè geritur, impunitatem ſceleribus acquirit, non innocentiæ ratio, ſed ſævitiæ magnitudo*: when one ſingle man commits a ſingle murther that's a grievous offence, when it is commonly and publiquely done, that's a vertue: They purchaſe impunity not by reaſon of their innocencie, but the greatneſſe of their Cruelty. When a Pyrate was convented before the great *Alexander* for robbing vpon the Seas, and demanded what hee meant ſo to doe, or by what right hee did it? his anſwere to that *Emperour* was by way of recrimination; by the ſame right (ſayth hee) as you robbe the world, which was *eleganter & veraciter reſponſum*, (they be the words of S. *Auguſtine*) a trimme and true anſwere: for what was *Alexander*, if wee ſhould tearme him aright, but De Civ. Dei 4. 4. Ad Donatum. Nonius Marcellus ex Ciceronelib. de Repub. 3.

Fœlix terrarum prædo, non vtile mundo
Editus exemplar?
A robber of the world, yet proſperous,
And to mankinde example dangerous?

Or rather as the ſame *Poet* ſpeakes,

Terrarum fatale malum, fulmenque quod omnes
Percuteret populos, pariterque & ſydus iniquum
Gentibus.
Earths fatall evill, a thunder-bolt of warre
Striking all Nations, an vnluckie ſtarre.

And

Nat. quæſt. præf. lib. 3. And *Seneca* profeſſeth both of him and his father *Philip*, that they were to mankinde no leſſe plagues, *quàm inundatio qua planum perfuſum eſt, quàm conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit*, then a land flood which drownes all the champian, or a burning drought wherewith the greateſt part of cattle periſh.

Now that which hath beene ſpoken of *Alexander*, by the *Romans* may as properly be applyed to thēſelues, *Fælix ſcelus virtus vocatur*, vnjuſt attempts if they be fortunate in the event are called vertues: &ſome actions there are of that nature, *quæ nunquam laudantur niſi peracta*, which are never commended till they are ended; and ſurely ſo it was with the *Romans*, & for proofe that their attempts were indeede for the moſt part vnjuſt, we neede goe no farther then that of *Mithridates* in *Saluſt*, *Epiſt. ad Regem Arſacen.* *Romani arma in omnes habent, in eos acerrima quibus victis ſpolia maxima ſunt*, the *Romans* make warre vpon all, and that vpon them moſt fiercely, from whom being conquered they hope for the greateſt booty. And againe, *Romanis cum nationibus, populis, Regibus, cunctis vna & vetus bellandi Cauſa eſt, Cupido profunda imperij & divitiarum.* The *Romans* haue an old and common quarrell with all Nations, people, kings, an vnquenchable thirſt of Empire and riches: with whom *Galgacus* in *Tacitus* *In vita Iulij Agricolæ.* fully accords, *Raptores orbis poſtquam cuncta vaſtantibus defuere terræ, & mare ſcrutantur: ſi locuples eſt hoſtis avari, ſi pauper ambitioſi, quos non oriens non occidens ſatiaverit*; Robbers of the world they are, and after that they haue layd all places waſte, land wanting for them to ſpoyle, they ſearch into the Sea, if the enemy be rich, their covetouſneſſe moues them to invade him, if poore their ambition, ſo as neither Eaſt nor Weſt can ſatisfie their inſatiable appetite. And though wee ſhould perchance ſuſpect the teſtimonies of *Mithridates* and *Galgacus*, as being their enemies, yet againſt that of *Lactantius* *Lib. 1. c. 18.* we cannot well except. *Iſti qui everſiones vrbium, populorumq; ſummam gloriam computant, otium publicum non ferent, rapient, ſævient, & injurijs inſolenter illatis humanæ ſocietatis fœdus irrumpent, vt habere hoſtem poſſint, quem ſceleratius deleant, quàm laceſſierint:* But they who account the ſubverſion of cities and ſtates their greateſt glory, will not endure the publique peace, they will rob and ſpoyle, and moſt inſolently offering wrongs, will violate the league of humaine ſocietie, that they may haue an enemy whom they may more injuriouſly vanquiſh, then they haue vnjuſtly provoked.

I am not ignorant that *Cicero* in defence of his owne Nation tells vs, *noſter populus ſocijs defendendis terrarum omnium potitus eſt*, our people by defending their aſſociates, became Maſters of the world: but I would willingly be informed whether or no they did not often ſet their aſſociates to complaine without a cauſe, or abet them in vnjuſt quarrels; and I deſire that *Cicero* or any other *Roman* ſhould tell mee truely, what juſt reaſon of warring they had vpon the *Carthagenians* in the firſt Punicke warre. I know there is a pretence coyned that it was vnder-taken in defence of the *Mamertins* whom the *Carthagenians* and *Syracuſians* intended to chaſtiſe for their villanous treachery committed vpon *Meſſana* a City in *Sicily* where they lay in garriſon, putting to the ſword all the Inhabitants, and dividing the ſpoyle among themſelues, and *Decius*

Campanus

Campanus a *Roman* Prefect with his Legion consisting of 4000 Souldiers being receiued into *Rhegium* for the safeguard thereof against *Pyrrhus*, by the example and assistance of the *Mamertins* did the like. Now it is true the *Romans* at the instance of the people of *Rhegium* did justice vpon their owne Countrymen; yet the *Mamertins* guilty of the same foule fact and that in a higher degree, they tooke into their protection, & made it the pretence of their first warre vpon the *Carthaginians*, their ancient friends and allies. But it is certaine that no company of *Pyrats*, *Theeues*, *Outlawes*, *Murderers*, or other such *Malefactours*, can by any good successe of their villany obtaine the priviledge of *Civill Societies* to make league or truce, yea or to require faire warre, but are by all meanes as most pernicious vermine to be rooted out of the world. Wherefore we may safely esteeme this action of the *Romans* so farre from being iustifiable by any colour of confederacy made with them, as that contrarywise by admitting this nest of murtherers and theeues into their protection, they iustly deserved to be warred vpon themselues: Yet after this warre ended, and a peace solemnely concluded, when the *Carthaginians* made a doubtfull warre vpon their rebellious *Mercenaries* of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage* beyond their hope had recovered her feete againe, began to strike at her head: On the suddaine they denounced warre against this infeebled and impoverished Citie vnder a shameles pretence that the preparations made for *Sardinia* were made indeede against *Rome* it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselues at that time vnable to resist, and therefore yeelded to the *Roman* demand, renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*: But this was not enough, they would haue 1200 talents in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could alleage) of the great feare which they had endured of an invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of warre: but necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the money was payd how hardly soever it was raised. Let not *Rome* then complaine of the Punicke faith in the breach of Covenants, she her selfe hath broken the peace allready, which *Amilcar* purposed to make her dearely repent, but what *Amilcar* liued not to performe, was accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

SECT. 7.

Thirdly, that the Christians in suffering for Religion surpassed the Roman fortitude.

THirdly, if true fortitude consist as well in suffring, as in doing, nay rather in suffering chearefully and constantly, then in doing valiantly, as the *Prince* of *Philosophers*, and *great Master of morality* hath taught vs, *Ex eo fortes appellantur quòd res molestas atq; asperas fortiter ferant*, from thence are they tearmed manfull, that they manfully indure bitter and sharpe brunts; and from him the *Poet*, *Eth.* 3. 12.

Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.
He it is doth valiantly,

That

That can miſerable be.

That I will be bold to ſay, that the *Chriſtian Religion* hath yeelded more vndaunted invincible ſpirits, then ever *Pagan Rome* did, nay, then all the *Pagan Religion* ever did: ſo as I cannot ſufficiently wonder what ſhould induce *Machiavell* to conceiue or affirme that the *Chriſtian Religion* ſerved to make men cowards, and that *Paganiſme* was in that reſpect to be preferred before it. Surely hee that ſhall adviſedly reade the *Eccleſiaſticall* Story, what incredible multitudes; with what alacrity, and what exquiſite torments they endured, will ſoone I thinke be of another minde; they were ſo farre from ſhunning death, that they ranne to meete it halfe way, kiſſed it, imbraced it, in what vgly terrible ſhape ſoever it appeared; in ſo much that our writers of the Primitiue *Church* dare match them, as well they might, with the moſt hardy and reſolute of the *Romans*, yea and to preferre them before theſe. *Noſtri autem* (ſaith *Lactantius*) (*vt de viris taceam*) *pueri & mulierculæ tortores ſuos taciti vincunt & expromere illis gemitum nec ignis poteſt. Eant Romani, & Mutio glorientur aut Regulo, quorum alter necandum ſe hoſtibus tradidit quòd captivum puduit vivere, alter ad hoſtibus deprehenſus cum videret mortem ſe vitare non poſſe, manum foco injecit vt pro facinore ſuo ſatisfaceret hoſti quem voluit occidere, eaque pœna veniam quam non meruerat accepit:* Thoſe of our profeſſion (not to ſpeake of the men) even boyes and tender young women do with ſilence conquer their Executioners, from whom not the fire it ſelfe can wring ſo much as a groane. Let the Romanes go then, and boaſt of their *Mutius* and *Regulus*, of which the one offered himſelfe to death by the hand of the enemy for that he was aſhamed to liue in captivity; the other being attatched by the enemy, when hee ſaw hee could not avoid death, burnt his hand in the fire, that ſo for his wicked attempt hee might make ſatisfaction to the enemy, whom he ſought to diſpatch, and by that penance purchaſed he an vndeſerved pardon: But with vs behold thoſe who are for their ſexe infirme, and weake for their age, ſuffer themſelues wholy to be torne in peeces, and burnt not through any neceſſity, for they might avoyd it if they would, but willingly and readily becauſe they truſt in God. *Euſebius* takes a larger ſcope and makes a bolder challenge, including not the *Romans* alone, but the *Grecians*, and any other not *Chriſtians*. *Ex omnibus qui vnquam vel apud Græcos vel apud Barbaros propter animi magnitudinem illuſtres, & hominum ſermone celebrati ſunt, nullus cum divinis & eximijs noſtri temporis Martyribus Dorotheo & ſuis ſodalibus Imperatorum miniſtris comparari poteſt:* Among all thoſe who either among the *Grecians* or *Barbarians* haue beene renowned for their magnanimitie, none of them all could be matched with thoſe divine & heroycall Martyrs of our time *Dorotheus* and his Companions the Emperours ſervants. After theſe, in time, but in learning and zeale nothing inferiour vnto them: S. *Auguſtine* confidently maintaines the ſame truth: *Hoc ſecuti ſunt Martyres qui Scævolas, & Curtios, & Decios non ſibi inferendo pœnas, ſed illatas ferendo: & virtute vera quia vera pietate & innumera multitudine ſuperarunt:* This rule our Martyrs followed, who not by laying violent hands on themſelues, but by patiently enduring

Diſ. 1. 11. 12. 13. 14.

Lib. 5. c. 1.

See for this point *Laurent. Valla* in his 2 booke *de voluptate.*

Lib. 8. c. 6.

De Civ. Dei. 5. 14.

others,

others exceeded the *Scevolæ*, the *Curtij*, the *Decij* both in true fortitude, because joyned with true piety, and besides in multitudes innumerable. And lastly, before all these, *Tertullian* both saw, and publiquely taught the same truth. *Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris & mortis hortantur, vt Cicero in Tusculanis, vt Seneca in fortuitis, vt Diogenes, vt Pyrrhon, vt Callimachus, nec tamen tantos inveniant verba discipulos quantos Christiani factis docendo*: Many among you exhort men to a constant and patient enduring of griefe & death, as *Cicero* in his *Tusculanes*, *Seneca* in his remedies against fortune, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, and *Callimachus*; yet their writings and words finde not so many Schollers as do the *Christians*, teaching by their deedes and deaths. Apolog 50. ad Gentes.

But because the *Romans* stand so much vpon their valour in suffering for their countrey, it were not hard to instance in many *Christians*, who might justly be paralled with the chiefest of them in that kinde, I will content my selfe onely with one example, and that of the Burgesses of 'Calais, as I finde it reported by *Pasquier*. The towne of *Calais* during 'the raigne of *Philip de Valois* being brought to those straits, that now 'there was no more hope left, either for succour or victuals; *Iohn Lord* 'of *Vienna*, who there commanded for the King, began to treate about 5.31
'the rendring of it, desiring onely that they might giue it vp with safety 'of their liues and goods; which conditions being offered to *Edward* 'King of *England*, who by the space of eleven moneths had straitly 'besieged it; he being exceedingly inraged, that so small a towne should 'alone stand out against him so long, and withall calling to minde that 'they had often galled his subjects by sea, was so farre from accepting 'of their petition, that contrariwise hee resolved to put them all to the 'sword, had hee not beene diverted from that resolution by some sage 'Counsellours then about him, who told him, that for having beene 'faithfull and loyall subjects to their Soveraigne, they deserued not to 'be so sharpely dealt with: Wherevpon *Edward* changing his first pur-'pose into some more clemencie, promised to receiue them to mercy, 'conditionally that sixe of their principall Towne-men, should present 'him the keyes of of the Towne bare-headed & bare-footed, & with hal-'ters about their neckes, their liues being to be left to his disposition: 'Whereof the Governour being advertised, he presently gets him into 'the market place, commanding the bell to be sounded for the con-'venting of the people; whom being assembled, hee acquainted with 'the articles which hee had receiued, touching the yeelding vp of the 'towne, and the assurance of their liues which could not be granted 'but with the death of six of the chiefe of them: With which newes 'they being all of them exceedingly cast downe and perplexed, on the 'suddaine there rises vp one of their company called *Stephen S. Peter*, 'one of the richest and most sufficient men of the towne, who thus spake 'alowd: Sir, I thanke God for the goods hee hath bestowed on mee, but 'more that he hath giuen me this present opportunity to make it known 'that I prize the liues of my Country-men & fellow Burgesses aboue 'mine owne: At the hearing of whose speech and sight of his forward-'nesse, one *Iohn Daire* & foure others after him made the like offers, not

'without

'without great abundance of teares and prayers from the common peo-
'ple, who ſaw them ſo freely and readily ſacrifice all their particular
'reſpects for the weale of the publique, and inſtantly without any more
'adoe they addreſſe themſelues to the King of *England* with the keyes
'of the towne, with none other hope but of death: to which (though
'they held themſelues aſſured thereof) they went as chearefully as if
'they had beene going to a wedding. Yet it pleaſing God to turne the
'heart of the *Engliſh* King at the inſtance of his *Queene* and ſome of the
Lords, they were ſent backe againe ſafe and ſound. Now who can ſay that our *France* hath not her *Horatij*, *Quintij*, *Curtij*, and *Decij*? Wee haue ours as well as the *Romans* had theirs: but a certaine kinde of baſeneſſe in vs more ready to apprehend and admire the worth of ſtrangers then of our owne Nation, makes vs happily not to beleeue ſo: Now that which *Paſquier* writes of his Nation, and truely, as I thinke in compariſon with the *Roman* valour in ſuffring for their countrey, we may as confidently ſpeake of ours, as others perchance of theirs.

SECT. 8.

That as the Chriſtians haue ſurpaſſed the Romans in the paſſiue part of fortitude, ſo haue they matched them in the actiue, and that the partiall overvaluing of the Roman manhood by their owne Hiſtorians, is it chiefely which hath made the world to thinke it vnmatchable.

FOurthly and laſtly, as the *Romans* were thus ſurpaſſed in the *paſſiue* part of fortitude: ſo were they matched in the *Actiue*, many times meeting with thoſe, that either put backe their forces without loſſe, or with victory put them to the worſt. *Iulius Cæſar* their great experienced and moſt renowned Captaine after all his valiant acts and triumphs, what adoe did hee make, to do any thing worth the remembrance vpon this Iland then inhabited by naked *Brittaines*, and thoſe divided? And though *Cæſar* himſelfe tell vs of foure Kings of *Kent* by him ſubdued, and many other matters here performed, and *Velleius Paterculus* the Court Hiſtoriographer beare vs in hand, *bis penetratam Britanniam à Cæſare*, that Brittany was twice throughly invaded by *Cæſar*; yet *Lucan* tels vs another tale,

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis:
To th' Britons whom he ſought his coward backe he turnd.

And *Tacitus* a graue Authour, *Britanniam tantum oſtendiſſe non tradidiſſe Romanis*, that he only ſhewed, but delivered not *Britannie* to the *Romans*. And ſure he did ſo little, that both *Horace* and *Propertius* agree in it that he left them vntouched, or at leaſt vnconquered:

Horat. Epod. od. 7.
Intactus aut Britannus, vt deſcenderet
Sacra catenatus via:
Or that the Britons, yet vntouched, may
Be led in chaines along the ſacred way.

Sayes the one: And the other,

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

---Vncon-

---Vnconquered Britannie,
By Romane armes reſerued is for thee.

The *Gaules* in their contention with them they found ſo ſtout & hardy, as *Tully* himſelfe confeſſeth, that with other Nations the *Romans* fought for dominion, but with the *Gaules* for preſervation of their owne ſafety, who once vnder the conduct of *Brennus* entred the City of *Rome* it ſelfe, ſacked it and burnt it. *Pyrrhus* King of the Epirots encountred them in *Italy* it ſelfe, and vanquiſhed them in two ſeverall battelles, in the former of which they were through feare ſtricken with ſuch a conſternation and forgetfulnes of their diſcipline, that they tarried not ſo much as to defend their campe, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*, though the Conſull himſelfe were then in the field with a ſelect army. But *Hanniball* was indeed the man, who made the *Romans* know that they were but men made of like mettall as others are. Like a haile ſtorme he came thundring downe from the *Alpes* and *Pyrenæan* mountaines vpon *Italy*. At *Ticinum* now called *Pavia*, after a long tedious journey, hauing ſcarce refreſhed his wearied army, conſiſting of ſeverall Nations, and therefore the harder to be held together & commanded, he beate *Scipio* the Conſull, and ſent him (with the loſſe of almoſt all his horſes) wounded out of the field: And within a while after, fighting with both the Conſuls *Scipio* & *Sempronius* at *Trebia*, there eſcaped of ſix & thirty thouſand of the *Romans*, but tenne thouſand of all ſorts horſe and foote. Not long after this, againe he encountred with *Flaminius* another Conſull at the lake of *Thraſymene*, who was ſlaine in the place, accompained with fifteene thouſand dead carkaſes of his Countrey-men. And *Cetronius* being ſent by *Servilius* the other Conſull to the ayde of *Flaminius*, his ſtrength only ſerued to increaſe the miſadventure, being charged and the greateſt part of them cut in peeces by *Maharball*, the reſt yeelding themſelues to mercy. The *Romans* being put to theſe ſtraights, chooſe a *Dictator* that was *Fabius Maximus*, who like a cloud hung vpon the toppes of the hils, but durſt not come downe into the plaines to fight with *Hanniball*, though he ſaw the countrey fired & ſpoiled by him before his eyes. Wherevpon two new Conſuls are choſen *Æmilius Paulus* & *Terentius Varro*. For the diſpatch of the warre great forces are leavied, and at *Cannæ* they come powring vpon him with aſſurance of victorie. The whole ſumme of *Hanniball's* army in the field this day was, tenne thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foote; his enemies hauing two to one againſt him in foote, and he five to three againſt them in horſe: But heere againe he routed and foyled them, in ſo much as the *Romans* were all in a manner either ſlaine or taken priſoners: Of men of ſpeciall note there died in the great battell, beſides *Paulus* the *Conſull*, two *Queſtors* or *Treaſurers*, one and twenty *Colonells* or *Tribunes* of the ſouldiers, foure ſcore *Senatours*, or ſuch as had borne office; out of which they were to bee choſen into the Senate, and many of theſe were men of marke, as having beene *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, or *Conſulls*, among whom was *Servilius* the laſt yeares *Conſull*, and *Minutius* late Maſter of the horſe: beſides all this, the number of the *Roman* Knights that lay

See *Paſquier* in his epiſtle to *Monſieur Sybilet*

ſlaine on the place, & of the common ſouldiers was almoſt incredible: Whereas on the ſide of *Hannibal* there died but foure thouſand *Gaules*, fifteene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horſe or there abouts, a loſſe not ſenſible in the joy of ſo great a victorie, which had he purſued as *Maharball* adviſed him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome* then deſtitute both of men and money, it is little doubted but that the warre had preſently beene at an end: But he beleeued not ſo farre in his owne ſufficiencie and good fortune, and was therefore told that he knew how to get, not how to vſe a victorie: Yet had not his ſupplies promiſed & expected from *Carthage*, partly by the malice of *Hanno*, and partly by the ſloath & parſimonie of the *Carthaginians*, beene too long deferred, it is to be thought the *Romans* would never againe haue recovered that blow. For after this, he performed in *Italy* many noble & worthy exploits, marching home even to the gates of *Rome* it ſelfe; and had he beene ſupplied with victuals, in all likelihood, had carried it.

Now that which hath made the world conceiue the *Roman Magnanimity* to be vnmatchable, is the partiall overvaluing of their manhood by their owne *Hiſtorians*, and the too much ſleighting of all others in compariſon with themſelues. I will inſtance only in two or three paſſages. *Livie* to diſgrace *Hannibal* writes, that a little before the ſtriking of the battle at *Cannæ*, *de fuga in Galliam dicitur cogitaſſe*, he is ſayd to haue bethought himſelfe of flying into Gaule; which was in truth very incredible, the difficulties conſidered which *Hannibal* before had paſſed, and the tearmes he then ſtood in. This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in the life of *Hannibal* takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. My ſecond inſtance is this: *Fabius* an ancient *Roman Hiſtorian* (from whom *Livie* borrowes much) ſayth of *Amilcar* the father of *Hannibal*, & his men at *Erix* a towne in *Sicill*; that hauing cleane ſpent their ſtrength, and being broken with many miſeries, they were glad to ſubmit themſelues vnto the *Romans*: But *Polybius* a graue writer, cenſures this report of *Fabius*, as fabulous & partiall, in as much as the contrary therevnto is to be found in the life of *Amilcar*, ſet downe by *Æmilius Probus*, confeſſing that *Erix* was in ſuch ſort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it ſeemed to be in as good condition, as if in thoſe parts there had not beene any warre. Though then we may not reprehend in that worthy Hiſtorian *Livie* the tender loue of his countrey, which made him giue credit to *Fabius* & others: Yet muſt we not for his ſake beleeue thoſe lyes, which the vnpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned in the writers that gaue them originall. My third and laſt inſtance is, that the great Captaine *Fabius* or *Livie* in his perſon, maketh an objection vnto *Cneus Scipio*, which neither *Scipio* nor *Livie* for him doth anſwere, that if *Aſdruball* the brother of *Hannibal*, and ſonne of *Amilcar* were vanquiſhed, as *Scipio* would ſay, by him in *Spaine*; ſtrange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extreamely dangerous to *Rome*, that the ſame vanquiſhed man ſhould invade *Italy*: And it is indeed an incredible narration, that *Aſdruball* being incloſed in on all ſides, and not knowing how to eſcape out of the battell, ſaue only

Lib. 2.

Lib. 1.

Lib. 28.

only by a ſteepe deſcent of rocks over a great river that lay at his back, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troups over *Tagus* directly toward the *Pyrenees*, and ſo toward *Italy*, vpon which hee fell with more then threeſcore thouſand Souldiers. Wherefore wee can but be ſorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of their warres with *Rome* (if there were any) being vtterly loſt, wee can know no more thereof, then what it hath pleaſed the *Romans* to tell vs, vnto whom it were no wiſedome to giue too much credit. *Albericus Gentilis*, by nation an *Italian*, late profeſſour of the *Civill Lawes* in the Vniverſity of *Oxford*, well verſed in the Roman ſtorie, hath written two learned bookes *de armis Romanorum*; In the former of which hee clearely proues, that the *Romans* got the reputation of ſo great juſtice, and wiſedome, & valour only from the teſtimonie of their owne writers, who were in their relations moſt partiall: notwithſtanding, ſayth he, *Sunt vel in his ipſis plura & diſiecta paſsim, & quaſi in amplo naufragio diſsipata quæ per ſedulam operam collecta, vincere vulgi opinionem, conſenſum hominum inveteratum ſuperare, perſuaſionem de virtute Romanorum bellica tollere poſſunt:* Even in them are many paſſages to be found ſcattered heere & there, as it were after ſome great ſhipwracke, which being diligently collected and put together, might ſerue to vanquiſh the vulgar opinion, to roote out the inveterate & common conſent, to weaken the ſtrong perſwaſion of men touching the warlike manhood of the *Romans*. And alleaging that place of *Cicero* in his Oration for *Murena*, *virtus militaris populo Romano nomen, vrbi Romæ æternam gloriam peperit*; The military vertue of the *Romans* wanne to themſelues fame, and to their City eternall glory, *imo non ita eſt M. Tulli*, ſayth he, *ſed fraus, avaritia, audacia, crudelitas illud vobis imperium pepererunt; orbem terræ reliquum ſimpliciorem, juſtiorem, humaniorem, faciliorem, moderatiorem ſubegerunt. Tullie* it is not ſo, but *fraud, covetouſneſſe, impudence, cruelty* got you the *Empire*, and ſubdued the reſt of the world more innocent, more juſt, more courteous, more mercifull, more moderate, more peaceable then your ſelues: and this he doth not barely affirme, but ſubſtantially makes it good through that booke, though in the next, he ſeeme to haue ſpoken in the perſon of another.

I will conclude this long, though I truſt not tedious, diſcourſe of the *Romans* with a diſpute of Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* handling that probleme, propoſed and diſcuſſed by *Livie*, whether the great *Alexander* could haue prevailed againſt the Romans, if after his *Eaſterne* conqueſt he had bent all his forces againſt them. Where having delivered his opinion againſt *Livy* for *Alexander*, together with his reaſons inducing him thereunto, he goes on preferring the *Engliſh* both before the *Macedonian* and the *Roman:* wherein if he ſpeake reaſon, let him be heard, if not, let him bee cenſured: But for mine owne part I muſt confeſſe, I know not well how to anſwere his arguments, ſo preſſing & ponderous to me they ſeeme, whether affection haue clouded my judgment heerein, I leaue it to others to judge. His words then are theſe.

SECT. 9.

The Engliſh not inferiour to the Roman in valour and magnanimity, by the judgment of Sir Walter Rawleigh.

Hiſt. of the world, l. 5. part. 1. cap. 1. Sect. 1.

NOw in deciding ſuch a controverſie, ſaith he, me thinkes it were not amiſſe for an *Engliſh-man* to giue ſuch a ſentence betweene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being choſen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeates* & *Aricini* that ſtroue about a peece of land; ſaying, that it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themſelues. If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian* or the *Roman* were the beſt Warriour? I will anſwere, the *Engliſh-man*. For it will ſoone appeare to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon, againſt no ſavage or vnmanly people; the enemy being farre ſuperiour vnto vs in numbers and all needefull proviſions, yea as well trayned as wee, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of Warre.

In what ſort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed againſt ſuch armies as it commonly encountred: any man that hath taken paines to read the fore-going ſtory of them, doth ſufficiently vnderſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer or very ſeldome able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* Armies: which were embattelled in ſo excellent a forme, as I know not whether any Nations beſides them haue vſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe both offenſiue and defenſiue were of greater vſe, then thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerued, before the fierie inſtruments of gun-powder were knowne As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to doe, we finde that they who did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her in weapons; and that they of whom ſhee had little advantage in armes, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerueth) was a part of her happineſſe, that ſhee was neuer ouer-laid with too great warres at once.

Heereby it came to paſſe, that hauing at firſt increaſed her ſtrength by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; hauing wonne the eſtate of *Alba*, againſt which ſhee adventured her owne ſelfe, as it were in wager vpon the heads of three *Champions*; and hauing thereby made her ſelfe *Princeſſe* of *Latium*, ſhe did afterwards by long warre in many ages extend her Dominion ouer all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well nigh oppreſſed her, but their ſouldiers were *Mercinarie*, ſo that for want of proper ſtrength they were eaſily beaten at their owne doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe to beate the ſame *Ætolians*. The warres againſt *Antiochus* and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gaue to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites

oppoſites were as baſe of courage as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece* fell into her hands by vſing her ayde to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not need to ſpeake of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhe had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputatiō of ſo many, or ſo famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay, that among all their warres, I finde not any wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgement may ſeeme over-partiall, our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

Firſt therefore it is well knowne, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the World beſides) had never ſo braue a Commander in warre as *Iulius Cæſar*; and that no *Roman* Army was comparable vnto that which ſerved vnder the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe it is apparant that this gallant Army which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* warre, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was neuertheleſſe vtterly diſheartned when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe vnder ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a warre. Now let vs in generall compare with the deedes done, by thoſe beſt of the *Roman* ſouldiers in their principall ſeruice, the things performed in the ſame country by our common *Engliſh* ſouldiers, levied in haſt from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall, ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleeue *Cæſar* in relating the Acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſſe what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules* a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French* by whom they were ſubdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them aſſiſtance. The Countrey of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lordſhips. Some of which were governed by petty kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it applyable to the neareſt neighbour. The factions were many and violent, not onely in generall through the whole Countrey, but betweene the petty States, yea in euery City, and almoſt in euery houſe. What greater advantage could a Conquerour deſire? yet there was a greater: *Arioviſtus* with his *Germans* had ouer-runne the Countrey, and held moſt part of it in a ſubjection, little different from a meere ſlauery: yea ſo often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre vpon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (who had ſometimes beene the better ſouldiers) did hold themſelues no way equall to thoſe dayly invaders. Had *France* beene ſo prepared vnto our *Engliſh* Kings, *Rome* it ſelfe by this time, and long ere this time would haue beene ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his warre vpon *France*, he found the whole country ſetled in obedience to one mighty King: a King whoſe reputation abroad was no leſſe then his puiſſance at home, vnder whoſe Enſigne the King of *Bohemia* did ſerue in perſon, at whoſe call the *Genowayes* and other neighbour States were ready to take Armes: Finally a King vnto

whom one [a] Prince gaue away his Dominion for loue: [b] another ſold a way a goodly City and Territory for money. The Country lying ſo open to the *Roman*, and being ſo well fenced againſt the *Engliſh*, it is note-worthy, not who prevailed moſt therein (for it were meere vanity to match the *Engliſh* purchaſes with the *Roman* Conqueſt) but whether of the two gaue the greater proof of military vertue therein. *Cæſar* himſelfe doth witneſſe, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardineſſe was ouer-maſtered by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towres and Engines of battery raiſed and planted againſt their wals, as more then humane workes. What greater wonder is it that ſuch a people was beaten by the *Roman*, then that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worſe by ſmall numbers of *Spaniards*? Beſides all this wee are to haue regard of the great difficulty that was found in drawing all the *Gaules* or any part of them to one head, that with joint forces they might oppoſe their aſſailants, as alſo the much more difficulty of holding them long together: For hereby it came to paſſe that they were never able to make vſe of opportunity: but ſomtimes compelled to ſtay for their fellowes, and ſometimes driuen to giue or take battell vpon extreame diſadvantages, for feare leſt their company ſhould fall aſunder: as indeed vpon any little diſaſter they were ready to breake and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, (and which was little leſſe then all this) great oddes in weapon, gaue to the *Romanes* the honour of many gallant victories. What ſuch helpe? or what other worldly helpe then the golden mettall of their ſouldiers had our *Engliſh* Kings againſt the *French*? were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of warre? yea did they not thinke themſelues therein our ſuperiours? were they not in armes, in horſe, and in all proviſion exceedingly beyond vs? Let vs heare what a *French* writer ſayth, of the inequality that was betweene the *French* and *Engliſh*, when their King *John* was ready to giue the on-ſet vpon the *Black Prince* at the battell of *Poictiers*. *John* had all advantages ouer *Edward*, both of number, force, ſhew, countrey, and conceit, (the which is commonly a conſideration of no ſmall importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choiſe of all his horſemen (eſteemed then the beſt in *Europe*) with the greateſt and wiſeſt Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he wiſh more?

John de Serres.

I thinke it would trouble a *Roman Antiquary* to finde the like example in their Hiſtories, the example, I ſay, of a King, brought priſoner to *Rome* by an army of eight thouſand, which he had ſurrounded with forty thouſand, better appointed, and no leſſe expert warriours. This I am ſure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe ſcullions, as *Livy* rightly tearmes them, nor thoſe cowardly kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that haue read of *Creſſie* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witnes, that I doe not alleadge the battle of *Poictiers* for lack of other as good examples of the *Engliſh* vertue: the proofe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes in all quarters of *France*, then euer did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute theſe

[a] The Dolphine of *Viennois*.

[b] The King of *Maiorca*.

theſe victories of ours to the long-Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more ſtrongly, and quicker of diſcharge then the *French* Croſſe-Bow: my anſwere is ready; that in all theſe reſpects, it is alſo (being drawne with a ſtrong arme) ſuperiour to the musket; yet is the musket a weapon of more vſe. The Gun and the Croſſe-bow are of like force when diſcharged by a boy or woman, as when by a ſtrong man: weakenes or ſicknes, or a ſore finger makes the long-bow vnſerviceable. More particulary, I ſay, that it was the cuſtome of our *Auncеſtors* to ſhoot for the moſt part, point blanck: and ſo ſhall hee perceiue that will note the circumſtances of almoſt any one battell. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the diſtance of a butts length, one flight of arrowes or two at the moſt can be deliuered before they cloſe. Neither is it in generall true, that the long-bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more ſtrongly then the Croſſe-bow: but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arme: wherevpon can be grounded no common rule. If any man ſhall aske: How then it came to paſſe that the *Engliſh* wanne ſo many great battelles, hauing no aduantage to helpe him? I may with the beſt commendation of modeſty, referre him to the *French Hiſtorian:* who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant*, *Iohn de Serres.* where they paſſed a bridge in the face of the enemy, vſeth theſe words; The *Engliſh* comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accuſtomed to gaine euery where without any ſtay: hee forceth our Guard placed vpon the bridge to keepe the paſſage. Or I may cite another place of the ſame Author, where he tells how the *Britons* being inuaded by *Charles* the 8th, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparell a thouſand and two hundred of their owne men in *Engliſh* Caſſacks: hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* red Croſſe would bee enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French Hiſtorians* (all which, excepting *De Serres* and *Paulus Æmilius*, report wonders of our Nation) the propoſition which firſt I vndertooke to maintaine, That the military vertue of the *Engliſh* prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the *Romanes*, which was aſſiſted with all advantages that could be deſired. If it be demanded, why then did not our King finiſh the Conqueſt as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwere may be (I hope without offence) that our kings were like to the race of the *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gaue this note, *Belli potentes ſunt magè quam ſapienti-potentes*; they were more warlike then politique. Who ſo notes their proceedings may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour, ſaue only King *Henry* the fift, the courſe of whoſe victories it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another bee firſt made: Why did not the *Romanes* attempt the Conqueſt of *Gaule* before the time of *Cæſar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all thoſe times they had good leiſure, & then eſpecially had they both leiſure and fit opportunity, when vnder the conduct of *Marius* they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaule* had beene piteouſly waſted. Surely the words of *Tully* were true, that with other

Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion with the *Gaules* for the preſeruation of their owne ſafety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conqueſt of *Gaule*, vntill they were Lords of all other Countryes to them knowne. We on the other ſide held only the one halfe of our owne *Iland*; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vnleſſe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) euery way equall to our ſelues: A Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemies to vs: So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs, and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared a ſtronger invaſion by Land then wee could make vpon *France*, tranſporting our forces over Sea.

It is vſuall with men that haue pleaſed themſelues in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient hiſtories, to hold it a great injurie done to their judgement, if any take vpon him by way of compariſon to extoll the things of latter ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the divided vertue of this our *Iland* hath giuen more noble proofe of it ſelfe, then vnder ſo worthy a Leader that *Roman* armie could doe, which afterwards could winne *Rome* and all her *Empire*, making *Cæſar* a Monarch: So hereafter by Gods bleſſing, who hath converted our greateſt hinderance into our greateſt helpe, the enemie that ſhall dare to trie our forces, will finde cauſe to wiſh, that avoiding vs, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance as was that of the Roman *Empire*. Thus farre Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, comparing the *Roman* valour with the *Engliſh*: And if we ſhould compare them to the *Turkes*, it is certaine that the *Romans* in the like ſpace of time, never ſubdued the like quantity of land, ſo excellently fertile, and abounding in warlike people as did they. In leſſe then three hundred yeares, from *Ottoman* to *Mahomet* the third, they wanne all thoſe goodly Countreyes from *Tauris* in *Perſia* to *Buda* in *Hungarie*, lying Eaſt, and Weſt, and North, & South, from *Derbent* neere the *Caſpian* Sea, vnto *Adena*, vpon the gulfe of *Arabia*, each of which containes about 3200 miles. So as all the noiſe which the *Roman* writers haue made about the vnmatchable valour of their men, is but like the huge armour which *Alexander* left in the *Indies* after his conquering of thoſe Nations, ſerving rather to amaze the world, then rightly to informe it.

CAP. 12.

CAP. 12.

Wherein the generall objections touching the worlds decay in matter of Manners, are answered at large, and probable proofes produced, that the Church of Christ before the consummation of the world, shall enjoy a more peaceable and flourishing estate then at any time hitherto it hath.

SECT. 1.

Two objections drawne from reason, and both answered. The one, that since the first plantation of Christian Religion, men haue from time to time degenerated: The other, that the multitude of Lawes, and Lawyers, and Law-suites, and the multiplicity of words in writings and conveyances, argue the great sickneſſe and malice of the present times in regard of the former.

AND thus I hope I haue now sufficiently cleered this point, that the ancient *Romans* (who are in stories most magnified of any Nation vnder heaven for their morall vertues)exceeded latter ages in many foule *vices*, and haue by latter ages beene equalled, if not exceeded even in those *vertues*, wherein they seemed most to excell. And herein haue I chiefely aymed at the honour of *Christ* & *Christian* Religion; which being rightly vnderstood and practised, without apish superstition on the one side, or peevish singularity on the other, serues no doubt to make men more morally vertuous then any other religion, that either at this day is, or since the Creation hath beene professed in the world; I speake, not onely in regard of *Iustice* & *temperance*, but of *wisedome* & *fortitude*; and besides, for contempt of the world, austerity of life, patience, humility, modesty, charity, chastity, obedience, piety, and singular devotion, it hath doubtlesse yeelded men altogether vnmatchable. But it will be said, that since the first plantation of *Christian* Religion, men haue from time to time degenerated, so as the farther they are removed from the *Primitiue Professours*, who burned in zeale, and shined in good workes, the worse they haue growne: Whereunto I answere, that the primitiue times, as well in that they came neerer to *Christ* and his *Apostles*, as likewise, because they were subject to the fierie triall of persecution, were indeed purer then the succeeding ages, in which together with peace & plentie, pride & luxury, oppression & vncharitablenes crept in, till at length they, who should haue bin the principall *lights* & *guides* in the *Church*, became in all manner of vncleannes, cruelty, covetousnes, & ambition little inferiour to the worst of the *Roman Emperours*. But here then, things being now come to this height, appeared the speciall providence of *Almighty God*, in sending some zealous spirits to awaken the world, to rouze vp *Christian* Princes, to tell the Prelates their owne: And though therevpon followed a rent in the *Church*, yet withall there followed a reformation of manners, at least-wise in regard of scandalous, & notorious vices, even among them, who refused, and still refuse

refuſe reformation in matter of doctrine; the liues of their *Popes*, their *Cardinalls*, their *Biſhops*, their *Prieſts*, are in appeareance much amended, what within theſe two or three hundred yeares, by the confeſſion of their owne writers, they were, who we may well thinke, were ignorant of much, and much out of feare or favour they concealed: But ſo much haue they publiſhed to the view of the world, as would greeve an honeſt man to reade, & ſhame a modeſt to write, which they ſhamed not to act; nay boaſted of being acted: And for the other part, which profeſſes & maintaines the reformation, I hope they will not ſay, that they are thereby made the worſe in matter of *manners*; *God* forbid but they, who profeſſe themſelues reformed in matter of *doctrine*, ſhould likewiſe ſhew themſelues reformed in matter of *Manners*. And ſure I thinke we may ſafely ſay, that fewer *rebellions*, *robberies*, *murthers*, *ſorceries* and the like, haue beene heard of, and more pious and charitable workes ſeene in our Land ſince the *Reformation* of *Religion*, then in the like compaſſe of yeares ſince the firſt plantation thereof amongſt vs.

It will perchance bee ſaid againe, that the multitude of *Lawes*, and *Lawyers*, & *Law-ſuites*, and the *multiplicity* of words in writings & conveyances for Law buſineſſes, argue the great ſickeneſſe and malice of the times in regard of the former: To which it may truly be replied, that the multitude of *Lawes* giues occaſion to the number of *Law-ſuites*, and that to the increaſe of *Lawyers*; and they againe ſerue to increaſe the *multiplying* of words in Conveyances. Now that which giues occaſion to a greater multitude of Lawes, is not, as I conceiue, ſo much the increaſe of vice, as of knowledge and zeale in the *Law-makers*; common ſwearing, ſimple fornication, prophaning of the Lords day and the like, in former times were ſcarce knowne to be ſinnes; but being now by the light of the Goſpell diſcouered to be ſuch, and that in an high degree, as they are ſtraitly forbidden by *Gods* Law, ſo is the edge of our Lawes turned againſt them. Beſides, it is certaine, that no Law can be ſo cauteloufly framed for the preventing of all inconveniences in that kind, but that the wit of man armed with malice, will finde meanes to wreſt the letter, or fruſtrate the intent of it; from whence other Lawes haue ſprung vp for the cleering of the ambiguity, or ſupplie of the defect of the former, it is not then ſo much the malice of the preſent age, as that of all ages ſucceeding one another therein, which hath occaſioned ſuch a *maſſe of Lawes*, as their burden is in a manner now as cumberſome, as were the miſchiefes they were made to prevent, *prius vitijs laboravimus nunc Legibus*, *Tacitus* ſpake it of his times, but it may well enough bee verified of ours; we formerly were burdened with *vice*, but now with *Lawes*, If then a wiſe choiſe were made out of the whole bodie of the Lawes, of the moſt vſefull and proper for the preſent times, and they ſeverely executed, thereſt being repealed and abrogated; it would proue both *eaſier* for the ſubject, and *happier* for the weale publique. Now for the number of *Law-ſuites*, it hath alwayes beene obſerved, that in times of *peace* and *plenty*, as riches increaſe by manufactures, and tillage, and trading, ſo doth the number of controverſies. Our Forefathers for many ages together lived for the moſt part in *Civill Warres*

and

and continuall alarmes, ſo as the *ſword* then determined the controverſie, and not the *Law*; ſince then the *ſword* hath bin ſheathed, no marvell that the *Law* & Courts of Iuſtice haue beene more in requeſt. Moreouer the fall of the *Monaſteries* and the alienating of their Lands into ſo many hands, hath no doubt beene a great meanes to ſet *Lawyers* a worke ſince that fall, more then in former ages. And what is it but the ſetting of men a worke which ſets vp a trade, and multiplies the profeſſours thereof? And as the number of profeſſours multiplie, ſo doe the diverſitie of their conceites and inventions; many eyes ſeing more then one can, which is the cauſe, that both more flawes are found in Conveyances, and conſequently more clauſes and cautions thruſt into them for the preventing of the like.

SECT 2.

Another objection anſwered, taken from the Scriptures, which in diverſe places ſeeme to ſay, that the laſt times ſhall be the worſt.

BUt the great doubt which troubles moſt men, is, that the Scriptures ſeeme in diverſe places to ſay, that the *laſt times* ſhall be the *worſt*; and to this end are commonly alleadged theſe paſſages: *Becauſe iniquity ſhall abound, the loue of many ſhall waxe cold. When the Sonne of Man commeth, ſhall he finde faith on the earth? Now the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſſely, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giuing heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and doctrines of devills. This know alſo, that in the laſt dayes perillous times ſhall come, for men ſhall be lovers of their owne ſelues, covetous, boaſters; and euill men and ſeducers ſhall waxe worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived. There ſhall come in the laſt dayes, ſcoffers walking after their owne luſts. Beloved, remember yee the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, how that they told you there ſhould be mockers in the laſt dayes, who ſhould walke after their owne vngodly luſts.* Mat. 24. 12. Luc. 18. 8. 1. Tim 4. 1. 2. Tim. 3. 1. verſ. 13. 2 Pet. 3. 3. Iude v. 17. 18. Theſe are all, or at leaſt-wiſe the principall paſſages which I haue either found alleaged, or can remember to that purpoſe. Whereunto I firſt reply in *generall*, that put the caſe they all inferred a decay in matter of *Manners* towards the end of the world, yet doth not that neceſſarily inforce a *perpetuall* and *vniverſall* declination ſince the fall of man; but men may be (as doubtleſſe they haue been) ſometimes better and ſometimes worſe by interchange, and at the laſt worſt of all. But I would demand how it can hang together, that we ſhould expect the *ſubverſion* of *Antichriſt* & his kingdome, & the *converſion* of the whole Nation of the *Iewes* to the ſaving knowledge of the truth, before the end of the world, and yet withall affirme or beleeue, that the whole world ſtill hath, and doth, and ſhall to the end thereof grow worſe and worſe? For mine owne part I muſt profeſſe, that I know not how to reconcile ſo different and contradictorie opinions. But for the better clearing and vnderſtanding of the paſſages alleaged, it will be needfull to conſider in what ſenſe *The laſt dayes* in holy Scripture are to be taken. Some there are, who referre them to the dayes of *Antichriſt*: but others

vpon

vpon better warrant to the dayes of *Christ*, from his firſt comming in the fleſh, to his ſecond comming to judgement. Thus the Prophet *I-*
2. 2. *ſayah, It ſhall come to paſſe in the laſt dayes, that the Mountaine of the Lords*
4. 1 *houſe ſhall be eſtabliſhed in the toppe of the mountaines.* And *Micah* to the ſame purpoſe, and ſo neere in the ſame words, as if he borrowed them from *Eſay*. Now the *dayes* of *Chriſts* kingdome are therefore called the *laſt dayes*, not onely becauſe it ſet an end to the kingdome of the *Iewes*, but becauſe none other *Prieſt-hood*, or *Sacrifice*, or *Sacraments*, or *Law* are to ſucceede in place thereof. As *man* is a little world, ſo the age of the world like that of man, is diſtributed into diverſe ſtops or periods. It hath it's *infancie, child-hood, youth, perfect eſtate*, & *old age*. And as in man *old age* may, and ſometime doth, laſt as long as all the reſt, ſo may it fall out in theſe times of the kingdome of *Chriſt*, and yet they
42. 12. 16. be ſtill the *laſt times*. Thus the time of *Iob* from his reſtitution to his death, is ſaid to be his *laſt dayes*, or latter end, though it comprehend one hundred and forty yeares, which in the life of man is a long ſpace. And if by the *laſt dayes* we ſhould vnderſtand the times neere approaching to the worlds end, no ſmall advantage might thereby vnawares be given to the *Iewes*, who would beare vs in hand that the *Meſsias* is not yet come, becauſe the *laſt times* are not yet come: Whereas we on the other ſide ſay for our ſelues and truly, that the *laſt times* are come, not therefore becauſe they approach neere to the *worlds end*, but becauſe the *Meſsias* is come. Vpon which ground the *Apoſtles* themſelues, in imitation belike of the *Prophets*, likewiſe tearme it the *laſt times*. *In*
Heb. 1. 2. *the laſt times he hath ſpoken to vs by his Sonne*, ſaith *S. Paul*. And S. *Iohn*,
1 2. 18. *Little children, it is the laſt time, and as you haue heard that Antichriſt ſhall come, euen now are many Antichriſts, whereby we know that it is the laſt time.* Since which time we know ſixteene *Centenaries* of yeares haue paſſed. So as the *Apoſtles* could not well tearme their times the *laſt* in regard of any neare approach to the worlds end: but becauſe they liued vnder the Kingdome of *Chriſt*. And if I ſhould thus expound thoſe alleadged paſſages, I ſhould conceiue the interpretatiō were not vnſound. *Auguſtin*
80. I am ſure in his *Epiſt.* to *Heſichius* allowes it. *Calvin* in divers places beats
In Epiſt. Iude. vpon it, *Per dies extremos, ſatis tritum eſt, regnum Chriſti deſignari:* and in
In 2. Tim. 3. 1. another place more fully to our preſent purpoſe, *Sub extremis diebus comprehendit vniverſum Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ ſtatum*, vnder the tearmes of the laſt dayes hee comprehends the vniverſall eſtate of the *Church* of *Chriſt*. Herevnto may be added that which ſome later learned *Divines* touching this point haue obſerved, that the *Hebrew* word ſignifies either *extremitie* or *poſterioritie*, as I may ſo ſpeake. Whence it is ſomtimes rendred *Laſt*, and ſomtimes *Latter*, both in *Greeke*, *Latine*, and other Languages, and thoſe two promiſcuouſly taken the one for the other. Thus the *Apoſtle* in 2 *Timothy* and the 3. calls that the *laſt times*, which before in his former Epiſtle and 4 chapt. he had called the *Latter times*,
14. and that word which in the laſt of S. *Marke*, our former Tranſlations rendred *Finally*, our laſt hath turned *Afterward:* nay whereas wee reade in the Prophet *Ioel*, *It ſhall come to paſſe afterward*, S. *Peter* (by divine inſpi-
2. 18. Act. 2. 17. ration no doubt) hath rendred it, *It ſhall come to paſſe in the laſt dayes*. But very

very remarkeable are the words of old *Iacob* to this purpoſe when hee lay a dying, and by the ſpirit of *Propheſie* foretold what ſhould become of his ſonnes, *I will tell you* ſaith hee, *that which ſhall befall you in the laſt dayes*, in which prediction of his, though it be true that ſome things cōcerne the Kingdome of *Chriſt*, as that touching *Iudah*, *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iuda, nor a Lawgiver from betweene his feet vntill Shiloh come*; yet is it as true that many things in that Propheſie, both concerning *Iudah* and the other *Patriarches* and *Tribes* deſcending from them, were fulfilled long before the incarnation of CHRIST, and not long after the death of *Iacob*. In like manner the ſame word is vſed by *Daniel* in the Interpretation of *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame. *There is a God in heaven that revealeth ſecrets, and maketh knowne to the King what ſhall be in the latter dayes or laſt dayes:* Which ſame ſpeech in the 45. v. following hee againe repeates in theſe tearmes: *The great God hath made knowne to the King what ſhall come to paſſe hereafter.* And though it be moſt certaine that ſome of thoſe things there fore-ſhewed, were none otherwiſe fulfilled then in the kingdome of *Chriſt*, as namely that in the 44 v. *in the dayes of theſe Kings ſhall the God of Heaven ſet vp a Kingdome which ſhall never be deſtroyed*: yet withall it may not, it cannot be denyed but the greateſt part of them were accompliſhed before our *Saviours* apparelling himſelfe with our fleſh, and ſome of them, to wit, the ſetting vp of the *Perſian Monarchy* but 63 yeares after *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame or viſion, and *Daniels* prediction. And hence it is that *Iunius* and *Tremelius* render the *Hebrew* word in both thoſe paſſages of *Geneſis* and *Daniel*, with *Sequentibus*, or *Conſequentibus temporibus*, which implies nothing elſe but *times following* and *enſuing*. Thoſe Propheſies then of S. *Peter*, and S. *Paul* touching the great wickedneſſe of the latter or laſt times, may well be vnderſtood either of the Kingdome of *Chriſt*, as hath beene ſaid, or of times following theirs, and not neceſſarily neare approaching the end of all time.

2. 28.

SECT 3.

The paſſages of Scripture alleaged to that purpoſe, particularly and diſtinctly anſwered.

NOw for the particular paſſages: That propheſie of Saint *Paul* touching *Apoſtates, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtaine from meates* was accompliſhed in *Euſtathius*, the *Encratits* or *Tatians*, *the Marcioniſts*, the *Manichæans*, the *Cathari*, the *Cataphrygians* or *Montaniſts*, who all vented their hereſies in thoſe two points, within leſſe then two or three hundred yeares of the *Apoſtles*. And if wee ſhould with ſome latter Writers referre that whole propheſie to the defection of the *Roman Church*, I thinke wee ſhould therein do her no wrong: Howſoever it is fully agreed vpon, both by them and vs, that the propheſie was long ſince fulfilled. The ſame in effect may be ſaid of his other propheſie in his ſecond Epiſtle: *Neque enim ætatem ſuam cum noſtra comparat, ſed potius qualis futura ſit regni Chriſti conditio docet*, ſayth judicious *Calvin* in his Commentaries vpon that place, Hee doth not

compare his owne age with ours, but rather teaches what the condition of *Christs* Kingdome was to be. And that which the *Apostle* addes of *Evill men and Seducers, that they shall waxe worse and worse, deceiving and being deceiued*, is not sufficient to evince a *perpetuall* and *universall* declination. For though some evill men grow worse, yet others may, and by Gods grace do, grow from bad to good, and from good to better: and even of the same men doth the same *Apostle* tell vs in the same
V. 9. place, *They shall proceede no farther, but their folly shall be manifest vnto all men.* As for S. *Peter* and his Prophesie touching the *last dayes*, it is cleare that it was accomplished when S. *Iude* wrote his *Epistle*, in as much as he points in a manner with his finger to that passage of S. *Peter* not onely vsing the same words, but putting vs in minde that he had them expressely from the *Apostles* of the *Lord Iesus*: the onely difference betwixt S. *Peter* and S. *Iude* is this, that the one fore-tels it, and the other shewes how it was even then fulfilled.

But I passe from the Schollers to the Master, from the *Apostles* to our *Saviour* himselfe and his Prophesies touching this point, recorded by the *Evangelists*, whereof the first is in *Mat.* 24. *Because iniquity shall abound the loue of many shall wax cold.* For the exposition of which words, wee are to know that our *Saviour* in that chapter speaketh of the signes fore-running as well the destruction of *Ierusalem* as the consummation of the world, and so twisteth as it were, or weaveth them one within another, that it is hard to distinguish them: yet by the consent of the best expositours, the former of these is to be referred to the first part of the chapter, and so consequently this Prophesie was long since accomplished: the meaning of it to be this, that such and so cruell shall be the persecution of *Christian* Religion, that many who otherwise had a good minde to embrace it, shall forsake both it and the Professours thereof, leaving them to the malice of the Persecutours. And to this purpose do both *Maldonate* and *Aretius* bring the Example and words of S.
2. Tim 4. 16. *Paul, At my first answere no man stood with mee, but all men forsooke mee, I pray God it be not laid to their charge.* Our *Saviours* second Prophesie to this purpose is recorded in the 18 of S. *Luke*, *When the Sonne of man commeth shall he finde faith on the earth?* Which words both *Calvin* & *Iansenius* referre not precisely to the time of *Christs* comming to judgment, but extend them to the generall state of men even from his *Ascension* to his *second comming*: *Disertè Christus à suo in cœlum ascensu vsque ad reditum homines passim incredulos fore prædicit*, saith *Calvin*; *Christ* expressely teacheth, that from his ascension even till his returne, many vnbeleevers shall every-where be found. But *Iansenius* somewhat more clearely and fully, *Non tantum significat defectum & paucitatem fidei in hominibus qui vivi reperientur in novissimo die, sed etiam in hominibus cujuslibet temporis.* Hee doth not onely intimate the defect and scantnesse of faith
V. 12. which shall be found in men at the last day, but in those of all ages. To these passages may be added that in the 12 of the *Revelation*, *Woe to the Inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the devill is come downe vnto you having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time:* but the time there spoken of (as the soundest Interpreters expound it) is not called

led *ſhort* in reſpect of the end of the World (which to the divell is vtterly vnknowne) but of his binding vp for a thouſand yeares whereof he was forewarned: and beſides though the ſhorter his time be, his rage be the fiercer, yet is not his intended and deſired ſucceſſe alwayes anſwerable to the fierceneſſe of his rage, the Lord holding him, as it were in a teather, or chaine, and ſetting him bounds, as he doth to the raging waues of the ſea, *hitherto ſhalt thou goe, and no farther.*

SECT. 4.

The laſt doubt touching the comming of Antichriſt anſwered.

THe laſt doubt is concerning *Antichriſt*, who many thinke ſhall come neere toward the end of the World, and conſequently it ſhall then be filled with all kinde of impiety, impurity, and miſery, the attendants of his comming, and that much beyond all former times. But if *Antichriſt* be already come, and that long ſince, then will the validitie of this argument proue vtterly ineffectuall. And certainely ſuch hath beene the wickednesſe and calamity of all ages, that as *Bellarmine* ſpeaketh: *Omnes veteres animadvertentes ſuorum temporum malitiam, ſuſpicati ſunt tempora Antichriſti imminere.* All the Ancients conſidering the malice of their times, ſuſpected that *Antichriſt* was at hand. Thus S. *Cyprian* of his time, *Scire debetis, & pro certo credere, & tenere, preſſuræ diem ſuper caput eſſe cæpiſſe, & occaſum ſeculi atque Antichriſti tempus appropinquaſſe.* Yee ought to know, and for certaine to hold and beleeue, that the day of preſſure is even over our heads, and that the conſummation of all things, and the comming of *Antichriſt* doth approach. *Lactantius* of his, *Omnis expectatio non amplius quàm ducentorum videtur annorum*, the end of our expectation ſeemes not to extend beyond the ſpace of two hundred yeares at fartheſt. S. *Hierome* of his, *Qui tenebat de medio fit, & non intelligimus Antichriſtum appropinquare?* he which held or withi-held is remoued out of the way, and do wee not vnderſtand that Antichriſt is at hand? S. *Gregory* of his, *omnia quæ prædicta ſunt fiunt, rex ſuperbiæ prope eſt*, all things that were foretold are accompliſhed, the King of Pride cannot be farre off. And laſtly S. *Bernard* of his, *Supereſt vt reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis*; What remaines but that the man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition be revealed? From which, two things for our preſent purpoſe may be gathered, the one, that extreame prophaineneſſe hath raigned in the world almoſt in all ages, as well as in the preſent, ſuch as they who then liued, thought could not well be exceeded. The other that if they looked out for the comming of *Antichriſt* ſo long ſince, by all likelihood he is already come into the world, and that long agone. S. *Iohn* tels vs, that in his time there were many *Antichriſts*, fore-runners no doubt, and harbengers as it were to the great *Antichriſt* that was to come. And S. *Paul*, that even then *the miſtery of iniquity began to worke*: if he were then conceiued, in all likelihood he ſhould be borne ere now; if the egge were then layed, ſhall we imagine that the Cockatrice is not yet hatched? was the ſeed then caſt into the ground, and

De Rom. Pont. 3. 3.

Lib. 4 epiſt. 7.

Lib. 7. cap. 25.

Ad Geruntiam de Monogamia.

Lib. 4 ep. 38.

Serm. 6 in Pſal. 9.

1. Ep. 2. 18.

2. Theſſ. 2. 17.

this curſed weed not yet ſprung vp?

Credat Iudæus Apella

Non ego.

Beleeu't who liſt for me indeed,
It ne'r ſhall come into my creed.

SECT. 5.

The argument of greateſt weight to proue that Antichriſt is already come.

BUt among ſo many and ſtrong *arguments* as haue beene, and juſtly may be brought to proue that *Antichriſt* is already come, there is one which to mee hath ever ſeemed of greateſt weight: *You know*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking of the *man of ſinne, the ſonne of perdition, what with-holdeth that he might be reuealed in his time*: And againe, *only hee who now letteth, will let, vntill he be taken out of the way*. So as vpon the removing of that obſtacle which hindered his comming, hee was then to be reuealed, as the words plainely import. Now what that hinderance ſhould be, the vnanimous conſent of the Ancients both *Greeke* & *Latine* is, that it was the *Roman Empire* that then flouriſhed. So *Chryſoſtome, Theophylact, Oecumenius, Ambroſe, Primaſius, Sedulius*, and the *Greeke Scholiaſt* in their ſeuerall expoſitions vpon the place: *Tertullian* in his booke *de reſurrectione carnis*, & the thirty ſecond chapter of his *Apologie*. *Cyrillus Hyeroſolymitanus in Catecheſi* 15. *Hierome* in his eleuenth queſtion to *Algaſia*, in his Commentaries vpon the 25 of the Prophet *Ieremy*, in his Treatiſe to *Gaudentius* & *Gerontia*; and laſtly S. *Auguſtine* in his 20 booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, & 19 *cap.* And with the Ancients herein agree the latter writers on both ſides, as well *Romiſh* as *reformed*, being warranted by the like Propheſies both of *Daniell*, & S. *Iohn* in his *Revelation*. And in truth the *Apoſtles* warineſſe in not naming it expreſſely, leſt thereby he ſhould incurre hatred againſt the *Chriſtian* Profeſſours and Religion, ſhewes as much. That then which remaines to be inquired into, is, whether that obſtacle, which by the *Apoſtle* is ſaid to haue hindred the reuealing of *Antichriſt*, be taken out of the way or no, that is, whether that *Roman Empire* which then flouriſhed, be now diſſolved. It is then moſt certaine, that that Empire for the weſt ended in *Auguſtulus*, and the Emperour which now is, is the ſucceſſour of *Charlemaigne*, an Emperour of a new erection: Neither hath hee the dominions or the power of the former *Emperours*, but onely the name and title,

Stat magni nominis vmbra.

Of a great name he but the ſhadow is.

He hath not the city of *Rome* which ſhould denominate the *Roman Emperour*, nor any part of *Italy*, no nor ſo much as a Caſtle, or an houſe, or a foote of land as *Emperour*. Wee may then rather call him the *German Emperour* then the *Roman*; and yet ſurely his command in *Germany* is very ſmall too. The *Romaniſts* then in this caſe ſeeme to mee to deale with him, as the *Iewes* did with *Chriſt*, they giue him the title, but take and

2. Theſſ. 2. 6. 7.

Daniel. 7.
Reuel. 17.

Lucan. l. 1.

and keepe his rights from him. Or they call him *Roman Emperour* perchance, becauſe hee takes, or as they pretend, ſhould take his *Oath of allegiance* to the *Biſhop of Rome*. And that the Empire which was in being in the *Apoſtles* time, is indeed diſſolved; ſome of the [a] *Romaniſts* themſelues, though happily vnawares confeſſe, *Ante adventum Antichriſti facienda erat diſceſſio, vt Gentes diſcedant à Romano Imperio, ſicut jam factum cernimus*, ſayth *Anſelme*, before the comming of *Antichriſt*, there was to be a falling away of the Nations from the *Roman Empire*, as wee ſee it already done. And *Thomas*, *Quid hoc eſt quod jam diu Gentes receſſerunt à Romano Imperio, & tamen nondum venit Antichriſtus?* what ſhall we ſay to this, that long ſince the Nations fell away from the *Roman Empire*, and yet *Antichriſt* is not come? And *Lyra*, *Romanum Imperium florebat tempore Pauli, à quo receſſerunt quaſi omnia regna negantia ei ſubijci & redditionem tributi jam à multis annis: illud etiam Imperium caruit Imperatore pluribus annis*: The *Roman Empire* flouriſhed in *Pauls* time, from which almoſt all kingdomes are falne away, denying ſubjection and the payment of tribute to it: And beſides, that *Empire* hath wanted an *Emperour* now for the ſpace of many yeares. Neither do they onely acknowledge, that the *Empire* which flouriſhed in the *Apoſtles* time, is diſſolved, but that the *Emperour* which now is, retaines rather the ſhadow then the power of the ancient Empire. And this confeſſion wee haue out the mouthes even of *Ieſuites* themſelues. *Quampridem Romanum Imperium in eas anguſtias radactum eſt, vt vix tenuem quandam vmbram Imperij retineat*, long ſince was the *Roman Empire* brought to theſe ſtraits, that it ſcarce retaines a thinne ſhadow of that *Empire*, ſayth *Iuſtinianus*. And *Salmeron* moſt fully, *Imperium Romanum jam diu everſum eſt. Nam qui nunc eſt Imperator Romanus, leviſſima eſt vmbra Imperij antiqui; vſque adeo vt ne quidem vrbem Romæ poſſideat, & jam per multos annos Romani Imperatores defecerunt*. The *Roman Empire* was long ſince diſſolued. For he, who is now Roman Emperour, is but a light ſhadow of the ancient Empire, ſo as he doth not poſſeſſe ſo much as the City of *Rome*, and now for many yeares haue the *Roman Emperours* failed. I would demand then, whether a name, a title, a ſhadow can hinder the comming of *Antichriſt*, or be divided among ten Kings, and ſhared out into ten Kingdomes? if it cannot, then is *Antichriſt* vndoubtedly already come into the world.

[a] In 2. Theſſ. 2.

Now what hee is, or where we ſhould finde him, or when he came, I leaue that to others to diſpute or demonſtrate; it is for my purpoſe ſufficient that he is come, and long ſince; yet if wee would a little more narrowly ſearch into the matter, who I pray you is more likely to be the man, then he, who hath ſpecially advanced his throne vpon the *Emperours* ruines, who hath thruſt himſelfe into the *Emperours* ſeate, the Imperiall City, the head and miſtreſſe of the *Empire*? then he who hath taken vpon himſelfe the Maieſty, the power, the enſignes, the robes of the *Emperour*, though in ſomewhat a different kinde? And that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath ſo done, *Paſquier* in his *Recerches* of *France*, *Machiavell* in his *Florentine hiſtory*, *Sigonius in his hiſtory of the Kingdome of Italy*, and *Guicciardin* in his, in part declare. But *Lypſius* hath ſet it downe ſo

Lib. 1. *Lib.* 3. *Lib.* 4.

cleerely and particularly, as wee may eaſily gueſſe, and need doubt no longer, who it is, that hath ſucceeded into the *Emperours* roome. I will ſet downe his words at large as I finde them in his preface to his *Admiranda*. *Mira Dei benignitas in hanc vrbem, cum Legionum vim eripuit, Legum attribuit, cum armis imperare noluit, ſacris indulſit: Et ſic quoque fecit eam decus, tutelam, columen rerum. Atqui Senatus ille vetus non eſt, inquiunt, non ille ſed alius, & vide in iſta purpura ex omni noſtro orbe ſelectos proceres moribus, prudentia, annis, ſpectandos. Si vetus ille Cyneas redeat & hunc conſeſſum videat, nihil ambigat vel cum regibus iterum, vel cum heroibus comparare. Quid tributa? non tam multa, ſed magis innoxia & vltronea ſunt. Quid Legationes gentium? nec ea deſunt, & ex noto ignotoq; orbe (tanta diffuſio Majeſtatis hujus eſt) concurritur, & iura ac leges Sacrorum hinc petunt, ipſi Reges ac Principes adeunt & inclinantur, & obnoxia capita vni huic Capiti ſubmittunt:* Great is the bounty of God towards this citty, when he deprived it of the ſtrength of Legions, he ſtrengthned it with Laws; when he would no longer haue it rule with force of armes, hee armed it with holy orders: And ſo likewiſe did he make it both the ornament and the ſafety of things. But you will ſay, the old Senate is not there to be found: indeed not the ſame, but another there is inſteed thereof, and there you may ſee clad in that purple the choiſeſt worthies of *Chriſtendome*, and the moſt venerable for manners, for wiſedome, for yeares. If the old *Cyneas* were aliue againe and beheld this aſſemby, hee would nothing doubt to compare it againe with Kings and Princes. What ſhould I ſpeake of their tribute? indeed it is not ſo great, but more innocently impoſed and willingly payd. What of the Embaſſages from forraine Nations? neither are they wanting: Hither they reſort both from the knowne and vnknowne parts of the world (ſo farre is this Maieſty ſpred) and ſeeke for Lawes and Conſtitutions in religious affaires; nay Kings and Princes here preſent themſelues, and all bow downe and ſubmit their heads to this one head.

SECT. 6.

Probable prooſes produced that the Church of Chriſt before the conſummation of the world ſhall yet injoy a more peaceable and flouriſhing eſtate, then at any time hitherto it hath.

AS wee need not doubt that *Antichriſt* is long ſince come into the world, ſo many paſſages of holy Scripture, and teſtimonies of learned men make vs more then hope that (notwithſtanding his late victories, and trriumphs) his downefall is not farre off, and that thereupon the Church of *Chriſt* ſhall flouriſh more in peace and power, in doctrine and manners, in luſtre and glory then hitherto at any time in former ages it hath done: To inſtance in all the paſſages of ſcripture, which to this purpoſe are alleaged, would proue I doubt mee tedious & in ſome perchance impertinent, mine endeavour then ſhall be to picke out the choyſeſt, and among them ſpecially thoſe which ſeeme to point at a fuller calling as well of the *Gentiles* as the *Iewes* then heretofore hath beene:

beene: for the *Gentiles* then, truly mee thinkes as often as I reade those words of the *Psalmist*: *All the ends of the world shall remember and turne vnto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the Nations shall worship before thee*: and compare with it that Prophesie of *Esay*, *It shall come to passe in the last dayes, that the mountaine of the Lords house shall be established in the toppe of the mountaines, and shall be exalted aboue the hils, and all Nations shall flow vnto it*: And withall call to minde that promise of our Saviour. *This Gospell of the Kingdome shall be preached in all the world for a witnesse vnto all nations, and then shall the end come.* Mee thinkes, I say, some more intire & fuller calling of the *Gentiles* should frō hence be inferred then hitherto hath beene accomplished, by a conversion of the barbarous *Indians*, and other Nations which never heard of the Gospell, to the *Christian* faith. *Kepler* in his discourse *de nova stella Serpentarij* aimes at such a matter, but *Iustus Heurnius* in his booke *de legatione Evangelica ad Indos capessenda*, makes the case so cleare, as in truth to mee hee seemes to leaue very little place to any farther doubt in that point. Now for a more full conversion of the *Iewish* nation to the *Christian* religion yet to come, the greatest part (I am sure) of divines as well *Moderne* as *Ancient*, *Reformed* as *Romish* constantly affirme it, & on the other side, to my remembrance, I haue not mette with so much as one who constantly denies it; neither indeed can they (as I conceiue) with any colour of truth, if they advisedly weigh that convincing passage of the Apostle in the 11. to the *Romans*, *I would not brethren that you should be ignorant of this secret, that partly obstinacie is come to Israel, vntill the fulnesse of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saued*: which last words being taken in opposition (as of necessity they must be) to the *Gentiles*, are in my judgment so constringent as they will suffer no evasion; specially if therevnto wee adde for illustration thereof that other passage of the same Apostle, 2. *Cor.* 3. *Even vnto this day when Moses is read, the vaile is layd over their hearts: nevertheless when their heart shall be turned to the Lord, the vaile shall be taken away.* And vpon the fulnesse of this comming in of the *Iewe*, and the *Gentile* into the Church of *Christ*, shall in all likelihood ensue that vniversall peace fore-told by the Prophet *Micah*, *They shall breake their swords into mattockes, and their speares into sithes, nation shall not lift vp a sword against nation, neither shall they learne to fight any more, but they sitte every man vnder his vine and vnder his figge-tree, and none shall make them afraid.* And vpon this peace, that excellent glory fore-told by the Prophet *Esay*, *The light of the Moone shall be as the light of the Sun; & the light of the Sunne shall be seaven-fold, and like the light of seaven dayes, in the day that the Lord shall binde vp the breach of his people, and heale the stroke of their wound.* And againe, *Behold, I will lay thy stones with faire colours, and thy foundations with Saphires, and I will make thy windowes of Agates, and thy gates of Carbuncles, and all thy borders of shining and pleasant stones.* And all this *peace* and *glory* shall arise from the subversion of *Rome* and *Antichrist*, and his adherents, so evidently described in the 14. the 18. and the 19. of the *Revelation* that the very *Iesuites* themselues *Ribera* and *Vegas* cannot possibly devise any jugling conveyance how to shift it off. And if for the effecting of this great worke wee should grant (that which all

Psal. 22. v. 27.
Chap. 2. v. 2.
Mat. 24. v. 14.
Vers. 25. & 26.
Vers. 15. 16.
4. 3.
30. 26.
54. 11.

antiquity

antiquity both *Iewiſh* and *Chriſtian* much beates vpon) that *Elias ſhall come and reſtore all things*, I cannot ſee what great abſurdity can from thence be inferred, or what article of *Chriſtian* faith it impugneth: Indeed our Saviour tels his Diſciples that *Elias* was then come, meaning *Iohn* the *Baptiſt*, whom hee tearmes *Elias* in regard of his zeale, his auſterity of life, his ſuffring for the truth, and his preparing a way to a reformation; but how the *Baptiſt reſtored all things* he tels them not, neither can thoſe words (as I conceiue,) be properly vnderſtood of him, nor yet thoſe of the Prophet *Malachie*, that *Eliah the Prophet for the turning of the hearts of men each to other, and all to God, ſhall be ſent before the comming of the great and dreadfull day of the Lord*; Whereby, the day of the firſt comming of our Lord in the fleſh cannot well be meant, in as much as that was rather *good* and *gratious* then *great* and *dreadfull*: it ſhould ſeeme then that either *Elias* himſelfe, or ſome other great heroicall ſpirit matchable to him, is yet to be ſent, for the accompliſhing of this great buſineſſe in *reſtoring of all things*. Though herein I will define or divine nothing poſitiuely but leaue all to the conſideration and deciſion of more learned judgements.

Mat. 17. 11.

Verſ. 12.

c. 3.

Once I am ſure that *Alſtedius* a famous profeſſour at *Herborne* in his *Diatribe de mille annis Apocalypticis*, publiſhed about two yeares ſince, is of that opinion, as alſo that the thouſand yeares mentioned in the 20. of the *Revelation* (during which time Sathan ſhall be bound) is yet to come, which aſſertion hee firſt builds vpon a literall interpretation of the number, in as much as it is fiue ſeverall times repeated within the compaſſe of ſeaven verſes, and the foure laſt with a ſpeciall article added τὰ χίλια ἔτη *The thouſand yeares*; Secondly vpon a ſuppoſition that *Sathan* as yet hath not beene bound vp a thouſand yeares together, ſince the delivery of that Propheſie by the Angell to S. *Iohn*, and by him to the Church; conſidering that ever ſince, much and groſſe Idolatry hath raigned among the *Pagans*, obſtinate blindeneſſe among the *Iewes*, ſince the riſing of *Mahomet*, pittifull defection, and ſeduction among the *Saracens*, ſtrange errours and hereſies, ſects and ſchiſmes among the *Chriſtians*, and ſince the riſing of *Antichriſt* wonderfull ignorance, ſuperſtition, and perſecution of the Saints, together with a generall prophaneſſe and corruption in matter of manners; all which (ſayth hee) cannot ſtand with the binding vp of *Sathan*, (the principall actour of all theſe) for a thouſand yeares, and conſequeutly that the performance of that promiſe, is yet to be expected: and for the confirmation of this opinion (though the booke it ſelfe be but litle) he alleageth 66 paſſages of Scripture, inforceth many reaſons, anſwereth 36 objections, produceth the teſtimonies of ſundry learned men either expreſſely defending it, or at leaſtwiſe favouring it; as namely *du Moulin* in his *Chriſtian Combate*, *Piſcator* in his Commentaries vpon the *Revelation*, & in a treatiſe which not long before his death he purpoſely compoſed *of the future felicity of the Church even in this world*; *Stephanus Pannonius de circulo operum & judiciorum dei*, *Michael Send inogius tractatu de Sulphure*, *Iohannes Ferus in explicatione Gen.* *Seraphinus Firmianus enarratione in Apocal.* *Remalcus de Vaulx in Harpocrate Divino*, *Martinus Cellarius tractatu de operibus dei*, *Calius Secundus*

Verſ. 2.

cundus Curio de amplitudine regni beati Dei, Petrus Cunæus de Repub. Iudæorum, Iohannes Dobritius in Chronomenytore, Christophorus Besoldus in Pentade, but chiefely *Alfonsius Conradus Mantuanus*, and *Matthæus Cotterius* in their severall expositions vpon the *Revelation*. Yet two things I must professe there are, which in that discourse of *Alstedius* I cannot well approue of, the one that hee so stiffey maintaines a particular and corporall resurrection of the Martyrs at least a thousand yeares before the generall, the other that hee so precisely and punctually sets downe the very time, (namely the yeare 2694) for the commencement of his happy and glorious *Millenary*.

CAP. 13.

That the world shall haue an end by Fire, and by it be intirely consumed.

SECT. 1.

That the world shall haue an end, is a point so cleare in Christian Religion, that it needeth not to be proved from the principles thereof, neither is hee worthy the name of a Christian who maketh any doubt of it.

HAving now by *Gods* assistance done with mine *Apologie* of his *Providence* in the preservation of the world, lest I should seeme thereby to vndermine or weaken the article of our faith touching the worlds end; it remaines that according to promise I endeavour to confirme it, not so much from Scripture which no true *Christian* can doubt of: And besides the passages thereof to this purpose, specially in the new Testament are so many and cleare, as to be ignorant of them were stupiditie no lesse grosse, then to deny them prophaine impiety. In this chapter then I will propose *three things* to my selfe, *first*, to proue by the testimonie of the *Gentiles*, that the world shall haue an *end*. *Secondly*, that it shall haue an *end by fire*. *Thirdly* and lastly, that it shall by fire be *totally* and intirely consumed. That the world shall haue an end, is as cleare in *Christianity*, as that there is a Sunne in the firmament: And therefore, whereas there can hardly be named any other article of our faith which some *Heretiques* haue not presumed to impugne or call into question; yet to my remembranne I never met with any who questioned this; & though at this day many & eager be the differences among *Christians* in other points of Religion, yet in this they all agree and ever did, that the world shall haue an end, and that there shall be a resurrection from the dead, and a day of judgement. And surely as by the event of many things already falne out, wee are sure that was true which the *Prophets* and *Apostles* foretold of them: so are we as certaine, that all other things, and this in particular shall come to passe, which they haue likewise fore-told, though happily wee cannot set downe the time or manner of their event. And in as much as wee, who now liue, haue seene the accomplishment of many Prophesies foretold by the pen-men of holy writ, which our forefathers saw not, if wee stedfastly beleeue not

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the fulfilling of thoſe which are yet to come in their due time, wee ſhall thereby be made the more guilty, and the leſſe excuſable before God. Howſoever if wee beleeue (as wee all pretend) the Scriptures to be the liuely oracles of God, and to haue beene indited by the diuine and ſacred inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt; wee cannot but withall beleeue that the conſummation of the world ſhall moſt vndoubtedly in due time, though to vs moſt vncertaine, be accompliſhed. Now as the cleere light of this truth hath by Gods grace ſo brightly ſhined among *Chriſtians*, that except they wilfully ſhut their eyes againſt it, they cannot but apprehend and imbrace it: ſo did it appeare to the *Iewes*, though not in ſo conſpicuous a manner; yea, ſome ſparkes of this truth haue beene ſcattered even among the *Gentiles* themſelues, ſo as it were a ſhame vnpardonable for vs *Chriſtians* not to acknowledge it, or ſo much as once to doubt of it.

Buxdorfius Synag. Iud. c. 1.

SECT. 2.

That the world ſhall haue an end, by the teſtimony of the Gentiles.

Epiſt. 9. circa finem.

SEneca diſputing this queſtion, whether a wiſe man be ſufficiently content with himſelfe as hee needes not the helpe of any friend, puts the caſe, *Qualis eſt futura vita ſapientis?* how he would liue being deſtitute of friends, if hee were caſt into priſon, or baniſhed into ſome deſert, or caſt vpon ſome ſtrange ſhoare? his anſwer is, *Qualis eſt Iouis cum reſoluto mundo, &c.* as *Iupiter* ſhall liue when the world ſhall be diſſolved, contenting himſelfe with himſelfe. And againe more cleerely: *Quid enim mutationis periculo exceptum? non terra, non cœlum, non totus hic rerum omnium contextus, quamvis Deo agente ducatur, non ſemper tenebit hunc ordinem, ſed illum ex hoc curſu aliquis dies deiciet, certis eunt cuncta temporibus, naſci debent, creſcere, extingui. Quæcunque vides ſupra nos currere, atque hæc quibus innixi atque impoſiti ſumus velut ſolidiſſimis carpentur ac deſinent.* What is there which is priviledged from danger of change? not the earth, not the heavens, no nor this whole frame of Creatures, though it be guided by the finger of God, it ſhall not alwaies obſerue this order, but ſome one day at laſt ſhall turne it out of his courſe. For all things haue a time, to be borne, to increaſe, and then againe to die & be extinguiſhed. All theſe things which thou ſeeſt wheeling over our heads, and even thoſe vpon which wee are ſeated and ſetled, as being moſt ſolide, ſhall be ſurprized and leaue to be. And in another place. *Si poteſt tibi ſolatio eſſe commune fatum, nihil conſtat loco ſtabili, & nihil quo ſtat loco ſtabit. Omnia ſternet abducetq; ſecum vetuſtas, ſupprimet montes, maria ſorbebit.* If the common deſtiny of all things may any whit comfort thee, there is nothing ſettled in a ſtable courſe, nothing ſhall alwayes remaine in that ſtate it now ſtands in; time ſhall carry downe all things with it, it ſhall levell the mountaines and ſwallow vp the ſeas. And laſtly, in his Naturall queſtions, *vnus hominum genus condet dies*, one day ſhall bury all mankinde. Yet it ſhould ſeeme, that withall hee held a reſtoring of all things againe: *Omne ex integro animal*

Epiſt. 71.

De conſolatione ad Martiam, 26.

Lib. 3. cap. 29.

Cap. 30.

genera-

generabitur dabiturque terris homo inſcius ſcelerum & melioribus auſpicijs natus: ſed illis quoq; innocentia non durabit niſi dum noui ſunt, citò nequitia ſubrepet. All Creatures ſhall againe be reſtored, and mankinde ſhall againe be ſent to inhabit the earth; but a kinde voide of wickedneſſe & borne to a better fortune: yet ſhall not their innocencie long endure neither, but onely whiles they are yet freſh and new, afterward vngratiouſneſſe will by degrees creepe vpon them.

Ælian, as I haue already touched to another purpoſe in the eight booke of his Hiſtory, telleth vs, that not onely the mountaine *Ætna* (for thereof might be giuen ſome reaſon, becauſe of the daily waſting and conſuming of it with fire) but *Parnaſſus* and *Olympus* did appeare to be leſſe and leſſe to ſuch as ſayled at ſea, the height thereof ſinking as it ſeemed; and therevpon inferres, that men moſt skilfull in the ſecrets of nature did affirme, that the world it ſelfe ſhould likewiſe periſh & haue an end. His premiſes I haue in another place ſufficiently diſproued, but his concluſion inferred therevpon, I cannot but highly approue, & moſt willingly accept of, as a rich teſtimony for the confirmation of our *Chriſtian* doctrine (touching the end of the world) delivered from the pen of a *Gentile*, nay hee poſitiuely affirmes it to haue beene the opinion of the moſt skilfull in the ſecrets of Nature: And certaine it is, that the greateſt part of Philoſophers before *Ariſtotle*, *Heraclitus*, *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus* and others, as they held that the world had a beginning in time, ſo did they likewiſe that in time it ſhould haue an end: And ſince *Ariſtotle*, the greateſt part (his followers onely excepted) haue ever conſtantly maintained the ſame; in ſo much, that the very *Epicures* herein accord with the *Stoickes*, though in other opinions they differ as fire and water, as may appeare in *Lucretius*, by ſect an *Epicurean*, and for his wit much eſteemed among the Ancients.

Cap. 11.

Oecumenius in Collectaneis ſuper 2. poſt. Petri.

Principio maria, ac terras, cœlumque tuere,
Horum naturam triplicem, tria corpora Memmi,
Tres ſpecies tam diſſimiles, tria talia texta,
Vna dies dabit exitio, multoſque per annos
Suſtentata ruet moles & machina mundi.

De rerum natura. 3.

Behold, O *Memmi*, firſt the earth, the ſea,
The heaven the three-fold nature, bodies three,
Three ſhapes ſo farre vnlike, three peeces wrought
And woven ſo faſt, one day ſhall bring to nought,
And the huge frame and engine of this all
Vpheld ſo many yeares, at length ſhall fall.

And *Ovid* ſpeaking of *Lucretius*, ſeemes to haue borrowed from him part of theſe very words,

Carmina ſublimis tum ſunt peritura Lucreti
Exitio terras cum dabit vna dies.

In Eleg.

Lucretius loftie rimes ſo long ſhall liue
Till to this earth one day deſtruction giue.

And *Lucan* as he differs not much from *Lucrece* in name, ſo doth he fully accord with him in this opinion.

...Sic cum compage ſoluta
Sæcula

Lib. 1. Phar.

Sæcula tot mundi ſuprema coegeret hora.
Antiquum repetens iterum Chaos omnia mixtis
Sydera Syderibus concurre, ignea pontum
Aſtra petent, tellus extenderere littora nolet,
Excutietque fretum; fratri contraria Phœbe
Ibit, & obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
Indignata diem poſcet ſibi, totaque diſcors
Machina divulſi turbabit fœdera mundi.

---So when the laſt houre ſhall
So many ages end, and this diſjoynted all
To Chaos backe returne: then all the ſtarres ſhall be
Blended together, then thoſe burning lights on high
In ſea ſhall drench, earth then her ſhores ſhall not extend
But to the waues giue way, the moone her courſe, ſhall bend
Croſſe to her brothers, and diſdaining ſtill to driue
Her chariot wheele athwart the heavenly orbe, ſhall ſtriue
To rule the day, this frame to diſcord bent
The worlds peace ſhall diſturbe, and all in ſunder rent.

SECT. 3.

That the world ſhall haue an end by fire, proved likewiſe by the teſtimony of the Gentiles.

AND as they held that the world ſhould haue an end, ſo likewiſe that this end ſhould come to paſſe by *fire*. *Exuſtionis hujus odor quidam etiam ad Gentes manavit*, ſaith *Ludovicus Vives*, ſpeaking of the generall combuſtion of the world; ſome ſent of this burning hath ſpread it ſelfe even to the *Gentiles*. And Saint *Hierome* in his comment on the 51 of *Iſay*; *Quæ quidem & Philoſophorum mundi opinio eſt omnia quæ cernimus igni peritura*, which is alſo the opinion of the Philoſophers of this world, that all which wee behold ſhall periſh by fire. *Euſebius* is more particular, affirming it to be the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, and namely of *Zeno*, *Cleanthes* and *Chryſippus* the moſt ancient among them. Certaine it is, that *Seneca* a principall Scholler, or rather Maſter of that ſect, both thought it and taught it: *Et Sydera Syderibus incurrent, & omni flagrante materia vno igne quicquid nunc ex diſpoſito lucet ardebit:* The ſtarres ſhall make inrodes one vpon another, and all the whole world being in a flame, whatſoever now ſhines in comely and decent order ſhall burne together in one fire. *Panætius* likewiſe the *Stoicke* feared, as witneſſeth *Cicero*, *ne ad extremum mundus igneſceret*, leſt the world at laſt ſhould be burnt vp with fire. And with the *Stoicks* herein *Pliny* agrees, *Conſumente vbertatem ſeminum exuſtione in cujus vices nunc vergat ævum*, the heate burning vp the plentifull moiſture of all ſeedes, to which the world is now haſtening. *Numemus* alſo ſaith, good ſoules continue, μεχρὶ τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων, vntill the diſſolution of all things by fire. And with the *Philoſophers* their *Poets* accord. *Lucan* as hee held that the world ſhould haue an end, ſo in ſpeciall by fire, where ſpeaking of

De ver. fid. Chriſti l. 2.

Ante medium.

De prepar. Evan. 3. 15.

De Conſol. ad Mart. 6. 26.

Ludov. Vives. de ver. fid. Chriſt. lib. 2.

Lib. 7. 16.

of thoſe whom *Cæſar* left vnburned at the battle of *Pharſalia*, hee thus goes on.

Hos Cæſar populos ſi nunc non vſſerit ignis, Lib. 7.
Vret cum terris, vret cum gurgite ponti:
Communis mundo ſupereſt rogus, oſsibus aſtra
Miſturus,
If fire may not theſe corpes to aſhes turne,
O *Cæſar*, now, when earth and ſeas ſhall burne,
It ſhall: a common fire the world ſhall end,
And with theſe bones thoſe heav'nly bodies blend.

As for *Ovid* he deduces it from their propheticall records.

Eſſe quoque in fatis reminiſcitur affore tempus Metamorph. 1.
Quo mare, quo tellus, convexaq; regia cœli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operoſa laborat.
Beſides he calls to minde how by decree
Of fates a time ſhall come when earth and ſea,
And Heavens high Throne ſhall faint, and the whole frame
Of this great world ſhall be conſum'd in flame.

Which he borrowed, ſaith *Ludovicus Vives*, *ex fatis indubiè Sybillinis*, vndoubtedly from the Oracles of *Sybilla*. And indeed verſes there are which goe vnder the name of *Sybilla* to the very ſame purpoſe.

Tunc ardens fluvius cœlo manabit ab alto Lib. 2. Oraculorum.
Igneus atque locos conſumet funditus omnes,
Terramque, Oceanumque ingentem, & cærula ponti,
Stagnaque, tum fluvios, fontes, ditemque Severum,
Cœleſtemque polum, cœli quoque lumina in vnum
Fluxa ruent, formâ deletâ prorſus eorum
Aſtra cadent, etenim de cœlo cuncta revulſa.
Then ſhall a burning floud flow from the Heavens on high,
And with it's fiery ſtreames all places vtterly
Deſtroy, earth, ocean, lakes, rivers, fountaines, hell,
And heavenly poles: the Lights in firmament that dwell,
Looſing their beauteous forme ſhall be obſcur'd, and all
Raught from their places downe from heaven to earth ſhall fall:

Heraclitus and *Hippaſus* the *Metapontine* were of opinion, that fire was the principle and beginning of all things, and that the whole world, and all the bodies therein contained, ſhould one day bee conſumed by fire, as witneſſeth *Plutarch* in his treatiſe of the opinions of phyloſophers. It was likewiſe the opinion of *Heſiodus*, as the ſame *Plutarch* collects in his booke touching the *ceaſing of Oracles*. *Stoicis conſtans opinio eſt, quod conſumpto humore mundus hic omnis igneſcat, & Epicureis de elementorum conflagratione & mundi ruina, eadem ipſa ſententia eſt*, ſayth *Minutius Felix* in his *Octavius*. The *Soicks* aſſuredly beleeue that the moiſture being ſpent, this world ſhall burne of a light fire, and the very ſame opinion touching the Conflagration of the elements, and diſſolution of the whole world, doe the *Epicureans* maintaine.

Now hee that yet deſires farther ſatisfaction in this point may reade

Eugubinus his tenth booke *de Perenni Philoſophia*, & *Magius de exuſtione Mundi*. Yet by the way it ſhall not be amiſſe to obſerue, that (as *Cenſorinus* hath well noted in his 18th chapter *de die natali*) the *Gentiles* did not hold one only Conflagration of the World, but diverſe *periodicall* Conflagrations and Diluges at certaine times and by turnes ſucceeding each other: and in particular, this to haue beene the opinion of the *Stoicks*, appeares by *Laertius* in the life of *Zeno*. But in that *Cenſorinus* aſcribeth it likewiſe to *Ariſtotle*, it was doubtleſſe a miſtake, in as much as he held ſuch burnings and invndations to be fatall only to the parts of the earth, not to the whole, or to the whole by turnes, not at one time, this he holds ridiculous as may be ſeene in his firſt booke of his Meteors and laſt chapter. So as either it muſt be acknowledged that *Cenſorinus* did not rightly apprehēd the minde of *Ariſtotle*, or that inſteed of *Ariſtoteles*, *Ariſtocles* is in that paſſge to be read, who indeed held, as witneſſeth *Euſebius lib.* 15. *de præparatione Evangelica. cap.* 13. *per fatalia quædam & definita tempora mundum exardeſcere*. That the world had certaine fatall periods of burning. And among the *Chriſtians* only *Origen* to my knowledge defends this opinion of the *Stoicks* touching the exiſtence of other worlds before this, and the future ſucceſſion of others after this, as both S^t *Hierome* reports it in his epiſtle to *Avitus*, and *Origen* himſelfe in his third booke *de principijs* and fifth chapter makes it good. And ſo I paſſe to my third and laſt point propoſed in the beginning of this Chapter, which is, that the whole world by fire ſhall *totally* and intirely be conſumed.

SECT. 4.

That the world ſhall be by fire totally and finally diſſolved and annihilated, prooved by Scripture.

I Am not ignorant that the opinions of *Divines* touching the manner of the Conſummation of the world haue beene as different, as the greateſt part of them are ſtrange and improbable; ſome imagining that all the Creatures which by Almighty God were made at the firſt beginning, ſhall againe be reſtored to that perfection which they injoyed before the fall of man. Others that the Heavens and Elements ſhall onely be ſo reſtored; others that the Heavens and onely two of the Elements, the Aire and the Earth; others againe, that the old world ſhall be wholy aboliſhed, and a new created in ſteed thereof; and laſtly others which I muſt confeſſe, to me ſeemes the moſt likely opinion and moſt agreeable to ſcripture and reaſon, that the whole world with all the parts and workes thereof (onely men and Angels, and Divels, and the third Heavens the manſion-houſe of the Saints and bleſſed Angels, and the place and inſtruments appointed for the tormenting of the damned excepted) ſhall be totally and finally diſſolued and annihilated: As they were made out of nothing, ſo into nothing ſhall they returne againe; In the proving whereof, I will firſt produce mine owne

argu-

Arguments, and then ſhew the weakeneſſe of the adverſe.

Man lieth downe, and riſeth not, ſaith *Iob*, *till the heavens be no more. Of old haſt thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the worke of thy hands, They ſhall periſh, but thou ſhalt endure*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*: which the *Apoſtle* in the firſt to the *Hebrewes*, and the 10. and the 11. repeates almoſt in the ſame words: *Lift vp your eyes to the heavens, and looke vpon the earth beneath; for the heavens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoake, and the earth ſhall wexe old as doth a garment*, ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*: And in another place: *All the hoſt of heaven ſhall be diſſolved, and the heaven ſhall be rolled together as a ſcroll, and all their hoſt ſhall fall downe as the leafe falleth off from the vine, and as a falling figge from the figge-tree.* To the former of which words S. *Iohn* ſeemes to allude: *And the heaven departed as a ſcroll which is rolled together: Heaven and earth ſhall paſſe away, but my word ſhall not paſſe away*, ſaith our *Saviour*. *The day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the night, in the which the Heavens ſhall paſſe away with a great noiſe, and the Elements ſhall melt with fervent heate. The world paſſeth away and the luſt thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever.* 1. *Ioh.* 2. 17. *The earth alſo, and the workes that are therein ſhall be burnt vp*, ſaith *S. Peter*. *And I ſaw a great white throne, and him that ſate on it, from whoſe face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them*, ſaith S. *Iohn*. Now I would demand, whether *being no more*, as *Iob*; *periſhing*, as *David*; *vaniſhing away like ſmoake, diſſolving, rolling together, falling downe as a withered leafe, or a drie fig frō the tree*, as *Eſay*; *paſſing away*, as our *Saviour*, and *S. Iohn*, *paſſing away with a great noiſe, melting with fervent heate, burning vp*, as S. *Peter*; or laſtly, *flying away*, ſo as *their place be found no more*, as S. *Iohn*, doe not include an vtter *abolition*, or at leaſt-wiſe exclude a reſtitution to a perfecter eſtate: once *Beza*, I am ſure, is ſo evidently convinced by the alleadged words of S. *Peter*, that he plainely confeſſes the diſſolution the *Apoſtle* there ſpeakes of, to be a kinde of *annihilation*: And both [a] *Tilenus* and [b] *Meiſnerus* are confident, that thoſe who hold a *reſtitution*, will never be able to reconcile their opinion with the alleadged Scriptures. Of the ſame opinion with *Tilenus* and *Meiſner*, are *Ægidius Hunnius*, Dr and Profeſſour of Divinitie in the Vniverſitie of *Witteberge*, in his Treatiſe *de Providentia, pag.* 17. *Gaſpar Bartholinus*, a famous Philoſopher and Phyſitian of *Denmarke*, in his *Enchiridion phyſicum, Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 16. *Iohannes Chaſſanion*, a learned French Divine in his *Common places, Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 22. And *Voſſius* in his Diſputation *de fine mundi Theſ.* 3. though *Compulſus authoritate Veterum*, inforced by the authority of the Ancients, he profeſſe to follow the common opinion of the worlds *Renovation*, yet having well weighed the ſtrength of the arguments alleadged on both ſides, together with ſufficiencie of their anſwers, hee warily annexeth this caution: *Quocirca nec eorum ſententiam præfractè rejicere audemus, qui mundum ſecundum ſubſtantiam perituru eſſe arbitrantur: præſertim cum nihil de eo antiquitùs Synodo vllâ ſit definitum.* Wherefore we dare not peremptorily to reject their opinion, who hold, that the world ſhall periſh in regard of ſubſtance; ſpecially cōſidering, that nothing in that point, hath anciently bin determined in

14. 12.

102. 5 6.

51. 6.

34. 4.

Revel. 6. 14

Mat. 24. 35. Mark. 13. 31.

2. 3. 10.

Revel 20. 11.

In Rom. 8. 30.

a *De extremo iudicio.*

b *In Sob. in philoſoph. par. ſect.* 3. *cap.* 2. *quæſt.* 5.

any Synod. If we looke back to higher times before S. *Hierome* we ſhall not eaſily find any who maintained the worlds renovation. S^t *Hilarie* in his *Enarration* vpon the *Pſal.* 122. clearely expreſſeth himſelf to be of another minde *Cœlum hoc* (ſayth he) *quod viſibus noſtris per materiam ſui ſubjacet, quod tanquam fumus ſolidatus firmamenti & naturam & nomen accipit præteribit & non erit; ſedes autem domini, cœlum ſcilicet in quo deus habitat, manet in æternum.* This heaven which by reaſon of the matter thereof is ſubject to our ſight, and like a thickned vapour, hath received both the name and nature of the firmament, ſhall paſſe away and *not bee*, but the ſeate of the Lord, that is the heaven in which God dwells, ſhall abide for euer. And certaine it is, that *Clement* in his *Recognitions* or whoſoeuer were the *Author* of that worke, brings in S. *Peter* reaſoning with *Simon Magus*, and teaching that there were two Heavens, the one *Superius & inviſibile, et æternum quod Spiritus beati incolunt*: the higheſt, inviſible and eternall, which bleſſed ſpirits inhabite; the other *inferius, viſibile, varijs diſtinctum ſyderibus, corruptibile, & in conſummatione ſeculi diſſolvendum, & prorſus abolendum*, lower, viſible, diſtinguiſhed, with diverſe ſtarres, corruptible, and at the worlds end to be diſſolved and vtterly aboliſhed. Nay S^t *Ierome* himſelfe in his Commentaries vpon the 14^th of *Eſay*, tells vs that in his time, this opinion of *Hilarie* and *Clement* was approved by ſome being moved therevnto by thoſe words of the apoſtle 2. *Cor:* 4. 18. *The things which are ſeene are temporall, but the things which are not ſeene are eternall.* Now though that worke were not *Clements*, yet was it doubtleſſe very ancient being quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, and remembred by S. *Hierome* in his Commentaries vpon *Eſay*, and is of ſufficient authority, againſt thoſe who receiue it: for my ſelfe I ſtand not vpon his authority but the rocke of Scripture and reaſon drawne from thence, and the force of naturall diſcourſe.

Lib. 2, & 3.

Cap. 14. ante medium.

SECT. 5.

The ſame farther proved by reaſon.

THE *firſt* then, and as I conceiue the moſt weighty argument is taken from the *End of the Worlds creation*, which was partly and chiefely the glory of the *Creator*, and partly the vſe of man the Lord Deputy as it were, or *Viceroy* thereof. Now for the *glory* of the *Creator*, it being by the admirable frame of the World manifeſted vnto man, man being removed out of the world, and no Creature being capable of ſuch a manifeſtation beſides him, wee cannot imagine to what purpoſe the frame it ſelfe ſhould bee left and reſtored to a more perfect eſtate. The other *end* beeing for *mans vſe*, either to ſupply his neceſſity in matter of diet, of Phyſicke, of building, of apparell; or for his inſtruction, direction, recreation, comfort and delight; or laſtly that therein as in a looking-glaſſe he might contemplate the wiſedome, the power, and goodneſſe of God: when he ſhall attaine that bleſſed eſtate, as he ſhall haue no farther vſe of any of theſe, enjoying perfect

perfect happineſſe, and ſeeing God as he is, face to face, the ſecond or ſubordinate end of the Worlds being muſt needs be likewiſe fruſtrate. And what other end can bee given or conceived for the remaining or reſtoring thereof, for mine owne part I muſt profeſſe I cannot conceiue. And to affirme that it ſhall be reſtored, and withall to aſſigne no end wherefore, is ridiculous and vnreaſonable. An houſe being built for an inhabitant, as the world was for man; If it be decreed that it ſhall no more be inhabited, it were but vanity to repaire, much more to adorne and beautifie it farther. And therefore when mankinde ſhall bee diſlodged and remoue from hence, thereupon ſhall inſtantly enſue the Conſummation or End, not the reparation or reſtitution, but *the End* of the world. So the Scriptures call it in plaine tearmes, and ſo I beleeue it. And in truth ſome *Diuines*, conſidering that of neceſſity ſome end muſt bee aſſigned, haue falne vpon ends ſo abſurd and vnwarrantable, that the very naming of them were ſufficient to make a man beleeue there was no ſuch matter indeed. Some then, and that of our owne *Church*, and that in publique bookes, for the clearing of this obiection, haue fancied to themſelues an intercourſe of the Saints (after the reſurrection) betwixt heaven an earth, and that full Dominion ouer the Creatures which by the fall of *Adam* was loſt. Others are of opinion that the Earth after the day of iudgement being renewed with fire, and more pleaſantly apparrelled, ſhall be the manſion of ſuch as neither by their merits haue deſerved heaven, nor hell by their demerits. And laſtly others, that ſuch as haue died in their infancy without circumciſion or Baptiſme, might poſſeſſe it. Now what meere dreames theſe are of idle braines, if I ſhould but indeavour to demonſtrate, I feare I ſhould ſhew my ſelfe more vaine in vouchſafing them a confutation, then they in publiſhing them to the World. And yet they are the beſt wee ſee that Learned men by the ſtrength of their wits can finde out.

1. Co. 15.

Mat. 24.

Catharinus in 1. Pet. 3.

Salmeron in eundem locum.

My *ſecond reaſon* ſhall be drawne from the nature of the world, and the quality of the parts thereof, which are ſuppoſed ſhall bee reſtored to their originall integrity, and ſo in that ſtate everlaſtingly remaine. I will begin with the *vegetables* and Creatures endued with ſenſe, & concerning them would willingly learne, whether they ſhall be all reſtored, or ſome onely, namely ſuch as ſhall be found in being at the day of Iudgment: if all, where ſhall we finde ſtowage for them? Surely we may in this caſe properly apply that which the *Euangeliſt* in another caſe vſes figuratiuely, if they ſhould all be reſtored, even the world it ſelfe could not contain the things which ſhould be reſtored. If ſome only, thē would I gladly know why thoſe ſome ſhould be vouchſafed this great honour & not all, or how theſe creatures without a miracle ſhall be reſtrained frō propagating & multiplying, & that infinitely in their kinds by a perpetuall generatiō. Or laſtly, how the ſeueral individuals of theſe kinds ſhall contrary to their primitiue natures, liue & dure immortally: But to make a good and ſound anſwere to theſe demands, is a point of that difficulty, that the great part of *Diuines* rather chooſe to leaue out the mixt bodies, and preferre only the heavens and the Elements to

this pretended dignity of *reſtitution*, though about the number of the *Elements* to be reſtored they all agree not. But here againe I would demand, whether the world without the mixt bodies, can truly be ſayd to be more perfect and beautifull then before, whether the inbred and inſeperable qualities of the Elements, as thickeneſſe & thinneneſſe, weight and lightneſſe, heate & cold, moiſture & dryneſſe ſhall remaine? if they ſhall not, how ſhall they remaine *Elements?* if they ſhall, how without a miracle ſhall they be ſuſpended from a mutuall intercourſe of working one vpon another, and a production of Meteors & mixt bodies? And how ſhall the *Earth* diſveſted of the vegetables which apparelled her, & appearing with her naked and duſtie face, be ſaid to be more amiable then before? *Finally*, if the heavens according to their *Eſſence* ſhall remaine, how ſhall they naturally and without a miracle ſtand ſtill, being now naturally inclined to a circular motion? Or how without a miracle ſhall the light be increaſed, & yet the warmth ſpringing from thence be abated, nay wholy aboliſhed? Or if the warmth ſhall remaine, how can it chooſe but burne vp thoſe parts of the Earth, vpon which it never ceaſes to dart perpendicular beames? Or how can the Sunne ſtand ſtill, and yet inlighten both the *Hemiſpheres*, or the ſtarres of that *Hemiſphere* which it inlightens at all appeare? To theſe demands, *Pererius* makes a ſhort anſwere, and in my judgement a very ſtrange one, & vnworthy the penne of ſo great a Clarke, that ſome of theſe things *God* hath already done, that we might be induced the more readily to beleeue, that they both may, and ſhall be done againe: And for inſtance, he alleageth the ſtanding ſtill of the Sunne & Moone at the prayer of *Joſuah*, & the reſtrayning of the burning force of the fire, in the *Babilonian* furnace, but withall foreſeing that thoſe were miracles, for ſatisfaction therevnto he concludes: *Non agere autem inter ſe qualitates elementorum, nec lucem Syderum calefacere, quamvis nunc ingens eſſet miraculum, tunc tamen poſita ſemel mundi renovatione non erunt miracula.* It were now a great miracle, that the qualities of the Elements ſhould not mutually worke each vpon other, or that the light of the ſtarres ſhould not produce warmth, but then the world being renewed, they ſhall be no miracles. Indeed if the world were not ſo to be renewed as the former eſſence of it were to be deſtroved, or the former qualities to be entinguiſhed, then ſhould I happily allow of his reaſon as probable and paſſable, but now granting the ſame *Identicall* forme and matter ſhall ſtill continue, & that the former qualities ſhall not be abandoned but perfected, not altered in kinde, but only in degree; I cannot ſee how it ſhould be held & tearmed a great miracle heretofore, which ſhall not be ſo hereafter. And whereas it is ſaid, that the bodies of the Saints ſhall then naturally liue without meate, which now without a miracle they cannot doe, we muſt conſider, that though the ſubſtance of their bodies ſhall remaine, yet the qualities of them ſhall be intirely changed, ſo farre as the *Apoſtle* is bold to call it a *ſpirituall bodie*. And beſides we may be bold to challenge a *ſpeciall priviledge* vnto the bodies of the Saints, *the temples of the holy Ghoſt*, which without ſpeciall warrant cannot be yeelded to any other Corporeall ſubſtance. And withall we muſt remem-

1 Cor. 15.44.

ber

ber, that for the reſurrection of the body, we haue an Article in our Creed, and moſt cleere proofes from Scripture, but for the reſtitution of the Creatures, no one ſuch ſufficient proofe, as the minde of a *Chriſtian* deſirous to be truely informed, can reſt fully ſatisfied therein. Such as they are, I will not conceale them: Theſe places then are to that purpoſe commonly alleadged.

SECT. 6.

The Arguments commonly alleadged from the Scriptures for the renovation of the world, anſwered.

VVHom the heavens muſt containe till the times of the Reſtitution of all things. He layed the foundations of the earth, that it ſhould not be removed for ever, ſaith *David.* And *Solomon, one generation paſſeth, and another commeth, but the earth abideth for ever.* Act. 3. 22. Pſal. 104. 5. Eccleſ. 1. 4.

Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former ſhall not be remembred, nor come into minde. To which words of the *Prophet*, S. *Iohn* ſeemes to allude: *And I ſaw a new heaven and a new earth, for the firſt heaven and the firſt earth paſſed away, and there was no more Sea.* And for the increaſe of the light of the Planets and other ſtarres, that paſſage of the ſame *Prophet* is vſually alleadged: *The light of the Moone ſhall be as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sunne ſeaven fold:* But the pretended proofes moſt ſtood vpon, are drawne from S. *Paules Epiſtles, The faſhion of this world paſſeth away;* the *faſhion* not the *ſubſtance.* And againe, *The Creature it ſelfe alſo ſhall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the ſonnes of God.* And laſtly, herevnto they adde the words of the *Pſalmiſt, Thou ſhalt change them, and they ſhall be changed:* not *aboliſhed* but *changed:* Which words are againe by the *Apoſtle* taken vp and repeated, *Heb.* 1. 12. Theſe are, I am ſure, the ſtrongeſt, if not all the pretended proofes that are commonly drawne from the holy Scripture and preſſed for the maintenance of the adverſe opinion; the ſtrength of which I thinke I ſhall ſo put backe, as it ſhall appeare to any indifferent Iudge, that it is in truth but forced and wreſted. The paſſages I will conſider in order as they are alleaged, & ſeverally examine their validitie to the purpoſe they are vrged. Firſt then whereas wee out of the *Greeke* reade the *Reſtitution of all things*, the *Syriake* Interpreter hath it *vſque ad Complementum temporum omnium*, to the end of all times, whereby none other thing can be vnderſtood then the *finall conſummation* of the world, but to take the words as we finde them, *The times of reſtitution* are vndoubtedly the ſame, which Saint *Peter* in the next verſe ſaue one going before, had tearmed *times of refreſhing*, and by them is meant the actuall fulneſſe and perfection of our *redemption, quoniam reſtitutio illa adhuc in curſu eſt adeoq; redemptio, quando adhuc ſub onere ſervitutis gemimus*, ſayth *Calvin*, becauſe our reſtitution and conſequently our redemption as yet is but imperfect, whiles we groane vnder the burden of ſervitude. To the ſecond it may be ſayd, that in the courſe of nature, the earth ſhould remaine *for euer* without decay or diminution,

Act. 3. 21. Rom. 8. 21. Pſal. 102. 26. 1. Cor. 7. 31. Revel. 21. 1. & 2. Pet. 3. 13 30. 26.

minution, had not the Creator of it decreed by his almighty power to abolish it: But I rather chuse to answere with *Iunius*, who vpon the first place taken out of the Psalme, giues this note, *tantisper dum sæculum duraturum est*, as long as time shall endure: and vpon the second this, *hominis vani comparatione*, in comparison of the vanishing estate of man. The earth then is sayd to remaine *for ever*, as *Circumcision* and the *Leviticall* Law are sayd to be *perpetuall*, not *absolutely*, but *comparatiuely*. Now for the *new heavens* and the *new earth*: it should seeme by the places alleaged, that if it be litterally to be vnderstood of the materiall heavens, they shall not be *renewed* as the common opinion is, but *new Created*, (creation being a production of some new thing out of nothing) So as it shall not be a *restitution* of the old, but a *substitution* of new, in as much as the *Prophet Esay* addes, *the former shall not be remembred, nor come into minde*. And Saint *Iohn*, *the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea.* And Saint *Peter*, *The heavens shall passe away with a noise, and the elements shall melt with heate, and the earth with the workes that are therein shall be burnt vp.* And of this opinion, *Beza* in one place seemes to haue beene: *Promittuntur noui Cæli ac nova terra, non priorum restitutio, sive in eundem, sive in meliorem statum; nec ijs possum assentiri, qui hanc dissolutionem ad solas qualitates referendam censent.* There are promised new heavens and a new earth, not the restitution of the old either vnto their former, or a better state; neither can I assent vnto them, who referre this dissolution to the qualities alone. But seing belike the singularity and absurditie of this opinion, he recalls himselfe in his annotations vpon the very next verse. But the truth is that by *new heavens* and a *new earth* is to be vnderstood in the *Prophet Esay*, *the state of the Church during the kingdome of Christ*: and in Saint *Peter* and S. *Iohn*, *the state of the Saints in the heavenly Ierusalem.* For the *Prophet*, that which I affirme will easily appeare to any vnderstanding Reader that pleaseth to pervse that Chapter; specially if therevnto we adde the latter part of the next, touching the same point. *For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make, shall remaine before me, sayth the Lord, so shall your seed and your name continue, and from moneth to moneth, and from sabbath to sabbath shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord,* Vpon the alleaged passage of the former chapter *Iunius* and *Tremelius* giue this note, *Omnia instauraturus sum in Christo*, I will restore all things in *Christ*: Referring vs for the farther illustration thereof to that of the same *Prophet* in his 25 chapter at the 8 verse. And for the exposition of the latter passage in the 66 chapter, referres vs to that in the 65 going before. So that as well by the drift and coherence of the text, as by the judgement of sound Interpreters, *materiall heavens and earth* are not there vnderstood. Which some of our *English Translatours* well perceiving, haue to the first passage affixed this note, *I will so alter and change the state of the Church, that it shall seeme to dwell in a new world*: And to the second this, *Heereby he signifieth the kingdome of Christ, wherein his Church shall be renewed.* Yet I will not deny but that the *Prophet* may in those words likewise allude to the state of the *Saints* in the *heavenly Ierusalem.* To which purpose, S. *Peter* seemes to apply them, *according to his prōmise,*

v. 10. In Rom. 8. v. 20. v. 21. Cap. 66. v. 22. 23.

faith

sayth he, *we looke for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth Righteousnes*, that is, by he consent of the best expositours, righteous and just men, who after the day of judgement shall dwell no longer vpon the Earth, but in the heavenly *Ierusalem*. Which Saint *Iohn* more liuely describes in the 21 of the *Revelation*; for having sayd in the first verse, *And I saw a new heaven and a new earth*, he presently addes in the second, as it were by way of Exposition of the former. *And I Iohn saw the holy City new Ierusalem, comming downe from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband*; and by the sequele of that Chapter and the latter part of the precedent, it cleerely appeares (whatsoever *Bright-man* dreame to the contrary) that he there describes the state of the Saints after the day of judgement, and the glory of that place which they are eternally to inhabite; being such, that it had *no neede of the Sunne nor of the Moone to shine in it, the glory of God inlightning it, and the Lambe being the light thereof*: And *Iunius* thus begins his Annotations on that chapter: *Nunc sequitur historiæ propheticæ pars secunda de statu futuro Ecclesiæ cœlestis post Iudicium vltimum*: Now followes the second part of this propheticall history of the future state of the Church triumphant after the day of Iudgement: And with him therein accord the greatest part of the soundest and most judicious Interpreters. v. 23.

The other passage alleaged of the Prophet *Esay* touching the increase of light in the Sunne and Moone is likewise vndoubtedly to be vnderstood of the *restauration of his Church*, according to the tenour of the chapter, and the annotation of *Iunius* annexed therevnto, *Illustrissima erunt & gloriosissima omnia in restitutione Ecclesiæ*, all things shall then be more beautifull and glorious in the restitution of the *Church*. And with him fully accord our English notes, *when the Church shall be restored, the glory thereof shall passe seaven times the brightnesse of the Sunne. For by the Sunne and Moone which are two excellent Creatures, he sheweth what shall bee the glory of the Children of God in the kingdome of Christ*. 30.

Now for the words of the *Apostle*, *The fashion of this world passeth away*, what other thing intends he, but that in these worldly things, there is nothing durable and solide, elegantly thereby expressing the *vanitie* of them, in which exposition, both *Iunius* and *Calvin* agree. 1. Cor. 7. 31.

That of the same *Apostle* in the 8 to the *Romans*, touching the delivering of the Creature *from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God*, is I confesse in appearance more pressing. But this passage the great wit of Saint *Augustine* found to be very obscure and perplexed, in so much as not a few vnderstand those words of Saint *Peter* of this particular, that in Saint *Paules Epistle some things are hard to be vnderstood*. It were then in my judgement no small presumption vpon a place so intricate and difficult peremptorily to build so vncertaine a doctrine. But because it is so hotly vrged as a testimony vnanswerable, let vs a little examine the parts and sense thereof. First then it is cleare, that the Creature may be *delivered from the bondage of corruption*, and yet not restored to a more perfect and beautifull estate, in as much as being *annihilated*, it is thereby freed from that abuse of wicked and vngratefull men, which heere it is of necessity still subject vnto. But v. 21. *In lib. 83. quæst. 67.* 2. Ep. 3. 16.

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all the doubt is, how the *Creature ſhall be made partaker of the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God.* I hope no man will dare to affirme that they ſhall be with them *Coheires of eternall bleſſednes*, as the words ſeeme to import, how then are they made partakers of this glorious liberty? But in as much as when the ſonnes of God ſhall be made partakers thereof, the Creature ſhall be altogether freed from the bondage of corruption: So as that, *into the liberty of the ſonnes of God,* is no more then *together with* the liberty of the Sons of God, or, by reaſon of the liberty of the Sons of God, as Saint *Chryſoſtome* hath expounded it. They which maintaine any other future liberty in the Creature by way of reſtitution or bettering it, are bound ſoundly to anſwere all the arguments before alleadged, and withall to yeeld a ſufficient reaſon why ſome Creatures are to be reſtored and not all, ſince the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not to ſome only. Surely S. *Ambroſe* in his Expoſitions vpon that place, durſt goe no farther then we doe, *habituſe enim in labore poſita Creatura hoc ſolatium quoniam habebit requiem, cum crediderint omnes quos ſcit Deus credituros:* the Creature travelling in paine hath this comfort, that it ſhall reſt from labour, when they ſhall all beleeue, whom God knowes are to beleeue. And in truth this is as much as we neede beleeue, and as the words being favourablely interpreted doe inforce.

Pſal. 102. 26. where the word vſed by the *Pſalmiſt* is *Batah*, which properly ſignifies to be brought to nothing. 1. Cor. 15. 51.

The laſt teſtimony muſtred againſt vs was taken from the Pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt change them and they ſhall be changed:* But ſince in the ſame verſe he likewiſe tells vs, *They ſhall periſh*; what *change* ſhall we there vnderſtand? Surely for the ſame thing to bee ſayd to bee *changed* into a better and more perfect eſtate, and yet withall at the ſame time to *periſh*, cannot properly be verified. *We ſhall not all ſleepe but we ſhall all be changed ſayth the Apoſtle*, now if by changing, there we ſhould vnderſtand *periſhing*, it might very well ſeeme a very hard and harſh interpretation. We are to know then that a thing may be changed, not only by *alteration*, which is a change in the quality, but by *augmentation* or *diminution*, which is a change in the quantity; by *corruption*, which is a change in the ſubſtance; or laſtly, (though in a larger, and perchance ſomewhat vnuſuall acceptation) by *annihilation*, which is a totall aboliſhing of ſubſtance: And this in truth is the greateſt change that may be, it being *ab ente ad non ens ſimpliciter*, from a being to a not being wholy. And of ſuch a change muſt the *Pſalmiſt* of force be vnderſtood, if we will reconcile him with himſelfe, and the paſſages before alleagded; And thus doth *Bellarmine* in his Commentaries vpon that pſalme expound that place. *Deum ſolum eſſe immutabilem probat ex eo quod ipſe idem ſemper manens mutavit cœlos de non eſſe ad eſſe, & rurſus mutabit de eſſe ad non eſſe, & quod de cœlo dicitur de toto mundo intelligitur, cuius maxima & nobiliſſima pars eſt cœlum.* From hence he proves, that God alone is vnchangeable, becauſe himſelfe remaining one and the ſame, he changed the heavens from no beeing to a beeing, and will againe change them from a beeing to no beeing; and that which is ſpoken of the heavens is to be vnderſtood of the whole world, the greateſt & nobleſt part whereof the heavens are. Beſides *Bartholinus* in the ſecond booke and ſixteenth

chapter

chapter of his *Enchiridion* hath obſerved that *mutation* in many places of Scripture, and namely *Can.*2.11. *Eſay.* 2. 18. *Dan.*4.25. is taken for an vtter *abolition*; or (if this ſatisfie not) we may ſay (as ſome doe) that the heavens ſhall be changed in regard of vs; inſteed of viſible and materiall heavens, (the vſe of which we now injoy) we ſhall be tranſlated to an heaven immateriall and inviſible, the *Cœleſtiall Paradiſe*, the *heavenly Ieruſalem*, which in *holy Scriptures* is likewiſe tearmed a *new heaven*. Notwithſtanding all this (for the reverence I beare antiquity) I will not be peremptory in the point: But truly me thinkes, that a few obſcure places ſhould rather be expounded by many cleere, then the cleere wreſted to the obſcure. Since the firſt publiſhing hereof, a very deare and learned friend of mine, not finding himſelfe fully ſatisfied with mine anſwere to the objection taken from the eight to the *Romans*, ſent me his doubts, which I here preſent in the next Section, together with my reply in the Section following therevpon: his doubtes I haue caſt into 13 parts, which by ſo many figures I haue marked out and ſhaped mine anſwere accordingly.

SECT. 7.

Doubts preſented me by a worthy friend touching mine anſwere to the former objection taken from the 8th *to the Romans.*

ALthough I muſt needs confeſſe that the reaſons you haue rendred for the finall Annihilation of the Creature, partlie in your printed Apology partly in your manuſcript againſt *Suares* may very much haue moved me: yet muſt I withall profeſſe, that as yet they haue not altogether removed me from my former ſtation, touching the perpetuitie and continuance thereof. That which ſtill holds me faſt therevnto, is the authoritie of St *Paule* in the eight to the *Romans*. A place which as to your appearance, ſo to me ſeemes in truth very preſſing: neither can I ſee (ſuch may be my dulneſſe) how you haue any way ſufficientlie anſwered it. Wherein I conceiue the inſufficiencie lies, I ſhall freelie and ingenuoſly declare, if I may intreat your leaue and patience briefely & in few words to examine it.

1° In generall you charge the text with *Obſcuritie*, both for that St *Augſtines* great witt found it intricate and perplexed, as alſo for that others not a fewe vnderſtand thoſe words of St *Peter* of this particular place, where he ſaith, that in St *Paules* Epiſtles ſome things are hard to be vnderſtood. Whence you infer, that it is no ſmall preſũptiõ to build ſuch a doctrine vpon ſo vncertaine a foundation. Wherevnto I reply. 1

1° Suppoſe the text be *Obſcure:* yet not every Obſcuritie makes it a ſandie and vncertaine foundation, but that only the meaning whereof either is not or cannot certainely be knowne. Now ſuch Obſcuritie I deny to be in this text: & I hope in the ſequeale clearely to manifeſt the meaning thereof.

2° Though St *Auguſtines* witt were great: yet great wits ſee not all things. And I preſume you will not deny that many texts which to the Ancients ſeemed darke and obſcure, are now to vs through Gods bleſſing

bleſſing vpon the induſtrie of latter writers, moſt cleare and evident your ſelfe haue both truly & ingenuouſly acknowledged, that you ſee not but the wits of this preſent age may produce as great effects as thoſe of the Ancients: nay greater, in as much as we haue the light of their writings to guide vs. You might well haue added, & ſundry other great helps which they wanted: you know the ſaying, a dwarfe ſtanding on the ſhoulders of a Giant, may ſee farther then the Giant himſelfe. And yet are we not dwarfs neither, but of equall ſtature, if *Vives* miſſay not.

3° Grant this particular place be intended by S^t *Peter*, yet doth it not follow that this text is intricate or perplexed. For he ſpeaketh not of S^t *Pauls* phraſe, but of the points handled by him. This appeareth by the Relatiue ἐν αἷς. For, if he had meant that S^t *Paules* Epiſtles were ἀφορισταὶ he would haue ſaid ἐν ἐκ. But ſaying ἐν αἷς, it is manifeſtly referred vnto the points diſcuſſed in them. Now theſe, although they may be difficult vnto the naturall man, as being ſupernaturall & tranſcending the pitch of reaſon: yet to the faith of him that is Spirituall, the Apoſtle may haue expreſſed himſelfe in termes ſo liquid & perſpicuous, as no doubt can be made of his meaning, or what he would haue vs to beleeue.

2° In particular, you quarell the words of the text, as ſubject to diverſitie of conſtructions, & not neceſſarily enforcing a continuance or Reparatiō. Theſe namely, *Creature*, *Hoping*, *Groning*, *Travelling*, and *Deliverance into glorious liberty of Sons*. Let vs therfore examine thē ſeverally.

1° By Creature *Theodoret*, *Origen*, others, you ſay, vnderſtand the Angels: *Auguſtine*, *Anſelme*, *Lira*, the Naturall man: *Gregorie*, *Cajetan*, *Catharin*, *Salmeron*, the Regenerate man: *Aquinas* admits all three. Hence you conclude, firſt vncertaintie, then no neceſſitie the dumbe Creature be vnderſtood. Whereto I anſwere,

1° If diverſity of interpretatiōs alwayes argue vncertainty of ſence, I marvell much what text can be certaine. For as the Proverbe ſaith, ſo many men ſo many minds. Howbeit among many Expoſitions I hope it is not impoſſible but ſome one may be convincing & infallible. And vpon ſuch varietie euer to build vncertainetie, is but to induce a Sceptical and *Pyrrhonian* Divinitie.

2° The text it ſelf Demonſtratiuely controlleth all theſe Interpretatiōs: reſolving only vpon the dumbe Creature: & humane authority muſt giue place to divine Demonſtration. Thus therefore out of it I argue and conclude;

1° Angels are not meant: for neither the Bleſſed nor the Sinfull. Not the Bleſſed: for they are not ſubject to vanitie & corruption, neither doe they groane & travell to be freed from it, as the Creature is here ſaid to doe. Not the Sinfull: for they hope not for, but envy & greeue at the full Adoption of the Sons of God. Neither doe they waite and groane for their owne finall deliverance, but vtterly diſpaire of it as being certaine of their everlaſting rejection.

2° Neither is Man meant: for then either the Regenerate or Vnregenerate. Not the Regenerate: for they are plainely diſtinguiſhed from the Creature, where it is ſaid, *And not onely they, but our ſelues alſo*

also which haue the first fruites of the Spirit. Nor the vnregenerate: for the Creature is subject vnto vanity, not of its owne will: but these wittingly and willingly subject themselues therevnto. Againe, the Creature longeth for its freedome: these being without faith haue no hope thereof. To say nothing that they are so far from desiring the Adoption and Redemption of the Sons of God, that they rather delight in persecuting and afflicting them.

3. If neither Angels nor Men, then vndoubtedly the dumbe Creature alone is meāt, for there is no third. Yet neither the Empyreall heaven, nor Hell. Not that: for being the throne of God, and the seat of blessed Saints and Angels, nor made for our vse while wee are here *in via*, but reserued to be our Mansion when wee shall dwell in *Patria*, it is neither defiled by our Sin, nor subjected vnto vanity. Nor this, because it is the place of endlesse torment, the receptacle of damned fiends and men, and consequently the sinke of all corruption from which it shall never be freed. In regard whereof, it may well be sayd to groane for the actuall damnation of the wicked, but never to long for the Salvation of the Iust, as on whom it neither hath, nor ever shall haue power.

4. It remaineth therefore that by the Creature, that dumbe Creature onely be vnderstood which against its will is subject vnto vanity, and longeth with a fervent desire to be delivered from the bondage thereof: such as are the nether Heavens, the Aire, the Earth, the Sea, and what may be of like nature.

2. Hoping, Groning, Travelling, are words, say you, hardly appliable to the dumbe Creature. For doubtles not Properly, vnlesse we will allow it freedome of will. And if wee flie to Figure, somthing must be conceived proportionable therevnto, which what should it be? Adde herevnto, that Scripture no where besides attributeth such qualities vnto the bruite Creature in respect of any Supernaturall Object. Which as you further say caused *Augustine* and *Hierome* warily to avoid expounding them of Vnreasonables. To all which I answere 4.

1. Wee haue already demonstrated out of the Text, that not the Reasonable, such as are Men and Angels, but the dumbe Creature onely is vnderstood. Which demonstration being grounded vpon Divine testimony may not be prejudicated either by S. *Hieromes*, or S. *Augustines*, or any other humaine authority.

2. It shall readily be yeelded, that Hope and Desire is not here vsed properly. For it is not grounded vpon any knowledge the Creature hath, either of the Redemption of the Sons of God, or of its own future liberty, neither doth it proceed from election or any freedome of will that it hath. So to elevate them aboue their Nature, were indeed to turne them out of their Nature. For as an Vnity by addition of another number, ceaseth to be what it was, and is advanced to an higher number: so if yee adde to the bruite Creature Knowledge and Election, it is now no longer what it was, bruite, but raised to the condition and degree of Men or Angels. Wherefore

3. By these termes wee vnderstand no other then that naturall

appetite or Desire, which Philosophie it self allowes those Creatures: where they affect Perfectiō in their kind if they want it, & the continuance of their Perfection if they be already possessed of it. Which seing they once had, namely in their first creatiō, but that now through mans fall & Gods curse it is much impaired & decayed, no marvell if here they be said to desire the reparing & recovery thereof. Neither is this manner of speaking so strange & vnvsuall in Scripture as you pretend. For it affirmes that the beasts not only seeke their meate, which is naturall vnto them; but also that they seeke it of God, & wait vpon him that he may giue it them in due season, which in proper sence is aboue their nature. Wherefore in like manner, seeing the creature cannot recover its perfection vntill the Saints haue obtained theirs, mee thinks it should not seeme harsh to say that they hope & waite for that time.

5. 3. To that of *Deliverance from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God*, you answere three things. 1. That the Creature may be delivered by Annihilation without Restitution. 2. That in proper sence it cannot be partaker of this glorious liberty. 3. That into the liberty, is no other then together with, or by reason of the liberty, as *Chrysostome* saith it is, being put for διὰ. Wherevnto I reply

1. That freedome imports not a privatiō only, but some positiue thing also. For that which is not, is neither Bond nor Free: so that which is, Free is, yea & is in a better state then when it was Bond. Adde herevnto that the Naturall desire of the Creature is for the continuance of its Beeing: how then can it be imagined that it should long for its finall abolishment and annihilation? specially if you consider the forciblenes of the words συστενάζειν, συνωδίνειν, ἀπεκδέχεσθαι, all signifying vehemence and intention of Hoping and Longing. For that the Creature should groane & travell, & with stretched out neck wait onely, & that against its naturall inclination, for a Not-beeing, is incredible. And if after Beeing not to bee, be a Vanity, as indeed it is: it would follow,

6. that to be freed from vanity, it longs for vanity, which is absurd.

2. Beatifically to behold the face of God, in the fulnesse of wisedome, righteousnes & peace, is a Blessednes I confesse no way incident vnto the Creature beneath Man. Howbeit througly to be freed from vanity, & to be restored either to its primitiue or a better perfection, which is a glorious libertie, I suppose you will not deny but if God will, it is capable of. Which because it shal be cōferred vpō thē for the Sts sake, to whom they haue done continual service: I see no reason but it may well be called the glorious liberty of the Sons of God, even as at the inauguratiō of a Prince, the pompe & state of his nobles & followers, is a part of the kings glory, & they be said to partake of the kings glory.

7. 3. That the Preposition εἰς may be so vsed I deny not, neither will I elevate the authority of S. *Chrysostome*. Nevertheles it is to be observed, that the Apostle having first sayd ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας, and presently adding εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, plainly intimateth two termes of their deliverance, from which, & into which. And this is so cleare, that all Interpreters trāslate it neither together with, nor by reason of, but into the liberty. Whose generall authority so according with the Text, should more haue prevailed with you then the single opinion of one man whatsoever. Yet this

this I say not as if S. *Chryſoſtome* made for your Annihilation: for you cannot be ignorant how peremptory he is that for the Saints sake the Creature ſhall be brought into a glorious liberty,& with what golden eloquence & choice ſimilitudes after his manner he points it forth.

3. You ſeeme to bind all thoſe that maintain any other liberty then you do,either by reſtitutiō or bettering,ſoundly to anſwer al your argumēts: as if it were neceſſary either to do ſo or to diſclaime that opinion. But 8.

1. There is no ſuch neceſſity. For if S. *Paul* affirme it, I am bound ſtedfaſtly to beleeue it,though I meete with a thouſand objections, never a one of which I am able to aſſoile. It is the glory of Chriſtian Faith firmely to adhere vnto a revealed concluſion,not only aboue Reaſon, but if need be againſt Reaſon alſo. In the article of the Trinity, how many difficulties are there which the wit of man can never cleare? And muſt I therefore doubt whether there be three perſons ſubſiſting in the vnity of the ſame Godhead? He was a great Clerke who held it impoſſible by reaſon to accord the decree of God with the liberty of mans will. and yet I ſuppoſe you will not denie but they agree together, & though the one may neceſſitate the effect, yet the other may concurre and worke freely. Revealed truths therefore are not forthwith to be renounced,if all arguments be not throughly anſwered.

2. As for your argumens I thinke they are not vnanſwerable but that convenient ſolutions may be found for thē. That taken frō Scripture, it ſeems your ſelf hold it not to be Demonſtratiue,ſeing you conclude ſo doubtfully,either an vtter abolition,or at leaſtwiſe a not-reſtitution to a better ſtate. And in truth if you anſwering our objections may *Pſ.* 102.26. expound changing by periſhing or annihilation, though by your owne confeſſion that acceptation of the word be ſomwhat vnvſuall: I ſee no reaſon but I may as well expound your periſhing by changing in the vſuall acceptation. Eſpecially ſeing changing in that verſe is ſet after periſhing,& it is the manner of the *Pſalmiſt*, as indeed is more fitting,to explaine the former by the latter, and not the latter by the former. The reſt of your Scripture arguments I omit. For the chiefeſt of your ſtrength lying in the word *Periſhing*, this being anſwered,the reſt fall of themſelues. 9.

3. Your weightieſt argument alſo drawn from reaſon & the end of the worlds creation is ſoone anſwered. For although Man, as you ſay, be then remoued out of the world,yet is he not ſo remoued, but that hee may behold whatſoever remaineth of the world to the manifeſtation of Gods glory. Neither doth it follow,becauſe the eyes of the mind in that bleſſed eſtate ſee God as he is face to face, therefore there is no need by the eie of the body to contēplate God in the Creature. For me thinks variety of waies & means to know God & glorifie him, ſhould in no ſtate be hurtfull. And if while we are here *in viâ* faith take not away reaſon & the ſight of the eye,but leaving vnto vs the vſe of both, elevates vs beyond thē: what ſhould let but viſion may leaue ſome imploymēt for our eyes,though it advāce our mind to the intuitiue ſight of God? what? Becauſe we ſee God face to face, ſhall not our eyes be bleſſed in beholding the Humane Nature of Chriſt? If they ſhall, may they not therfore glorify God by the ſight of thoſe glorious Sts that are 10.

mẽbers of Christ? If they may, what should bar them to descend yet a litle lower, and to glorifie God by beholding the glorious liberty of those inferior creatures, which sometimes haue bin our nurses & done great service vnto vs? To answere all in two words, I say first that an end may be assigned to the worlds continuance, namely to stand as an everlasting trophee or monumẽt of the Power & Wisedome of God in creating & governing it. 2ly Though I could assigne no end, yet might it continue for ends known only to God, & as yet vnrevealed to mee.

11. 4. And lastly you demand seing the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not some only, whether all the Creatures shall be restored and continue? If not, why some, onely, and what those some are, whether the simple or those that are mixt? wherevnto I answere.

1. As in this, so in sundry other points of Divinity, a curious head may easily moue more questions then the wisest man living will ever be able to satisfie. For my part I confesse I cannot perfectly resolue all your demands. The best of vs while we are here shal know but in part. Neither is it necessary, seing all is not revealed. It sufficeth mee therefore simply to beleeue what the Apostle affirmeth, namely that the Creature shall be emancipated from their bondage, and brought into into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God. As for other scrupulous niceties I inquire not after them, but leaue all vnto God, and vnto that day when such mysteries shall fully be discouered.

12. 2. Nevertheles if you will heare what to me seemeth not vnprobable (for certainty, I haue none) it is to be observed that the word vsed by the Apostle is κτισις, not πτισμα. Now κτισις properly signifieth that Creature which by the omnipotent power of God was immediatly educed out of nothing to be what it is. But πτισμα is that which is compounded and framed of that which is already something: whence it may seeme that that Creature only shall continue which was created of nothing: such, as is aboue said, the Heavens, the Aire, the Earth, the Sea are, & if there be any other of like nature.

13. 3. If you demand farther, as indeed you do, why these rather then the rest? I answer becauſe Man being made the sixt day could not behold them as they were in their primitiue & simple nature: but only as they were inuested & apparrelled with the works of the former fiue daies. And this seemeth abundantly enough for the vse of man in that blessed estate. For as for those mixt & compound bodies we see and behold them dayly. And although in that day they shall be abolished & consumed: yet may wee by remembrance call them to minde, & so in them contemplate the greatnesse of their Maker. Besides, if after our glorification wee shall be like vnto the Angels, & the Angels vpon the knowledge of a Proposition intuitiuely behold all conclusions that may be deduced from it: it may be that wee also beholding the first principles of things, shall in them be able to see whatsoever in the beginning God educed out of them. But these are may-bees, you will say. They are so indeed, & perhaps Idle dreams of a sicke braine. The safest way therefore is, without answer to passe by all these quarrels and curious queries of humaine reason: & firmely to adhere vnto S. *Pauls* doctrine, that the Creature shall be delivered into a glorious lrberty.

And

And thus haue I beene bold briefely to examine your anſweres vnto this paſſage of S. *Paul* to the *Romans*, & by my ſcales finde thē ſome few graines too light. More happily might haue beene ſayd: but being off from my bookes, you haue what I was able to forge out of mine owne head. The cenſure whereof I leaue vnto your wiſedome: praying you to remember that of I know not what moderne Poet

Non eadem ſentire bonos de rebus ijſdem
Incolumi licuit ſemper amicitiâ. *I. D.*

SECT. 8.

My reply to theſe preceding doubts.

TO the *firſt*, not onely the *Ancients*, but the *Moderne* Expoſitours and all that *I* haue read, commenting on that place with one general conſent acknowledge it to be very *obſcure* which ſhould argue that the true ſenſe of it either cannot or at leaſtwiſe as yet is not certainely knowne to be any ſuch convincing, infallible, divine demonſtration, as you would afterward ſeeme to make it. 1.

To the *Second*, this obſcurity is to be vnderſtood not onely in regard of the capacitie of the Naturall man, but of the Chriſtian Beleeuer, for ſo they held themſelues, and ſo I preſume you hold both S. *Auguſtine* and the reſt to haue beene. 2

To the *third*, I vndertake not to defend their interpretations, who by the word [*Creature*] vnderſtand the Angells, either bleſſed or ſinfull; or Man, whether Naturall or Regenerate, but leaue the Authours to maintaine their owne expoſitions. And though I might quarrell at ſome things in your refutation of them, yet for quietneſſe ſake *I* am content with you by it to vnderſtand the *dumb Creature*, and withall to exclude both the *Empyreall* Heaven and Hell; but then you muſt remember that having made your exception, all the reſt which are not excepted are by the rules of *Law*, and *Reaſon*, and *Logicke* to be included, and not onely the nether Heavens, the aire, the earth and the ſea, as you ſeeme to ſay in the very next Section: For what you meane by thoſe which are of like nature *I* know not, there being beſide thoſe no more elements but the fire, and for mixt bodies they cannot be of like nature with the Elements. 3

To the *fourth*, being already of accord with you, that thoſe words, *Hoping*, *Groning* &c. are to be vnderſtood of the dumb creature, *I* will preſſe it no farther how they are applyable therevnto: but yet to affirme that by theſe termes we vnderſtand none other then that naturall appetite which Philoſophie it ſelfe allowes thoſe Creatures *I* cannot allow, ſince Philoſophie allowes them none other perfection then what already they haue: And beſides to waite for the manifeſtation of the Sonnes of God, or to be ſenſible that they cannot recover their perfection vntill that be done is a matter farre aboue the reach of the greateſt Philoſophers, much more aboue the naturall apprehenſion of the vnreaſonable and ſenceleſſe Creature, it muſt of neceſſity then be ſome *ſupernaturall* inſtinct which what it is, or how it is infuſed, or how the Creature is capable of it, *I* muſt profeſſe for mine 4

owne part I hold it a point vndeterminable: And for the paſſage out of the Pſalmes which you alleage as paralell to this of the Apoſtle, mee thinkes it might without any ſtrayning be thus expounded, that *they ſeeke their meate of God*, becauſe God provides it for them, and by his providence directs them in the ſeeking and finding of it, though they know it not.

5. To the *fifth*, it is true that *freedome* ſometime imports not onely a privatiue, but a poſitiue act, but *deliverance from the bondage of corruption*, may import onely a privatiue, and though the thing delivered remaine not after ſuch deliverance, yet can it not be denyed to be delivered, for the remaining of it afterward is meerly accidentall in regard of the deliverance, and no way eſſentiall therevnto. And whereas you adde that the naturall deſire of the Creature is for the continuance of its being, and conſequently cannot be for its finall abolition, you may be pleaſed to call to minde that in the creature is a double inclination, the one for the continuance of its particular beeing, the other for the preſervation of the Vniverſall, as when the water to avoide that *vacuum* or diſcontinuity which otherwiſe would enſue in the parts of the world, mounts vpward, ſo the creature may deſire by *abolition* to be delivered from the *bondage* of *corruption*, that is all kinde of ſinfull abuſe, becauſe then man for whoſe ſake the world was made, ſhall be glorified, and God the worlds maker thereby honoured: In relation wherevnto both *Moſes* wiſhed himſelfe to be *raſed out of the booke of life*, and S. *Paul* to be *ſeparated* or accurſed from *Chriſt*, which was a degree farther then *abolition*; the creature then doth not long for abolition that it may be aboliſhed as you ſuppoſe, but that by abolition it may be delivered from all ſinfull abuſe, which the Apoſtle calls a *bondage* of *corruption*, and is doubtleſſe a greater vanity then the abolitition thereof, in as much as by the one God is more diſhonoured, then by the other he can be; And ſo I hope there is no ſuch abſurdity in mine aſſertion as you would inferre.

6. To the *ſixth*, you ſay that the *Creatures ſhall partake of the glorious liberty of the ſonnes of God*, in as much as that glorious liberty which they ſhall be inveſted with ſhall be conferred vpon them for the Saints ſake, to whom they haue done continuall ſervice: but here I would firſt demand whether the heaven and conſequently the aire and water injoy not now as much liberty as they did before the fall of man? indeed we reade that Gods curſe was vpon the earth, (and yet how that likewiſe is to be vnderſtood good Divines make a doubt) but that it reached to theſe wee reade not. And with the Schoolemen to affirme they ſhall then ſtand immoveable is vpon the matter to deſtroy their natures, and in reaſon rather tends to the reſtraint then the inlargement of their liberties. My ſecond demand is that if theſe *Creatures ſhall partake of this glorious liberty*, becauſe they haue done ſervice to Gods Saints, why they ſhould not likewiſe partake of helliſh ſufferings, becauſe they haue done ſeruice to Deuils and reprobates, and haue beene often and much abuſed by wicked men (and perchance by the Saints themſelues before their calling) to the great diſhonour of God, and the infinite wrong and griefe of good men? as in the *Leviticall Law* the beaſt which was

abuſed

abuſed by man or woman to vnnaturall luſt, though it were not guilty of ſin becauſe not capable of reaſon, yet was it by Gods preſcript to ſuffer with him or her who ſo abuſed it. My ſecond demand is that if theſe *Creatures ſhall partake of this glorious liberty* becauſe they haue done ſervice to the Saints, how it comes to paſſe that all of them which haue performed this ſervice partake not of this liberty, and ſome perchance which haue performed no ſuch ſervice ſhall notwithſtanding partake thereof; but in truth how the involuntary ſervice of the vnreaſonable creature whether good or badde ſhould either merit reward or demerit puniſhment, for mine owne part I muſt profeſſe I conceiue not. Laſtly your ſimilitude of the pompe and ſtate of Noble-men at the inauguration of the King holds no proportion with the matter in queſtion, ſince they by their perſonall preſence mutually adde and receiue grace and luſtre to and from each other, which how the creatures here on earth ſhall be able to performe to the Saints in heaven, or the Saints to them I cannot comprehend, and much leſſe how the globe of the Earth can appeare in greater pompe, being deveſted of all the mixt bodies, and ſhewing her ſelfe with her naked and duſty face, then now it doth, being decked and garniſhed with ſuch wonderfull plentifull and ſingular variety in all kindes.

To the *Seaventh* S. *Chryſoſtome* doth not onely affirme that ἐν may be put for ἀπὸ, but that it is ſo put in that place, and whereas you ſay that the two prepoſitions there vſed by the Apoſtle plainely intimate two tearmes *from* and *into*, it is true that in your ſenſe they happily may ſo do, but not in S. *Chriſoſtomes* who doubtleſſe vnderſtood the proprietie of Greeke words better then either of vs both. And whether all Interpreters ſo tranſlate it as you pretend, ſome doubt there is, conſidering there are in ſome languages many tranſlations, and in all languages (I thinke) ſome which neither of vs both haue ſeene; and many times they follow one another rather then the Originall: Howſoever, I tranſlate it no otherwiſe then vſually I finde it: but yet I ſee no reaſon I ſhould be denyed the liberty to expound it as the beſt of the Greeke Interpreters vnderſtand the word, ſpecially ſince thereby thoſe abſurdities may more eaſily be put off which in my judgment the other opinion is ſubject vnto; And though it be true that S. *Chryſoſtome* himſelfe ſtand for the renovation of the world, yet he accords not in all points with you, and I ſhould thinke that he tooke it vp rather vpon truſt and the current of the times (wherein the errour of the *Millenaries* was very rife) then due examination, neither doth his golden eloquence ſo much moue mee as forcible arguments ſhould haue done. And for his ſimilitudes, you know, *Theologia Symbolica non eſt argumentativa.* 7.

To the *eight*, there is as great neceſſity that the adverſe part ſhould anſwere my objections, as that I ſhould anſwere theirs: and in matters which are not *de fide*, I ſee no reaſon but the beſt arguments ſhould carry it, if there be no expreſſe Scripture againſt it, and many Scriptures in expreſſe tearmes for it. In this caſe I thinke I am bound though not peremptorily to imbrace, yet to incline to that opinion which I hold to be moſt probable and ſubject to the leaſt and few- 8.

eſt

eſt abſurdities: And though I am bound ſtedfaſtly to beleeue what S. *Paul* affirmes, yet am I not bound to beleeue your affirmation that Saint *Paul* affirmes it, and for any ſuch convincing infallible demonſtration (as you ſpeake of) that he ſo doth, I muſt profeſſe as yet I cannot finde it. That the *Creature ſhall be made partaker of the glorious liberty of the ſonnes of God* you do not, you cannot expound it in a proper ſence, and according to a literall conſtruction, why then ſhall it not be as lawfull for me to leaue the letter too, and following the originall to put vpon it ſuch an expoſition as is without all controverſie ſubject to leſſe inconveniences, and more conſonant to other Scriptures? Your inſtance in the article of the *Trinity*, is (as I take it) impertinent and vnſutable, in as much as by the confeſſion of all good *Chriſtians* it is neceſſary to Salvation to be beleeved; and I truſt you will not affirme the reſtitution of the world ſo to be; wee may then I hope more ſafely diſpute the one then the other. And as for that great Clerke who held it impoſible to reconcile the neceſſitie of Gods decrees with the liberty of mans will and yet held both, his reaſon ſo to doe was becauſe the Scripture expounded by the Church aſſembled in lawfull Councells had ſo declared it, and if in this point it had likewiſe ſo done, I ſhould haue held it ſufficient to impoſe ſilence.

9. To the *ninth*, I never yet affirmed the arguments brought in defence of mine opinion from Scripture to be *demonſtratiue*, I thought it ſufficient if they were alleaged as *probable*, and whereas I profeſſe that I will not be peremptory for the reverence I beare antiquity, I thought you would rather haue commended my modeſty then blamed my doubtfulneſſe: And for my ſelfe I had rather vndertake leſſe and performe more, thē vndertake much & finally fall ſhort in the proofe. A man may eaſily promiſe convincing infallible demonſtrations, but when it comes to tryall it is not ſo eaſie a matter to make them appeare ſo to be. The onely particular paſſage you inſiſt on is my expounding of *changing* by *periſhing*; whereas you ſay you ſee no reaſon but you may as well expound *periſhing* by *changing*: for that, wee ſhall eaſily agree, conditionally you ſtill maintaine a *periſhing*: but to ſay that a thing ſhall periſh and yet withall to affirme that it ſhall in ſubſtance ſtill remaine the ſame both in matter and forme, and for the qualities be advanced to a more excellent eſtate, implies in my judgement a manifeſt and irreconcilable contradiction. And yet I hold not with you that the chiefeſt ſtrength of my Scripture arguments lies in the word *periſhing*, that of *Iob*, *till the heavens be no more*; and of our *Saviour*, *heaven and earth ſhall paſſe away*; and of S. *Peter*, *the day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the night in the which the heavens ſhall paſſe away*; and of S. *Iohn*, *the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them*; in my minde make more evidently for an annihilation: and ſo is my meaning that theſe alleaged paſſages ſeeme more cleerely to inferre an *abolition*, and the reſt at leaſtwiſe to exclude a reſtitution to a perfecter eſtate.

10. To the *tenth*, whether the carnall eye of a man though glorified, bee, without a miracle able from the higheſt heavens to diſcerne the globe of the earth and water, I ſhould make a great doubt. For if thoſe light-

ſome

ſome bodies which are bigger then the earth appeare vnto vs but as candles in a leſſer diſtance, how ſhall the proportion of the earth be diſcernable in a diſtance farre geater? And though variety of wayes and meanes to know God in that ſtate of perfect bleſſednes be not hurtfull, yet it may be needeleſſe: nay the *Apoſtle* tels vs in plaine tearmes that *when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be done away*: Diverſe wayes then to know God which are but in part may well enough ſtand together, as faith and reaſon, and the ſight of eyes: but when that which is perfect is come, when wee ſhall ſee him as he is, face to face, and by intuition know him as wee are knowne of him, God ſhall then be all in all, wee ſhall then no more need thoſe other wayes which are but in part, then hee who ſtands by his friend and fully beholds him preſent, ſhall, to take a view of him in a picture or looking glaſſe. Neither doth the beholding of the humane nature of Chriſt or of the glorified Saints inferre any neceſſity of beholding theſe inferiour Creatures, ſince the one is the Authour, and the other are the Coheires of our glory: but theſe inferiour Creatures being made onely for the vſe of the Church militant, can no more conduce to the happineſſe of the Church triumphant, then the light of a candle to reade by can to him that ſtands in the Sun-ſhine: And in the fulneſſe of that light of the infinite treaſures of the power and wiſedome of God, which wee ſhall then diſcover in him, theſe poore beggerly Elements ſhall no more ſerue as trophees or monuments of his greatneſſe, then the rattles of a childe can ſerue for the ſetting forth of the magnificence of ſome great *Monarch*.

To the *eleventh*; your beſt way then, if you thinke my objections inſoluble, had beene to paſſe them over in ſilence, and not to haue offered to make ſolution to them; for by theſe you haue now made, you begin to make men thinke they are *inſoluble* indeed: yet to make ſuch objections in queſtions which are not *de fide* hath alwayes beene vſuall, and for any thing I know is juſtifiable enough; And for that which the Apoſtle affirmes I ſimply beleeue it, as you do, but not in that manner and ſenſe as you expound it. 11.

To the *twelfth*, to let paſſe your diſtinction ([a] whereof notwithſtanding I finde no ſufficient warrant) I allwayes conceiued that of materiall Entities onely the firſt matter had beene by God created out of nothing, and the Elements out of it, and out of them the mixt bodies, and conſequently that being ſo, the world ſhould in your opinion be againe reſolved into the firſt *Chaos*, and yet why that ſhould remaine I finde as little reaſon as for any of the reſt; what monument of wiſedome and power ſhall wee call that where the hangings and furniture and houſhold ſtuffe are all removed, onely the bare wals or foundation are left to be ſeene? And I pray conſider if ever any interpreters who commented on the place, and vnderſtood it of the inferiour Creature, vpon any ſufficient ground excluded the mixt bodies, once of this I am ſure that the text hath it [b] *Every Creature*, and our laſt Tranſlatours render it *the whole creation*, which cannot well ſtand with your diſtinction. And truly he that ſhall interpret *every Creature* to be onely the heavens and the Elements 12.

[a] Rom. 8. v. 19. the word *κτισις* is taken generally for all Creatures both corporall and ſpirituall.

[b] *Beza* tranſlates it *Mundus hic conditus*, and *Tremelius* out of the *Syriach*, *Univerſa creatura*

Elements, and from the whole creation ſhall at one blow cut off all the mixt bodies, cannot but acknowledge that hee takes to himſelfe a large ſcope of interpreting: ſpecially conſidering that the mixt bodies and amongſt them the living and ſenſible Creatures (as the horſe and the oxe) are more properly ſaid to groane and travell in paine vnder the bondage of Corruption, then the Elements and the heavens. And here I would willingly learne to what end you thus mangle and imbroile the text to exclude the mixt bodies, but onely to put off thoſe abſurdities which you fore-ſee would neceſſarily enſue therevpon; and why ſhould you then debarre mee from excluding the Elements likewiſe from a reſtitution, there being no leſſe abſurdities which follow vpon the admittance of theſe, then of them. Let vs then agreably to the letter of the Text either admitte all and cry downe all arguments that can be brought againſt it as curious and ſcrupulous niceties, or by a favourable conſtruction and agreeable to other Sctiptures exclude all from a reſtitution.

To the *Thirteenth*, if by the primitiue and ſimple nature of the Ele-
13. ments you vnderſtand their pure integrity, as that the Earth ſhould be dry and cold without any mixture of moyſture or warmth, for mine own part I thinke it was never ſo exiſtent nor any of the other elements, the fire only excepted, in as much as ſo being, they could not haue been ſo behoofefull for the vſe of man and beaſt (for whom they were created) as now they are, but if thereby you vnderſtand (as it ſeemes you do) their nakedneſſe and voidneſſe of all mixt bodies, good Divines as namely *Philo*, *S. Auguſtine*, *Procopius*, *Gazæus*, and *Cajetan* are of opinion that the worke of the Creation of the world was not in it ſelfe diſtinguiſhed by dayes, but onely is ſo in the hiſtoricall relation thereof by *Moſes*, the better to deſcend to our capacity and apprehenſion: And though they bring for themſelues their arguments as well from Scripture as reaſon, yet herein am I willing not to diſſent from you; as alſo in that which you adde, that the ſight of theſe ſimple bodies ſeemeth abundantly enough for the vſe of man in that bleſſed eſtate, becauſe hee then ſhall be ſo farre from wanting the ſight of any other, as in truth he ſhall in no ſort want them: but whereas you exclude the mixt bodies becauſe we ſee them dayly, you might as well, and by the ſame reaſon muſt haue excluded the heavens too, nay and the very Elements themſelues. And to me it ſeemeth ſtrange that you ſhould ſpeake of contemplating the greatneſſe of their maker in them, when wee ſhall perfectly contemplate him and his perfections in himſelfe. And that which you adde touching the knowledge of the Angels is to no better purpoſe, conſidering we ſhall intuitiuely behold all concluſions in the principle of all thoſe principles, the firſt roote and fountaine of all beeing; but here againe I muſt put you in minde that whereas you promiſed convenient ſolutions to my objections, you paſſe over in ſilence thoſe which I preſſe in particular touching the Heavens and the Elements, and muſt profeſſe that for mine owne part I know not which way to finde out convenient ſolutions to them. And therefore I joyne with you and conceiue indeed your ſafeſt way had beene without anſwere to paſſe by all

theſe

theſe quarrles and queries of humane reaſon: for the more you meddle with them the more will you intangle your ſelfe in an inextricable Labyrinth: but if you will firmely adhere to the letter of S^t *Paules* doctrine, as you pretend without conſulting with humane reaſon in this buſines, you will be forced to take in all the beaſts and fowles & fiſhes and vegetables as well as the Heavens & Elements, for in grammaticall conſtruction I am ſure that *every Creature* or the *whole Creation*, infoldes as well the latter as the former: And I will be bold to ſay it, if you thorowly weigh all the circumſtances of the text, you will finde that the latter are rather to be vnderſtood by the Apoſtle, then the former: but becauſe the reſtitution of the one ſeemes at firſt bluſh to be more repugnant to humane reaſon then the other, therefore (and for none ocauſe that I know) hath it pleaſed the ſchoolmen and other Divines following them to exclude the one, and admit the other.

And now S^r I cannot but yeeld you moſt harty thankes as well for imparting me your labours and minde ſo friendly & freely, as likewiſe for awakening my wits by this occaſion more thorowly to conſider of the ſenſe of that Scripture, then before I did: which if it haue given you any ſatiſfaction I ſhall be glad thereof.

Et tu converſus confirma fratres.

CAP. 14.

Of the Vſes we are to make of the Conſummation of the World, and of the day of Iudgement.

SECT. 1.

That the day of the worlds end ſhall likewiſe be the day of the generall Iudgement thereof, and that then there ſhall be ſuch a Iudgement, is proved as well by reaſon as the teſtimonie of the Gentiles.

WHatſoever be the *manner* of the worlds end, moſt certaine it is, an *end* it ſhall haue, and as certaine that *then we ſhall appeare before the Iudgement ſeate of Chriſt, that every man may receiue according to that which he hath done in his body, whether it be good or evill.* 2. Cor. 5. 10. If we yeeld that there is a *God*, and that this *God* is *Almighty & juſt* (which of neceſſity he muſt be, or otherwiſe he may not be God) it cannot be avoyded, but that after this life ended, he adminiſter juſtice vnto men, by puniſhing the wicked and rewarding the righteous: Since in this world the one commonly liue in eaſe and proſperity, and the other in miſery and perſecution. *Shall not then the Iudge of all the world doe right?* Gen. 18. 25. doubtles he ſhall and will. Some therefore he puniſheth exemplarily in the world, that we might from thence haue a taſt or glimce of his *preſent juſtice*: And others he reſerveth to the next, that from thence we might haue an aſſurance of a *future judgement*, which is either *particular*, as we are ſingle perſons at the day of the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body, which wee may call the *Priuy Seſſions* of the

ſoule:

ſoule; or *vniverſall*, as wee are parcels of mankinde, at the laſt day, which we may call the *generall Aſsiſe* both of ſoule and body.

See *Raimundus Sebundus* his naturall Theologie. *Et Raymundus Lullius in demonſt. art. fidei.*

And that there ſhall be ſuch a *generall judgement*, beſides the particular, we haue theſe reaſons to induce vs to beleeue it. *Firſt*, that the body of man riſing from his ſepulchre at that day may be partaker of eternall puniſhment or glory with the ſoule, even as in this life it was participant of the vertues or vices which the ſoule did execute; as they either ſinned together, or ſerved God together, So is it moſt fit that they ſhould receiue the ſentence of eternall life or death together. Yet becauſe the ſoule both may, and often doth, either ſinne or ſerue God without the bodie, but the body of it ſelfe can doe neither without the ſoule; therefore is it as requiſite, that the ſeparated ſoule ſhould either ſuffer paine or injoy bliſſe, whiles the body reſts in the graue: And being revnited and married againe vnto the body, ſhould partake more either of bliſſe or paine then it.

As this firſt reaſon is taken from the Eſſentiall parts, ſo the *ſecond reaſon*, that there ſhall be an vniverſall and publique judgement, is drawne from the Actions of the perſons to be judged & their rewards. Though it be true then, that if men were rewarded in ſecret both in ſoule and in bodie according to their actions, the *juſtice of God* might by that meanes be preſerved, yet could it not be ſufficiently manifeſted, vnleſſe this judgement were acted in the publique view of the whole World. Many good men haue here beene openly oppreſſed and trodden vnder foote; and on the other ſide, the wicked haue flouriſhed in abundance of outward peace & temporall felicity, which hath made the beſt of Gods ſervants at times to ſtagger and ſtand amazed thereat: But then ſhall they and all the world clearely ſee, and confidently profeſſe to the honour of *Divine juſtice*, *Verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtles there is God that judgeth the Earth.* And in regard of this conſpicuous manifeſtation of *Gods juſtice* and full accompliſhment thereof at the laſt day, not a few of the *Greeke & Latine Fathers*, as alſo the holy Scriptures themſelues in ſundry places ſeeme to ſay, the retribution of our workes in the fleſh ſhall be different till then. Now *beſides* this honour which ſhall accrew to the *juſtice of God*, both wicked ſinners and the bleſſed Saints of *God* ſhall then receiue their rewards and finall payments openly in the ſight and hearing of each other, to the end, that the griefe and ſhame of the impious, and the triumphant joy of the vertuous and religious, might thereby be the more increaſed. For what greater heart-breaking and confuſion can there bee to the one, then to haue all their ſecret faults layd open, and the ſentence of Condemnation paſſed vpon them in the preſence of them whom they derided and vilified? or what greater comfort and content to the other, then to be juſtified and rewarded in the view of them who were their profeſſed enemies?

Pſal. 58. 11.

Laſtly, as our bleſſed *Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt*, (who ſhall then appeare as *Iudge*) at his firſt comming into this world was contemptible in the eye of wordlings, and diſhonoured *publiquely* both in his life and death: So was it convenient, that once in this world hee ſhould ſhew his power, and Majeſty, and that in the ſight of all his Creatures, but ſpecially

ſpecially of his wicked enemies, who after that day are never to ſee or behold him more.

To theſe *reaſons* may be added the *teſtimonie of* the very *Gentiles*, of *Hydaſpes*, *Hermes* and *Sybilla*; whereof the firſt having deſcribed the iniquity of the laſt age, ſayes that the godly and righteous men being ſevered from the vnrighteous, ſhall with teares and groanes lift vp their hands to heaven imploring the helpe of *Iupiter*, and that therevpon *Iupiter* ſhall regard the earth, heare their prayers and deſtroy the wicked: *Quæ omnia vera ſunt, præter vnum, quòd Iovem dixit illa facturum quæ Deus faciet*, ſaith *Lactantius*, all which things are true, ſaue one, which is, that he aſcribes that to *Iupiter* which God ſhall do. And beſides (ſaith hee) it was not without the cunning ſuggeſtion of *Sathan* left out, that then *the Sonne of God* ſhall be ſent from the father, who deſtroying the wicked, ſhall ſet the righteous at liberty. Which *Hermes* notwithſtanding diſſembled not. Part of *Sybilla's* verſes alleaged by *Lactantius* in *Greeke*, may thus be rendred in *Latine* and *Engliſh*:

Euſebius de præparatione 11. 18. 20. & 12. 2.

Lactan. 17. 18.

Huic luci finem imponent cum fata ſupremum,
Iudicium æthereus Pater exercebit in omnes,
Iudicium humano generi imperiumque verendum.
When God ſhall to this world its fatall period ſend,
Th'immortall, mortall men in judgement ſhall arraigne.
Great ſhall his judgment be his Kingdome without end.

And againe,

Tartariumque chaos tellure hiſcente patebit
Regeſque æthery ſiſtentur judicis omnes
Ante thronum.
Tartarean Chaos then Earth opening wide ſhall ſhow,
And then all kings before Gods judgement ſeat ſhall bow.

And in another place.

Cœlum ego convolvens penetralia cæca recludam
Telluris, functique & fati lege ſaluti
Et mortis ſtimulo exurgent, cunctoſque tribunal
Ante meum judex ſtatuam, reproboſque, proboſque.
Rolling vp heaven I will Earths ſecret vaults diſcloſe,
Deathes ſting alſo and bonds of fate will I vnlooſe:
Then ſhall the dead ariſe, and all both ſmall and great,
Both good and bad ſhall ſtand before my judgment ſeat.

Over and aboue theſe Prophets and men of learning, *Peru* the South part of *America* doth yeeld to vs an ignorant people, who by the light of Nature and a generall apprehenſion (for God knoweth they haue nothing elſe) do beleeue that the world ſhall end, and that there ſhall be then a reward for the good and for the evill according to their deſert.

Surius in com. an. 1558.

SECT. 2.

The consideration of this day may first serue for terrour to the wicked, whether they regard the dreadfulnesse of the day it selfe, or the quality of the Iudge by whom they are to be tryed.

THe certainty then of this vniuersall Iudgement at the last day being thus clearly proued, not onely by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, but by the light of *Reason* and the testimonies of the *Gentiles*, the consideration thereof may justly serue for *terrour* to the wicked, it being to them a day of *wrath* and *vengeance*; for *Comfort* to the Godly, it being to them a day of *refreshing* and full *Redemption*, and lastly for *admonition* & *instruction* to both. First then it may justly serue for matter of extreame *terrour* to the wicked, whether they regard the *dreadfulnesse of the day* in which they shall be tryed, or the *quality of the Iudge* by whom they are to be tryed, or the *nature and number of their accusers* that shall bring in evidence against them, or the presence of such *an assembly of men and Angels* before whom they shall be arraigned, or their *owne guiltinesse* and *astonishment*, or lastly the *sharpenesse and severity of the sentence* that shall passe vpon them. The very *Face and countenance of that day* shall be *hideous* and *dismall* to looke to, it shall be apparelled with horrour and affrightment on every side: *That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and heavinesse, a day of destruction and desolation, a day of gloominesse and darkenesse, a day of clouds, stormes and blackenesse, a day of the trumpet and alarme against the strong cities and against the high towers.* Then shall the Sun be darkned, and the Moone shall be turned into bloud, and the starres shall fall from heaven as it were withered leaues from their trees, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and the graues shall vomit vp their dead bodies, the heavens shall passe away with a noyse, and shrivell together like scorched parchment, the elements shall melt and dissolue with heate, the sea and floods shall roare, and the Earth with the workes that are therein shall be burnt vp, there shall be horrible claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, voyces and earth-quakes, such as never were since men dwelt vpon the earth: such howling, such lamentations, such skriches shal be heard in every corner, that the hearts of men shall tremble and wither for very feare and expectation of those things which at that day shal befall them. And now tell me what mortall heart can choose but ake & quake at the remembrance of these vnspeakeable incomprehensible terrours? The *Law* was giuen with thunder & lightnings, and a thicke cloud vpon the mount, with an exceeding lowde & shrill sound of the trumpet, so that all the people were afrayde, yea so terrible was the sight, that *Moses* said, *I feare and quake.* Now if *Moses* the servant of the Lord quaked to heare the first trumpet at the giuing of the Law, how shall the wicked condemned in their owne conscience, tremble and quake to heare the second at the execution thereof?

Zephany 1. 15. 16.

Exod. 19.

Specially being arraigned at the barre of such a *Iudge*, apparrelled with Robes of Majesty, and attended with millions of Angels: A *Iudge* so

ſo ſoveraigne as there lies no appeale from him;ſo wiſe as nothing can eſcape his knowledge;ſo mighty as nothing can reſiſt his power, ſo vpright as nothing can pervert his juſtice, who neither can be deceiued with ſophiſtry,nor blinded with gifts,nor terrified with threats. They ſhall looke vpon him whom they haue wounded and goared with the ſpeare of their blaſphemies, with the nailes of their curſings and curſed oathes; whom they haue buffited and ſpit vpon with their impiety and prophaneſſe; whom they haue againe crucified to themſelues by their deviliſh and damnable actions,trampling his pretious Blood vnder foot by their impenitencie, putting him to open ſhame by their infidelity, making a mocke of him by their obſtinacie, and turning his grace into wantonnes by their preſumption. Holy *Auguſtine* in one of his *Sermons of the laſt Iudgment*, brings in this *glorious Iudge* thus expoſtulating the 'matter with theſe miſcreants at that Day. O man! with mine own hands 'did I faſhion thee out of the ſlime of the earth: into thy earthly mem- *Serm.67.*
'bers did I infuſe a ſpirit: I vouchſafed to beſtow vpon thee mine owne 'Image: I placed thee among the delights of *Paradiſe*: but thou con- 'temning the vitall efficacie of my commandements, chooſedſt rather 'to liſten to the *tempter*, then thy *God*. And when being expelled out 'of *Paradiſe* by reaſon of ſin thou wert held in the chaines of death, I 'was incloſed in the Virgins wombe, I was layde in the cratch, I was 'wrapped in ſwathing cloathes, I endured the ſcorne of infancie & the 'griefe of manhood, that ſo being like vnto thee, I might make thee like 'vnto my ſelfe. I bore the buffetting and ſpittings of ſcorners, I dranke 'vineger mixed with gall, I was ſcourged with whips, crowned with 'thornes, nailed to the croſſe, goared with a ſpeare, & that thou mighteſt 'be freed from death, in torments I parted with my life: Looke vpon 'the print of the nayles, behold the skarres of my wounds: I tooke vpon 'me thine infirmities, that I might impart vnto thee my glory. I vnder- 'went the death due to thee, that thou mightſt liue for ever. I was buried 'in a ſepulchre that thou mighteſt raigne in Heaven. Why haſt thou 'wilfully loſt that which I by my ſuffrings purchaſſed for thee? Why 'haſt thou ſpurned at the gratious gift of thy Redemption? I complaine 'not of my death, only render vnto mee that life for which I gaue mine. 'Render mee that life which by the wounds of thy ſinnes thou dayly 'killeſt. Why haſt thou polluted with more then beaſtly ſenſuality that 'Temple which in thee I conſecrated to my ſelfe? Why haſt thou ſtay- 'ned my body with filthy provocations? Why haſt thou tormented 'me with a more grievous croſſe of thy ſinnes, then that vpon which I 'ſometimes hung? for the croſſe of thy ſinnes is more grievous (in as 'much as vnwillingly I hang vpon it) then that other which taking pi- 'ty vpon thee, & to kill thy death, I willingly mounted. I being impaſſi- 'ble in my ſelfe vouchſafed to ſuffer for thee: but thou haſt deſpiſed 'God in man, ſalvation in mine infirmity, pardon from thy Iudge, life 'from my croſſe, and wholſome medicine from my ſuffrings. Now what flinty or ſteely heart in the world could chooſe but reſolue it ſelfe into teares of bloud vpon ſuch an expoſtulation, were it moiſtned with any drop of grace? But herevnto might be added, that thou haſt often

joyned with his enemies againſt him,turned the deafe eare to the miniſtery of his Word, jeſted at his threatnings,neglected his gratious invitations,quenched his holy inſpirations, abuſed his Sacraments,and his patience, which being long abuſed at length is turned into fury. This *Lambe of God* therefore ſhall then ſhew himſelfe as a *Lyon*, hee ſhall then put on righteouſneſſe as a breſt-plate, & take true judgement inſteed of an helmet,then ſhall he put on the garment of vengeance for cloathing, & be clad with zeale as with a cloake; Then ſhall hee come in ſtrength as a ſtorme of haile, & as a whirlewinde breaking and throwing downe whatſoever ſtandeth in his way,as a rage of many waters that flow and ruſh together. The mountaines ſhall melt and fly away at his preſence,a burning fire ſhall goe before him, and on every ſide of him a violent tempeſt. And if *Felix* himſelfe a *Iudge* trembled to heare *Paul*(who as a priſoner was arraigned before him) diſputing of this Laſt Iudgment, how ſhall the guilty priſoners tremble before the face of this *Iudge*, being both the *Iudge and the party offended?* If the *Iewes* who came to attach him fell backward at the hearing of his voice in the dayes of his *humility*,how ſhall the wicked ſtand amazed and confounded at his preſence when he comes to judge them in glory and *Maieſty*? Surely for them to endure the fiercenes of his angry countenance will be intollerable, and yet to fly from it impoſſible, and the more intollerable will it be in regard of the *nature* and *number* of their *accuſers*.

SECT. 3.

Of the nature and number of their accuſers.

THe *Creatures* ſhall accuſe them whom they haue abuſed to vanity,to luxury, to drunkenneſſe, to gluttony, to covetouſneſſe,to ambition,to revenge,and being then freed from their bondage, they ſhall freely complaine of this vnjuſt vſurpation. *Good men* ſhall accuſe them,as having bin moſt diſdainfully ſcorned,wronged,oppreſſed, and troden vnder-foot by them. Their *Companions* ſhall accuſe them, as having bin drawne into ſin by their wicked intiſements and examples. Their *Teachers* and Governours ſhall accuſe them,as having beene irreverent toward their perſons, & rebellious againſt their inſtructions and commands. *Their Children and Servants* ſhall accuſe them, as having beene negligent of their education in vertue and piety. *The Prophets and Apoſtles* ſhall accuſe them as having beene careleſſe in the obſervation of their writings. *The good Angels* ſhall accuſe them, whoſe directions they haue refuſed to follow. *The Devils* ſhall accuſe them,in that they haue betrayed their Lord and Captaine to march vnder their banners. *Their owne Conſciences* ſhall bitterly accuſe and vpbraid them: the body ſhall accuſe the ſoule as being the principall agent,and the ſoule the body as being a ready inſtrument. *The Appetite* ſhall accuſe reaſon as being too ſenſuall & indulgent;& *Reaſon* the appetite, as being irregular & inordinate: all *the faculties* of the Soule, all the *ſenſes* and *members* of the body ſhall accuſe each other: nay which is worſt of all, the *Iudge himſelfe*

ſelfe ſhall be thy accuſer, repreſenting thoſe tranſgreſſions to thy memory, and laying them cloſe to thy charge which either thou haſt forgotten and caſt behinde thee, or didſt perchance not know, or not acknowledge to be ſinnes, *Sweet* IESVS! which way will the poore Sinner turne himſelfe in the midſt of all theſe accuſers and accuſations. To confeſſe them then will ſerue but to increaſe his ſhame; to deny them, but to aggravate his fault, and conſequently his puniſhment: nay deny them hee cannot, being convinced by two evidences againſt which there can be no exception, the booke of the *Law*, and the booke of his owne *Conſcience*, the one ſhall ſhew him what hee ſhould haue done, and the other what he hath done; againſt the booke of the *Law*; hee ſhall be able to ſpeake nothing, his *Conſcience* telling him that the commandements of the Lord are pure and righteous altogether: and for the booke of *Conſcience*, againſt that hee cannot poſſibly except, it being alway in his owne keeping, ſo as it could not be falſified, and whatſoever ſhall then be found written therein, he ſhall freely acknowledge to haue been written with his owne hand. Silence then ſhall be his ſafeſt plea, and aſtoniſhment his beſt Apologie.

The rather, for that all theſe accuſations ſhall be brought in and layd againſt him *in the preſence of the bleſſed Saints and glorious Angels* which ſhall then be vnto him a terrible and fearefull ſpectacle, aſwell in regard of their infinite number, as their irreſiſtable ſtrength. Wee read of diverſe holy men, who vpon the ſight of an *Angell* haue beene caſt into ſuch pittifull fits that their ſpirits haue fayled them, their breath hath forſaken them, their joints haue bin looſed, and for the time they haue bin as dead bodies without all appearance of ſenſe or life. Now if holy men haue beene ſo much moued with the ſight of one *Angell*, bringing them good tidings and converſing familiarly with them, into what inconceiueable gulfes of horrour ſhall the reprobate be plunged vpon the ſight of ſo many millions, all armed with indignation againſt them, and deſire of the full and finall execution of their *Creators* will? If an army of men marching with banners diſplayed be terrible to behold, how dreadfull ſhall that innumerable hoſte of heavenly ſouldiers appeare to the face of their enemies? and if one of them ſlew foure ſcore and fiue thouſand in one night, what mortall wight ſhall conceiue any hope of ſtanding before ſuch multitudes? who as they are now ſent forth to miniſter for their ſakes that are heires of ſalvation, ſo then ſhall they ſeparate the juſt from the vnjuſt, and ſhall execute vengeance vpon them that ſhall be heires of damnation, caſting them into a furnace of fire, where ſhall be wayling and gnaſhing of teeth. So as they ſhall not be bare *Spectatours*, but principall *Actours* in that lamentable tragedie. Wee findethat when but one of them deſcended to role away the ſtone from our Saviours Sepulchre, there was a great *Earth-quake*, and for feare of him the keepers of the Sepulchre were aſtonied, and became as dead men: Into what extremity then of confuſion and perplexity ſhall the wicked be driven, when they ſhall perceiue ſuch troupes of theſe mighty and glorious Creatures aſſembled not onely to be witneſſes of their ſhame and juſt condemnation, but agents in their execution? Beſides

all this, it ſhall be acted in the preſence of thoſe *bleſſed Saints* whom they alwayes held their greateſt enemies; and what greater bitterneſſe can be imagined, then to be laid open and reproached in the ſight of a mans enemies, and to ſee them in the meane time advanced to honour, triumphing and inſulting vpon his miſeries, as the Saints then ſhall doe vpon impenitent ſinners, admiring and applauding the juſtice of their *Creator*, and as *aſſiſtants*, approving the equity of that ſentence which he ſhall pronounce, and which the condemned themſelues likewiſe cannot but juſtifie?

In as much as then in an inſtant ſhall be repreſented vnto themſelues, and diſcovered in the open view of the whole world, all the horrible, fowle, bloody, crying, roaring ſins that ever they committed, together with all the circumſtances of time, and place, and perſons, and manner, and meaſure. Then ſhall they giue a particular ſtrict account of all the *bleſſings*, of all the *gifts and graces* which God hath beſtowed vpon them, of all the *faculties* of their ſoules, of all the *ſenſes and members* of their bodies, as it were of ſo many talents committed to their charge, how they haue vſed or rather abuſed them. Then ſhall they giue an account, how they haue profited by all thoſe *wholſome leſſons* they haue heard, and fatherly *chaſtiſments* they haue beene corrected with, how they haue entertained thoſe good *motions* that God hath put in their hearts, how they haue withſtood the *Suggeſtions* of *Sathan*, & the temptations of the *world* and the *fleſh*. Then ſhall they giue an account, not only of their greivous haynous ſinnes of *preſumption* and *malice*, committed againſt the light of their *Conſcience* wittingly, willingly, & wilfully, with an high hand and ſtiffe-necke; but of filthy rotten *ſpeeches*, prophane *writings*, vnſavory *jeſts*, nay of every *idle word*, nay of every looſe and lewd *thought*; not only of outward, publique, notorious tranſgreſſions; but of ſecret practiſes, miſchievous plots & projects, knowne only to *God* and their owne ſoules. *Laſtly*, not only of ſins of *Commiſſion*, but of the *Omiſsion* of good duties, and of their pretious time miſſpent, paſſing the greateſt part thereof in eating, and drinking, & ſleeping, and danceing, & gaming, in haunting taverns, and play-houſes, and dicing-houſes, and brothell-houſes, which ſhould haue beene ſpent in the workes of *Charity*, of *Piety*, or thoſe of their *private calling*. *Good God*, what ſhall the poore ſinner now ſay, what ſhall he doe for the levelling and cleering of thoſe accounts? ſhall he call for mercy? he hath already ſhut that doore againſt himſelfe. Shall he fly to his *Saviour*? hee is now become his Iudge. Shall he implore the interceſſion of the *Saints and Angells*? neither will they intercede if they might be heard, nor ſhall they be heard, though they would intercede. *O hard diſtreſſe!* ſayth devout *Anſelme*, on the one ſide will be his *ſinnes* accuſing him, on the other ſide *juſtice* terrifying him, vnder him the *gulfe of hell* gaping, aboue him the *Iudge* frowning, within him a *Conſcience* ſtinging, without him the *world* burning. Finding no way then to relieue or excuſe himſelfe, he ſhall *ſeeke to hide himſelfe in dens and among the clefts of the rockes, and ſhall ſay vnto the hills and mountaines, fall vpon me and cover me from the preſence of him that ſitteth vpon the Throne, and from the wrath of*

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the Lambe, for the great day of his wrath is come, and who can ſtand? and if the righteous be hardly ſaved, where ſhall the impenitent ſinner appeare? Yet no remedie, ſtand forth and appeare they muſt at the open barre of Gods juſtice, and there receiue their laſt doome, *Depart from me yee Curſed into ever laſting fire prepared for the Devill and his Angells.*

SECT. 4.

Or laſtly, the dreadfulnes of the ſentence which ſhall then bee pronounced vpon them.

O Mercifull Lord! what a dolefull, what a dreadfull ſentence is this? *Depart* from thee O *Chriſt*? why thou art all things, and therefore the loſſe of thee is an vniverſall loſſe of all things. Thou art the greateſt good, and therefore to be deprived of thee is the greateſt evill. Thou art the very *Center* and perfect reſt of the ſoule, and therefore to be pulled from thee is the moſt cruell ſeparation that can be. It was the richeſt promiſe that thou couldeſt make to the penitent theefe, and the ſweeteſt voyce that he could heare, *This day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe.* Lord whither ſhall we goe from thee? ſaith one of thine *Apoſtles*, and the other only wiſheth to be diſſolved, that he may be with thee. The *Wiſards* of the *Eaſt* when they recovered the ſight of the ſtarre that but led vnto thee, being yet in the ſtate of infirmitie and humilitie, rejoyced with an exceeding great joy: and thy forerunner the *Baptiſt* at the voyce of thy bleſſed mother ſprang for joy, being yet in the wombe; how then would they haue beene repleniſhed & raviſhed with joy to haue ſeene thee in thy Kingdome of glory, & tormented with griefe to haue been commmanded out of thy preſence? ſpecially conſidering, that *with thee is the well of life, in thy preſence is the fulnes of joy, and at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.* By parting from thee then, wee part from the blisfull viſion of the face of *God*, from the fruition of the happy fellowſhip of the holy *Angels* & ſociety of *Saints*, and conſequently from happineſſe it ſelfe. What remaines then, but that parting from happineſſe, wee ſhould indeede become moſt miſerable and accurſed Caitifs. Depart from me yee *Curſed*. Men ſometimes curſe where God bleſſes, and bleſſe where God curſes: They can only pronounce a man curſed, they cannot make him ſo: but heere it is otherwiſe: for with this powerfull and righteous Iudge, to pronounce is to make: when he curſed the figge tree, it inſtantly withered: And as theſe impenitent Sinners *loved curſing, ſo ſhall it come vnto them; and as they loved not bleſsing, ſo ſhall it be farre from them. As they cloathed themſelues with curſing like a rayment, ſo ſhall it come into their bowels like water, and like oyle into their bones; it ſhall be vnto them as a garment to cover them, and for a girdle wherewith they ſhall be alway girded. Curſed* ſhall be the day of their conception, & *curſed* the day of their birth: *Curſed* they ſhall be in their ſoules, and *curſed* in their bodies; *Curſed* in their thoughts, and *curſed* in their deſires; *curſed* in their ſpeeches, and *curſed* in their actions; *Curſed* in the haynouſnes of their ſinne, and *cur-*

ſed in the grievouſneſſe of their puniſhment: *curſed* in their puniſhment of *loſſe*, for their averſion from the *Creator*, *depart from mee*; and *curſed* in their puniſhment of *ſenſe*, for their converſion to the *Creature*, *Depart from mee into everlaſting Fire*. Of all the *Creatures* appointed by Almighty God, to be inſtruments for the execution of his *vengeance*, *water and fire* are noted to haue the leaſt mercy: And therefore with fire & brimſtone conſumed hee the filthy *Sodomites*, a type of this helliſh fire, as *Sodome* was of hell it ſelfe. If creating an element here for our *comfort*, I meane the *fire*, he made the ſame ſo inſufferable as it is, in ſuch ſort, as a man would not hold his onely hand therein one day to gaine a kingdome; what a *fire* thinke you hath he provided for hell, which is not created for *comfort*, but only for *torment?* Our *fire* hath many differences from that, and therefore is truly ſaid of the holy *Fathers*, to be but as a painted or fained fire in reſpect of that. For firſt our *fire* was made to comfort, as I haue ſaid, and that only to afflict and torment: Our *fire* hath neede to be fed continually with wood and fewell, or elſe it goeth out, that burneth eternally without feeding, and is vnquenchable; for that *the breath of the Lords owne mouth doth blowe and nouriſh it*. Our *fire* worketh only vpon the body, immediatly vpon the ſoule being a ſpirit it cannot worke, that worketh vpon the ſoule ſeparated from the bodie, as it likewiſe doth vpon the *Apoſtate Angells*, and vpon both ſoule and bodie rejoyned. Our *fire* giveth light which of it ſelfe is comfortable, that admitteth none, but is full of diſmall darkeneſſe. Our *fire* may be exſtinguiſhed, or the rage of it abated with water, that cannot. Ours breedeth weeping, that not only weeping but gnaſhing of teeth, the ordinary effect of cold. Such a ſtrange and incredible fire it is, that implies contraries, and ſo terrible is this Iudge to his enimies, that he hath deviſed a wonderfull way, how to torment them with burning heate and chilling cold both at once. *Laſtly*, our *fire* conſumeth the food that is caſt into it, and thereby in ſhort ſpace diſpatcheth the paines, whereas that afflicteth & tormenteth, but conſumeth not, to the end, the paines may be *Everlaſting* as is the fire.

O deadly *life!* O immortall *death!* what ſhall I tearme thee? *Life?* and wherefore then duſt thou kill? *Death?* and wherefore then doſt thou endure? There is neither *Life* nor *Death* but hath ſomething good in it. For in *life* there is ſome eaſe, and in *death* an end, but thou haſt neither *eaſe* nor *end*: What ſhall I tearme thee? even the bitterneſſe of both. For of *death* thou haſt torment without any end, and of *life* the continuance without any eaſe; ſo long as *God* ſhall liue, ſo long ſhall the damned die; and when he ſhall ceaſe to be happy, then ſhall they alſo ceaſe to be miſerable. A ſtarre which is farre greater then the earth, appeareth to be a ſmall ſpot in compariſon of the heavens, much leſſe ſhall the age of man ſeeme; yea much leſſe the age and continuance of the whole world in regard of this perpetuity of paines. The leaſt moment of time if it bee compared with tenne thouſand millions of yeares, becauſe both tearmes are finite, and the one a part of the other, beareth, although a very ſmall, yet ſome proportion: but this or any other number of years, in reſpect of endleſſe eternity, is nothing, leſſe then juſt *nothing:* For al thing

things that are *finite* may bee compared together, but betweene that which is *finite*, and that which is *infinite*, there ſtandeth no compariſon. O, ſaith one holy *Father* in a godly meditation, if a ſinner damned in hell did know that hee had to ſuffer thoſe torments no more thouſand yeares then there be ſands in the ſea or graſſe leaues on the ground, or no more thouſand millions of ages then there be Creatures in heaven, hell, and in earth, he would greatly rejoyce, for that he would comfort himſelfe at the leaſtwiſe with this cogitation, that once yet the matter would haue an end: But now, ſaith this good man, this word *never* breaketh his heart, conſidering that after an hundred thouſand millions of worlds (if there might be ſo many) he hath as farre to his journeyes end, as hee had the firſt day of his entrance into thoſe torments. And ſurely if a man that is ſharpely pinched with the goute, or the ſtone, or but with the toothach, and that they hold him but by fits, giving him ſome reſpite betweene-whiles, notwithſtanding doth thinke one night exceeding long although he lie in a ſoft bed, well applied and cared for; how tedious doe we thinke *eternity* will ſeeme to thoſe that ſhall be *vniverſally* in all their parts, *continually* without intermiſſion, *perpetually* without end or hope of end ſcorched in thoſe helliſh flames, which beſides that they are everlaſting, haue this likewiſe added, that they are *prepared for the Devill and his Angells?*

Prepared, by whom? ſurely by the *Iudge himſelfe*, who giues the ſentence. Now if but *mortall Iudges* ſhould ſet and ſearch their wits to deviſe and prepare a puniſhment for ſome notorious malefactour, what grievous tortures doe they often finde out, able to make a man tremble at the very mentioning of them? what kinde of puniſhment then ſhall wee conceiue this to be which this *immortall King* of Heaven & Earth, this *Iudge* both of the quicke & dead hath prepared? Surely his invention this way is as farre beyond the reach of all mortall wits (were they all vnited in one braine) as is his power. It muſt needes be then a torment inſufferable, vnſpeakeable & incomprehenſible, which he hath ſet himſelfe to prepare: But for whom? *for the Divell and his Angells*, that is, for the *Arch-traitour*, the chiefe rebell that ſtands out againſt him, & hath ſtood out againſt him ſince the firſt *Creation* of the World. *How art thou fallen from heaven O Lucifer ſonne of the morning! thou ſaydſt in thine heart, I will exalt my throne aboue, beſide the ſtarres of God, & I will bee like vnto the moſt high: Therefore hath he caſt thee downe to the bottomleſſe pit of hell, there to be impriſoned in everlaſting chaines vnder darkeneſſe to the judgement of this great day of the generall aſsiſe*, then & there ſhalt thou receiue thy compleat & finall ſentence: and then ſhall thoſe miſcreants who haue choſen rather to harken to thy intiſements, to yeeld to thy temptations, to march vnder thy banner, and with thee & thine *Angels* to ſtand out in open rebellion againſt their Liege Lord, then to yeeld their due obedience to him, who by ſo many obligations might deſervedly challenge it from them: Then I ſay, ſhall they who haue thus ſinned with thee, ſuffer likewiſe with thee: & as thou labouredſt by all meanes to make them like thy ſelfe in ſinne: ſo ſhalt thou then as earneſtly labour to make them like thy ſelfe, as in the *kinde*, ſo likewiſe in

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the *degree* of thy *punishment*: that as the *Saints* shall resemble the blessed *Angels* in heaven, so they may in all respects resemble thee and thy *cursed Angels* in hell. And thus haue we in part heard the *terrour* of this *last day* in regard of the obstinately wicked; Let vs now heare what *Comforts* the remembrance and meditation thereof may justly afford *the righteous*, that is, such as by *Gods grace endeavour to liue a vertuous and religious life*.

SECT. 5.

Secondly, the consideration of this day may serue for a speciall comfort to the godly, whether they meditate vpon the name and nature of the day it selfe in regard of them, or the assurance of Gods loue and favour towards them, and the gratious promises made vnto them.

THese *Comforts* then arise *first* from the *name* and *nature of the day* in regard of them: *Secondly*, from the *assurance of Gods loue and favour towards them*, and from the *gratious promises* made vnto them: *Thirdly*, from the *quality and condition of the Iudge* by whom they are to be tryed: and *lastly*, from the *sweetenes of the sentence* which shall be pronounced on their behalfe. *First* thē, this day howbeit it shall be very terrible to *impenitent* sinners, yet to the Servants of God shall it be a day of *joy & triumph*, a day of *Iubilee & exultation*, or as the Scriptures tearme it, a day of *refreshing* & *redemption*. Neither ought this to seem strange, since the same *Sun* which melteth the wax, hardneth the clay, the same beams exhale both stinking vapours out of the dunghills & sweete savours out of flowres, the beame is every way the same which workes vpon them, only the difference of the subjects which it workes vpon, is it that thus diversifies the effects. When the *Iudges* in their *Assises* come to the bench or place of judgement apparelled in skarlet robes, invironed with holdbards, attended on with great troopes, assisted by the principall knights and gentlemen of the Countrey, all this is a pleasing sight to the innocent prisoner, because hee hopes that now his innocency shall appeare in the face of the Countrey, and that the day of his deliverance is come: whereas to the guilty it is a dreadfull sight, because he knowes that the day of his tryall, & consequently of his condemnation and execution cannot be farre off: in like manner when the gibbet or gallow's is set vp, the ladder, the halter, the hangman & all in readines for the execution, this to the good subject & true man is a pleasing spectacle, because it is for their peace and safeguard: but a spectacle full of horrour to the condemned theefe or murtherer who are there instantly to bee executed. To such as are straitly besieged in a *Castle* or *City*, when a powerfull Army is raised to rescue them, & draweth neere to the place and is come within sight, the neighing and trampling of the horses, the glittering of the armour, the clashing of weapons, the beating of the drumme, the sounding of the trumpet, yea the roaring of the cannon to them are as sweet musicke, because they know all this to be for their succour and reliefe: but to the besiegers the noyse is terrible, be-

cause

cauſe they know it is to aſſault, remoue and vanquiſh them: & this ſurely ſhall be the difference betwixt the faithfull and the vnrighteous at the *day of judgement*. The *Majeſty* and *Glory of Chriſt*, the traine of innumerable *Angels* attending on him, the ſhrill ſound of the trumpet ſummoning all fleſh to appeare before his *Tribunall* at this great and generall *Aſsiſes*, and all other ſolemnities belonging to the pompe & magnificence thereof, as it ſhall vtterly daunt and confound the one, in as much as they know themſelues guilty of all thoſe enormities and outrages wherewith they ſhall be charged, ſo ſhall it cheere vp the other, for that they are then fully to be cleared in the preſence of men & *Angels* from thoſe vnjuſt aſperſions and imputations which their enemies haue caſt vpon them, they are to be freed from all thoſe wrongs & oppreſſions they haue ſuſtained, they are to be reſcued from that narrow ſiege, that fierce aſſault, that long & ſtrong battery, which by *ſinne*, the *world*, the *fleſh*, & the *Divell* hath beene laid to their ſoules; ſo as all thoſe fearefull ſignes fore-running the laſt end, as the trembling of the earth, & the ſhaking of the powers of heaven, ſhall be vnto them as the *Earthquake* was to *Paul* & *Silas*, which ſerved to looſe their fetters and manicles, and to open vnto them the priſon doores, and ſet them at liberty.

Neither can it in truth be otherwiſe, conſidering the loue & favour which *Almighty God* beares them. He hath redeemed them with the pretious Blood of his deare Sonne, he hath begotten them by the incorruptible ſeed of his word, he hath illuminated and ſanctified them with his Spirit, he hath ſealed them by his Sacraments, he hath pacified their guilty Conſciences with his grace, delivered them out of dangers, ſupported them in their temptations, relieved them in their diſtreſſes, reſolved them in their doubts, made all things to worke together for the beſt vnto them; and will he forſake them at this laſt tryall? no, no, *herein he ſetteth out his loue towards them, ſeeing, that while they were yet ſinners*, Chriſt *died for them, much more being now juſtified by his Blood, ſhall they bee ſaved from wrath thorow him. For if when they were enemies they were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, much more being reconciled ſhall they bee ſaved by his life:* if they were pardoned thorow his death when they were enemies, they ſhall much more be ſaued by his life now that they are friends. For how incredible is it, nay how impoſſible, that he who pardoneth an enemy ſhould condemne a friend? He loved them whiles they yet bore the image of the Divell, and will he not much more loue them now ſince he hath in part repaired his owne Image in them? They were deare vnto him when there was in them no goodneſſe, & can hee now abandon them being made partakers of that goodnes which himſelfe hath wrought in them? Being then pluckt out of the power of darkeneſſe, let them never feare to be rejected by the *Father of light*; having the bleſſed *Angels* ſent forth to miniſter for their ſakes, let them never feare to be delivered ouer vnto, or in the finall ſentence to be joyned with, the *Divell* and *his Angels*. *What ſhall we then ſay to theſe things? if God be on our ſide who can be againſt vs, who ſpared not his owne Sonne, but gaue him for vs all to death, how ſhall he not with him giue vs all things alſo? Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods choſen? it is god that juſtifieth: who*

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ſhall condemne? it is Chriſt which is dead or rather which is riſen againe. Who ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of Chriſt? ſhall tribulation or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakednesſe, or perill, or ſword? nay in all theſe things wee are more then conquerours thorow him that loued vs. And wee are perſwaded that neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate vs from the loue of God which is in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord.

And as the loue and favour of *God* in *Chriſt* doth thus arme his children againſt the terrour of the *day of Iudgement*, ſo do likewiſe the *gratious promiſes* made vnto them, which imbolden them to ſay again with the bleſſed *Apoſtle*, *I haue fought a good fight, I haue finiſhed my courſe, I haue kept the faith, from henceforth is layd vp for me the Crowne of righteouſneſſe which the Lord the righteous Iudge ſhall giue me at that day, and not to me only, but vnto all them alſo that loue that his appearing.* If I ſhall then receiue a Crowne of righteouſneſſe I need not feare hell fire: if the righteous Iudge himſelfe will giue it mee, I neede not ſtand in awe of his ſeverity: if he ſhall giue it to all thoſe that loue that his appearing, I need not tremble at the thought thereof; nay I haue rather great reaſon to be glad and rejoyce thereat, and when I ſee thoſe things come to paſſe, to looke vp & lift vp mine head, as being well aſſured, that my redemption draweth neere. And not only my redemption, but mine advancement to honour, even in that very act of Iudgement: the bench rather then the barre being my place there, & my ſelfe being ordained not to ſtand forth as a priſoner, but to ſit as a Iudge. *Verily I ſay vnto you, that when the Sonne of man ſhall ſit in the Throne of his Majeſty, yee which followed me in the regeneration ſhall ſit alſo vpon twelue thrones, and judge the twelue tribes of Iſraell*, ſayth Truth it ſelfe. Which priviledge leſt wee ſhould thinke to be reſtrained onely to his *Apoſtles*, one of them by good warrant extends it to all the faithfull. *Do yee not know*, ſayth hee, *that the Saints ſhall judge the world?* that is, wicked men who haue oppreſſed vs: And againe, *Know yee not that we ſhall judge the Angels?* that is, wicked ſpirits who haue tempted or aſſaulted vs. Now what folly is it to be afrayde of that judgment where wee our ſelues ſhall be Iudges, and that of our greateſt enemies? nay what incouragement ſhould it be to receiue it need were, the ſentence of death for *Chriſts* ſake, ſince it is certaine, that as *Chriſt* himſelfe ſhall Iudge *Pilate* before whom hee was arraigned, and by whom he was wrongfully condemned: ſo alſo ſhall we in ſome ſort, at leſtwiſe as *Aſſeſſors* with him, and approovers of his ſentence, iudge our Iudges. For although *Chriſt* our head principally and properly ſhall be the Iudge, yet wee that are his member ſhall haue a branch of his authority, and ſhall be as it were ioyned in commiſſion with him.

SECT. 6.

SECT. 6.

Or the quality and condition of the Iudge in reſpect of them by whom they are to be tryed: or laſtly, the ſweeteneſſe of the ſentence which ſhall then be pronounced on their behalfe.

BVt ſetting this *Commiſsion* aſide, what a comfort will it bee to the Godly to be ſummoned, to be aſſembled, to be ſeparated from the goates by the miniſtery of thoſe very *Angels* who were appointed to be their guardians, to pitch their tents round about them; and to beare them vp with their hands that they might not daſh their foote againſt a ſtone? nay what joy vnvtterable, with their eyes to behold and looke vpon that *Saviour* of theirs (appearing in *Majeſty* as a *Iudge*) who redeemed them with his heart blood, and gaue his life as a ranſome for them, in whom they haue truſted, on whom they haue beleeued, to whom they haue prayed, for whom they haue ſuffered, with whom they ſhall be glorified? Their Father, their Husband, their Maſter, their Head, their Phyſitian, their Advocate and Interceſſour: and can the father condemne the ſonne, the husband the wife, the Maſter his faithfull ſervant, the head his member, the Phyſitian his patient, the Advocate his Client? How happy is our caſe then, that hee muſt be our Iudge that was himſelfe judged for vs, and our aſſurance is, that hee will not condemne vs, that hath already beene condemned for vs: No, he will be ſo farre from condemning vs, that then and there hee will fully acquit vs in the ſight of the whole world, and pronounce that favourable ſentence on our behalfe, *Come yee bleſſed of my Father, inherite a kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

A judiciall ſentence ſhall I call it, or rather a brotherly & gratious invitation? *Come yee bleſſed of my Father: Come*, that where the husband is, there may the wife be; that where the father is, there may the ſonnes be; that where the Maſter is, there may the ſervant be; that where the Captain is there may the ſouldiers be; that where the king is, there may the ſubjects be, that where the head is, there may the members be. *Come*, it was thy voice ſweet *Saviour* whiles thou wert yet in the ſtate of humility, *Come vnto me all ye that are weary & heavy laden & I will refreſh you*: & doſt thou ſtill retaine the ſame ſweetnes and familiarity, being now in glory, and that whiles thou art ſitting vpon the throne of juſtice? *Good Lord*, how doſt thou at the ſame inſtant ſhew thy ſelfe terrible as a *Lyon* to thine enimies, & yet gentle as a *Lamb* to thy friends? frowning vpon the one, and yet ſmiling on the other, commanding the one out of thy preſence with an *Ite, Goe*; and inviting the other to approach neere with a *Venite, Come*. *Come, come* my deare hearts, now is the time that you muſt reſt from your labours, that your teares muſt be wip'd off, that your long expectatiõ & longing hope muſt be turned into fruition: your race is at an end, you muſt now receiue the prize; your wreſtling at an end, you muſt now receiue the garland, your combating at an end, you muſt now receiue the Crowne, *Come yee bleſſed of my Father*. *Bleſſed* in

your liues, and *bleſſed* in your deaths; *bleſſed* in your election, *bleſſed* in your vocation, *bleſſed* in your adoption, bleſſed in your juſtification, *bleſſed* in your ſanctification, and now for accompliſhment of all, moſt *bleſſed* in your glorification. And the fountaine of all this your bleſſedneſſe, is none other then the very *Father of bleſſings*, my *Father* and your *Father*, mine by nature, yours by grace, mine by eternall generation, and yours by ſpirituall regeneration: And whom the *Father* bleſſes, the Son cannot but moſt louingly and tenderly imbrace. *Come ye bleſſed of my Father*, what to doe? *to inherit a Kingdome*. Leſt my words ſhould ſeeme to be but winde, leſt my promiſes ſhould ſeeme to be vaine, and your patience and beleeving vaine; *Come* & receiue that which I haue promiſed, and you haue beleeued, *Come* and take actuall poſſeſſion of it; yet not as a purchaſe of your owne, but as an *inheritance*; not as wages, but as a reward; not as bought by the value of your merits, but conferred vpon you by the vertue of my ſuffrings, and the benediction of my Father as the cauſe, and your ſonne-ſhippe and obedience as the condition. Your title is good, your evidence faire, ſo as no exception can be taken to your right, nothing ſo much as pretended or pleaded to diſinherit you. *Come* on then chearefully, make haſt and enter vpon it, my ſelfe will leade you the way, follow mee. But what may it be gratious Lord that wee ſhall poſſeſſe? ſurely no leſſe then a *Kingdome*. This reward is ſomtimes ſet forth vnto vs vnder the name of a pleaſant garden or *Paradiſe* of delight; ſometime of a ſtately magnificent palace; ſometime of a large and beautifull Citty: but here of a *Kingdome*, a glorious, a ſpacious, a ſecure, a durable *Kingdome*, whoſe King is the *Trinity*, whoſe Law is *Divinitie*, whoſe meaſure *eternity*; as farre beyond all the *kingdomes* of this world, and all the guilded pompe, the glittering power and riches of them, as the greateſt earthly *Monarch* is beyond the Kinge in a play. *Earthly Monarches* haue their ſecret preſſures and pinches, they haue their feares, and cares, and griefes, and envy, and anger, and ſicknes mixed with their joyes and contents, or at leaſt by turnes ſucceeding them: Somewhat is ever wanting to their deſires, and full of doubts and jealouſies they are, that their dominions may bee either impaired or invaded: And if they were free from the poſſibility of all thoſe, yet may they in a moment, and that by a thouſand wayes be arreſted by death, and then all their honour lies in the duſt, all their thoughts periſh: But now with them that inherit this heavenly *Kingdome* it is not ſo: they haue joy and content at full, without the leaſt intermiſſion or diminutiō, without the leaſt mixture of any feare, or care, or griefe, or envy, or anger, or any other troubleſome paſſion whatſoever. They are out of all doubt & jealouſie of looſing that which they poſſeſſe, either in whole or in part; they are confident and ſecure that neither this *Kingdome* can be taken from them by rebellion or invaſion, nor they from it by death or depoſition. And herein againe doth this *Kingdome* excell all other *kingdomes*, that it is of *Gods ſpeciall preparing*. And ſuch happineſſe he hath *prepared* in it for them that ſhall poſſeſſe it, as eye hath not ſeene, eare hath not hard, tongue cannot vtter, neither hath at any time entred into the heart of man. Such as his imagination

on cannot apprehend, nor his vnderſtanding poſſiblely conceiue. O my Lord! if thou for this vile body of ours haſt given vs ſo great and innumerable benefits from the firmament, from the aire, from the earth, from the ſea; by light, by darkeneſſe, by heate, by ſhadow, by dewes, by ſhowers, by windes, by raines, by fiſhes, by beaſts, by birds, by multitude of hearbes, and variety of plants, and by the miniſtry of all thy Creatures: O ſweete Lord! what manner of things, how greate, how good, and how innumerable are thoſe which thou haſt prepared for vs in our heavenly Kingdome, where we ſhall ſee thee face to face, and raigne with thee eternally? If thou doe ſo great things for vs in our priſon, what wilt thou giue vs in our palace? If thou giveſt ſo many things in this world to good and evill men together, what haſt thou layd vp for only good men in the world to come? If thine enemies and friends together are ſo well provided for in this life, what ſhall thy only friends receiue in the life to come? If there be ſo great ſolaces in theſe dayes of teares, what joy ſhall there be in the day of marriage? If our jayle and priſon containe ſo great matters, what ſhall our *Kingdome* doe? O my Lord and God, thou art a great *God*, and great is the multitude of thy magnificence and ſweetenes, & as there is no end of thy greatnes, nor number of thy mercies, nor bottome of thy wiſedome, nor meaſure of thy beauty: So is there no end, number, or meaſure of thy rewards to them that loue and ſerue thee.

SECT. 7.

Thirdly, the conſideration of this day may ſerue for admonition to all.

SEeing then that all theſe things muſt be deſolved, what manner perſons ought we to be in holy converſation and godlines? looking for, and haſtning vnto the comming of that day, in which we all ſhall appeare before the judgement ſeate of Chriſt, that every man may receiue according to that hee hath done in his body, whether it be good or evill. Truly I know not (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) what others doe thinke of it, for my ſelfe, it makes mee often tremble when I conſider it. And holy *Hierome*, whatſoever I am doing, ſaith he, whether I be eating, or drinking, or ſleeping, or waking, or alone, or in company, or reading, or writing, me thinkes I ever heare the ſhrill ſound of the *Archangels* trumpet, ſommoning all fleſh to appeare, and crying aloud, *Surgite mortui & venite ad judicium*, ariſe yee dead and come away to judgement. The remembrance hereof is like a bitter pill, to purge out the malignitie of many wanton and vaine humours, or like a ſtrainer, all our thoughts, and ſpeeches, and actions which paſſe thorow it, are thereby cleanſed and purified. As the bird guideth her body with her traine, and the ſhippe is ſteered with the rudder, ſo the courſe of a mans life is beſt directed with a continuall recourſe vnto his laſt end. It is hard for a man to thinke of that and to thinke evill, or not to thinke of it and thinke well. Therefore when *Salomon* had ſpoken of all the vanities of men, at laſt he oppoſes this *memorandum* as a counterpoiſe againſt them all, *Remember for all theſe things thou ſhalt come to judgement:* as if he ſhould ſay, men would never ſpeake

as they ſpeake, nor doe as they doe, if they did but thinke that theſe ſpeeches & deedes of theirs ſhould one day come to *judgement. Whatſoeuer thou takeſt in hand then, remember the end, and that finall account which thou art to make, and thou ſhalt never doe amiſſe.* *S. Auguſtine* I remember in the entrance of one of his ſermons touching the *day of Iudgement*, makes a kinde of *Apologie* for himſelfe, that he treated in their hearing ſo often of that ſubject, telling them, that he did it for the diſcharge of his owne dutie, and for their good: it being better (ſaith he) here to indure a little bitternes, and hereafter to injoy eternall ſweetenes, then here to be fedde with falſe joyes, and there to indure reall and eternall puniſhments: But hee might haue juſtly excuſed himſelfe (had any excuſe needed in ſuch a caſe) by the example of our bleſſed *Saviour*, who in his *Goſpells*; and his *Apoſtles*, who in their *Epiſtles*, beate vpon this point no one more frequently: The knowledge and publiſhing whereof to the world hath in all ages beene held ſo neceſſarie, that not the *Prophets* alone, whoſe writings are read in our aſſemblies at this day, plainely foretold it, but *Enoch* the ſeaventh from *Adam* propheſied thereof; nay *Adam* himſelfe, if we may beleeue *Ioſephus*. And that no man might plead ignorance herein; the light of this truth (as hath already beene touched) ſhined among the very *Gentiles* before the incarnation of *Chriſt*.

Antiq l.1 c.4.

A great ſhame were it then for vs *Chriſtians* not to beleeue it, but a greater ſhame to our ſelues, and to our profeſſion a diſgrace, & a ſcandall to infidels, to profeſſe that we beleeue it, and yet to liue worſe then *Infidels*. *Mahometans*, and *Iewes*, & *Pagans* ſhall riſe in judgement againſt a number of *Chriſtians* and ſhall condemne them, for that ſtanding vp in the *Congregation*, and with their mouths openly profeſſing this article, that they beleeue that *Chriſt* ſhall come againe to judge both the quicke & dead; yet their thoughts, their deſires, their paſſions, their actions, their words are ſuch & ſo foule, as it evidētly ſhewes they beleeue not, or they vnderſtand not, or they remember not what they profeſſe. Shall I thinke that the common *drunkard* & *glutton* doth beleeue and remember, that at this day he muſt giue an account of the abuſe of *Gods Creatures*, of making his belly his *God*, his kitchin his *Chappell*, and his Cooke his *Prieſt*? Shall I thinke that the prophane *ſwearer* and *blaſphemer* doth beleeue & remember, that at this day he muſt giue an account of euery *idle word*, much more then of his helliſh oathes and damnable blaſphemies, wherewith he teares in peeces the name of *God*, & infects the very aire he breaths in? ſhall I thinke that the *Hypocrite*, who ſeekes to bleare the eyes of the world, doth beleeue & remember, that at this day he muſt giue an account of his glozing & ſhifting, and that then his hypocriſie ſhall be vncaſed & laide open to the view of the world? ſhall I thinke that the *Paraſite* doth beleeue and remember, that at this day he muſt giue an account of preferring the favour of men before the loue and ſervice of God? Shall I thinke the *Slanderer* doth beleeue and remember, that at this day he muſt giue an account of wounding and killing his brother in his good name by his tongue, or pen, or both? Shall I thinke the *Adulterer* doth beleeue and remember, that at this

day

day he muſt giue an account of giuing the reines to his vnbridled appetite without any checke or controll? Laſtly, doth the *malicious man* beleeue and remember; that at this day hee muſt giue an account of his bloody practiſes or plots; the *ambitious man*, of making his honour his *Idoll*; the *covetous*, of his oppreſſion and extortion? Let themſelues a little conſider of the matter, and they will eaſily grant it to be vnreaſonable, that any man ſhould beleeue it to be a part of their beliefe.

SECT. 8.

As likewiſe for inſtruction.

LEt vs then either ſtrike it out of the articles of our *Creede*, or let vs ſo endeavour to liue, as it may appeare, that we doe not only profeſſe it with our mouthes, but aſſuredly beleeue it with our hearts. Let the *civill Magiſtrate* ſhew that he beleeues it, by forbearing to make his will a law, & by a conſcionable care in the governing of thoſe who are committed to his charge, and providing that they may *live vnder him a quiet and peaceable life in all godlines and honeſty*. Let the *Divine*, the *Meſſenger of the Lord*, who preacheth it to others, ſhew that he beleeues it himſelfe, by forbearing baſe and indirect meanes to riſe to honour, (which he is moſt vncertaine how long, or with what content he ſhall hold) and by *feeding the flocke of God which depends vpon him, caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready minde, not as Lording it over Gods heritage, but as beeing a patterne to the flocke; & when that chiefe ſheepheard ſhall appeare, he ſhall receiue an incorruptible Crowne of glory*; Let that ſevere call euer ring in his eares, *Come giue an account of thy ſtewardſhip*. There ſhall *Andrew* come in with *Achaia* by him converted to the ſaving knowledge of the truth: *Iohn* with *Aſia*, *Thomas* with *India*, *Peter* with the *Iewes*, and *Paul* with the *Gentiles*; and what ſhall wee then ſay for our ſelues, if wee cannot bring forth ſo much as one ſoule converted by vs in the whole courſe of our miniſterie? Let the *Counſellour* ſhew that hee beleeues it, by giuing counſell rather wholſome then pleaſing, not for faction but for *Conſcience*, and by forbearing to make the good of the ſtate the ſtalking horſe of his private ends. For though he digge never ſo deepe, yet he who now ſearches and ſhall then iudge his heart diggs deeper. Let the *Courtier* ſhew hee beleeues it by vſing his favour to the countenancing and advancing of vertue and ſuppreſſing of vice, and by forbearing to varniſh & guild over foule proiects, or ſmother honeſt motions with faire ſemblances, looking rather at the worths and neceſſities of petitioners, then to their purſe and power. Let the *Militarie* man ſhew that he beleeues it by forbearing to thinke, that a prophaine oath is an ornament of ſpeech, or that violence, rapine, & out-rage, are the beſt *Characters* of a ſouldier; or that vniuſt effuſion of blood & *Duells* ſhall then paſſe for manhood, or that his ſtoute lookes or braue reſolutions ſhall then any thing availe him. Let the *Nobility* and *Gentry* ſhew that they beleeue it, by forbearing to make marchandiſe of *Church* livings committed to their care onely in truſt, to ſtrippe the backes of the poore, that they may ap-

parell their wals, and to ſnatch their meate from their mouthes, that they may giue it to their hawkes and dogges. For if they ſhall ſtand among the goates on the left hand and heare the dolefull ſentence, *Goe yee curſed*, who cloathed not the naked and fed not the hungry; tell me what ſhall become of them, who by extortion and oppreſſion, by vnconſcionable racking of rents aud wreſting from them exceſſiue fines, make them naked & hunger-ſtarved; nay grinde the face of the poore, and eate their fleſh to the bare bones? Let the *Iudges* ſhew that they beleeue it, by forbearing to giue ſentence for feare or favour, much leſſe for gold or gifts, as well knowing & remembring, that themſelues muſt one day giue a ſtrict account to this *ſupreame Iudge*, from whoſe ſentence lyeth no appeale. Let the *Lawyer* ſhew that he beleeues it, by forbearing to ſpin out the ſuites of his *Clients*, to whip him about from *Court* to Court, and to ſet his tongue to ſale for the bolſtring out of vnjuſt cauſes, which his owne Conſcience tells him to be ſuch, leſt that cauſe which here perchance he gained to his *Client* and got credit by, proue there to be his greateſt ſhame and vtter ruine, where all his ſophiſtrie & ſubtile quirks will not ſerue his turne. Let the *Marchant* ſhew that he beleeues it, yea by forbearing *lies* as well as oaths, by putting his cõfidence in *God*, not in his wedge of gold, and by often calling to minde that whither ſoever he travell or what bargaine ſoever he make, Hee ſtands by him as a *witnes* who ſhall hereafter be his *Iudge*. And what folly were it for a theefe to ſteale in the preſence of the Iudge before whom hee muſt be arraigned? Let the *Farmer* & *Countryman* ſhew that they beleeue it, by their iuſt laying out of the Lords portions to his Miniſters, as knowing that though they haply deceiue his Miniſters, yet the Lord him ſelfe they cannot deceiue, & that the double dãmages then of their bodies & ſoules will be infinitely more grievous then their *treble dammages* here. *Finally*, let all ſorts make it appeare, that they indeed do not profeſſe it only but beleeue it, by ſhewing that reverence and reſpect to the word, to the Sacraments, to the Ambaſſadours, to the houſe, to the day, to the ſervants, to the members of him who then ſhall be their *judge*, that they may with comfort & confidence appeare in his preſence. The leaſt good worke now done for his ſake & to his honour, ſhall then ſteed vs more then the treaſure of both the *Indies*, then all the *kingdomes of the world and the glory of them*. Then our indignation and revenge vpon our ſelues, our compunction and contrition for our ſins committed againſt this *Iudge*, ſhall refreſh vs and cheare vs. *For if we would iudge our ſelues we ſhould not be iudged.* Then ſhall our reſiſting of alluring temptations, our patient induring bitter afflictions & chaſtiſements, our ſufferings, loſſes, diſgraces, baniſhments for the Truths ſake, ſerue vnto vs as ſo many ſoveraigne and pretious *Cordials: for when we are iudged wee are chaſtened of the Lord, becauſe we ſhould not be condemned with the world.* Let vs heare the end of all, *Feare God and keepe his commandements, for this is the whole duty of man: For God will bring every worke to iudgment with every ſecret thing, whether it be good or evill. Even ſo, come Lord Ieſus, come quickly. How long Lord, how long, Holy and True?*

Not vnto vs, O Lord, not vnto vs,
but vnto thy name giue the glory. *BOETH.*

BOETHIVS Lib. 1. Metr. 7.

---Tu quoque ſi vis
Lumine claro cernere verum,
Tramite recto carpere cælum,
Gaudia pelle, pelle timorem,
Spemque fugato, Nec dolor adſit.
Nubila mens eſt, vinctaque frænis
Hæc vbi regnant.

If with cleare eye thou wilt ſee
Truth, and in the right way treade,
Ioy and hope chaſe farre from thee,
Baniſh ſorrow, baniſh dread.
Cloudy, fettered faſt with Chaines,
Is the minde where paſſion raignes.

Whatſoever I haue written in this, or any other booke, I humbly ſubmit to the cenſure of the *Church* of *England*.

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENTS TO THE LEARNED READER OCCASIONED BY THIS SECOND IMPRESSION.

The first Advertisement.

SINCE the first publishing of this ensuing treatise, there came to mine hands by meanes of some worthy friends, an *Italian* booke intituled *L' Hoggidi, Overo il mondo non peggiore ne piu Calamitoso del passato*: the Authour of it *Secondo Lancellotti* of *Perugia*, *Abbot* of *Olivet*, it was printed at *Venice anno* 1627, neere about the same time (it should seeme) that my first Edition was printed here at *Oxford*. Hee dedicates it to Pope *Vrban* the eight, having passed the approbation of many learned men, amongst whom is one *Ferrarius* a Lawyer of *Venice*, who bestowes vpon it this inscription.

Quisquis
Exacta tempora nimium laudas
Librum hunc perlege
Quem Secundus Lancellottus Perusinus
Olivetanus Antistes
Docte Conscripsit,
Veritatis quam Vetustatis amicus:
Videbis
Quod hodie est,
Eiusmodi & olim fuisse,
Neque præsentia præteritis esse nequiora,
Magno sed errore duci,
Exacta tempora qui nimium laudat,
Hodierna damnat.

His whole discourse he branches into two maine parts *malum culpæ*, and *malum pœnæ*, endeavouring to proue that the world in regard of either is not worse now then in former times; and these he devides into fifty Chapters which he calls *Disinganni*, I will set them downe, as well that it may appeare in how many points hee accords with mee, as also that the Reader who desires farther satisfaction, in any of those particulars, may (if he please, and can procure the booke) haue recourse vnto him.

An introduction to the whole worke. *cap.* 1.

That pride and superfluous expences and vaine pompe began not yesterday, but haue beene in the world long before vs. *c.* 2.

That pride and vanity in mens apparrell and dressing themselues, is not more excessiue now then in former ages it hath beene. *c.* 3.

That our women are not that way more vaine, then in times past they haue beene. *c.* 4.

That in buildings men are not more prodigall or lesse skilfull then anciently they were. *c.* 5.

That the excesse in giving titles of honour not onely to Lords and Princes, but to private men, is not a matter so peculiar to these present times as is

commonly thought. c.6.
That the vanity of men about their funerals and monuments, is not increaſed in regard of former times. c.7.
That our youth are not more head-ſtrong or more irreverent to old age then heretofore they haue beene. c.8.
That men are not more ambitious now adayes then they haue beene in times paſt. c.9.
That the world hath no reaſon to complaine, and in ſpeciall wee of Italie (as ſome would beare vs in hand, as being now in more miſerable eſtate then heretofore) for that more Princes, then haue done, Lord it over vs. c.10.
That Reaſon of ſtate was not yeſterday borne into the world, but is ancient, and hath alwayes amongſt men beene a powerfull dame, and in particular amongſt Princes. c.11.
That we may not affirme that onely in this age Princes will not be admoniſhed, and corrected. c.12.
That men without cauſe complaine that now adayes wee feele more ſieges, more ſackings and ruines of Cities and Countreys then formerly wee haue done, and in particular that Italie is not more vnhappy then heretofore. c.13.
That luxury in diet is not more exceſſiue in this age, then formerly amongſt our Anceſtours it hath beene. c.14.
That in the number of Severall courſes at a ſitting and other particulars of gourmandizing, men were in former times as incontinent as now they are. c.15.
That it is neither true nor likely that men in the firſt age of the world (as is commonly held) fed vpon akornes. c.16.
That the tables of the Ancients were not leſſe furniſhed with ſtore and variety of rare and dainty diſhes, nor leſſe attended on by officers, and ſeruitours then now they are. c.17.
That men were anciently no leſſe given to exceſſe in drinking then now adayes they are. c.18.
That the vſe of ſnow and ice in wine for the refreſhing thereof is no new faſhion. c.19.
That Auarice doth not raigne more now then in ancient times. c.20.
That marchants and tradſmen are not now more covetous, more deceitfull or vnjuſt, then in former ages they haue beene. c.21.
That it cannot be maintained that covetouſneſſe and extortion in publique courts and particularly in Rome, is now in the higheſt degree. c.22.
That the common complaint about the great ſummes demanded for the dowrie money of daughters, as alſo for the vailing of them in nunneries is not proper only to theſe preſent times, as men vſually beliene. c.23.
That Princes do no leſſe do juſtice now then anciently they did. c.24.
That Princes do not more oppreſſe their ſubiects now then in former times they haue done. c.25.
That it is not worſe liuing in the Court now then heretofore it hath bin. c.26.
That it is no new matter to ſee good and learned men diſeſteemed, and ſet at naught. c.27.
That anciently men were no leſſe drowned in carnall luſts then now they are. c.28.
That men are not now of a lower ſtature then anciently they were, and that it doth not decreaſe by time as it is commonly ſaid. c.29.

That

That for mothers not to nurſe their owne children is no new matter. c.30.

That mens bodies doe not ſtill grow weaker and weaker, and that it is not true which many giue out to the ſhame of theſe preſent times. That Rome for many hundreds of yeares was without any Phiſitian. c.31.

That the life of man doth not ſtill grow ſhorter and ſhorter as is the common outcry. .32.

That the military art is not loſt as men generally giue out. c.33.

That vnfaithfulneſſe and treacherie among friends and kinsfolke is not more vſuall now then in former ages. c.34.

That the world is not now come to ſuch an extreeme defect of charity, as that no man ſhould deſerue well of another. c.35.

That for matter of Religion *and the ſtate of the Church things are not now in worſe caſe then anciently they haue beene.* c.36.

That it neither is now, nor ever was any hinderance in matter of religion that the Church of God ſhould be rich in temporall goods. c.37.

That the grieuous Complaint of the corruptions of preſent times is one of the chiefe occaſions of hereſie. c.38.

That the Monkes are not more irregular or more rich now, then in times paſt, and that riches in common well enough agrees with their order. c.39.

That if ſuch as profeſſe a monaſticall life offend in ſumptuous buildings, that offence is not moderne. c.40.

That the preachers of Gods word edifie by their Sermons no leſſe now, then formerly they haue done. c.41.

That it is not true that the world is more miſerable and malitious or fuller of vice, then anciently it hath beene; and that the famous golden age *ſo much celebrated by the poets and beleeued by other graue authours, never had any being, but is a meere dreame of the ancients and modernes.* c.42.

That the violence of earthquakes is not more vſuall now then heretofore. c.43.

That men now adayes doe not feele more frequent or greater loſſes from the invndations of the ſea, or the overflowing of rivers, or from ſtormes and ſhipwrackes then our forefathers did. c.44.

That extraordinary cold and exceſſiue froſts at times were not vnknowne to our anceſtours. c.45.

That dearths and famins are not more vſuall or grievous now adayes then in former ages, either by the barrenneſſe of the earth, or the violence of tempeſts, or the covetouſneſſe of men. c.46.

That mortality and peſtilences haue rather beene leſſe in latter ages then in former. c.47.

That burnings either cauſed by nature, or occaſioned by men haue not beene more frequent in latter then in former times. c.48.

That monſters, and prodigious accidents haue falne out in all ages, and that our anceſtours haue in their times ſeene as many and great as wee in ours. c.49.

That in concluſion wee haue no reaſon to beleeue that the world is more afflicted with calamities or leſſe happy then heretofore. c.50.

Theſe are his heads: by which it appeares that though hee handle not the queſtiō touching the ſtate of the world in generall, nor yet touching the heavens, the elements, the plants or other inſenſible & vnreaſonable

creatures in ſpeciall; yet by ſo much as he hath expreſſed, it cannot well be but hee ſhould accord with mee in the whole, and truly thus much I muſt profeſſe of him (were he mine adverſary in the point) that in my judgment hee hath ſhewed himſelfe to be a man of ſingular good parts, and I doubt not but if ſome able hand pleaſed to make his booke ſpeake Engliſh, it would proue to a number, who delight in writings of that kinde, a labour very acceptable.

The ſecond aduertiſement.

My ſecond Aduertiſement ſhall be touching the computation of the *Roman Seſterce*. Not long after the firſt editiō of my booke it pleaſed the right Reuerend and learned Prelate the Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*, to do me ſo much fauour as freely to impart me his minde therein by letters; the effect whereof was that hee valued the *Seſterce* at ſomewhat an higher rate then I had done, grounding himſelfe vpon the decreaſe in the weight of coynes ſince the time of *Budæus*, who wrote his booke *de aſſe* (as appeareth by the date of his Epiſtle Dedicatory; in the yeare 1514) ſomewhat aboue one hundred yeares agoe, and the greateſt part of the beſt authours following him ſince therein, thoſe who liue in this preſent age might happily be ſomewhat miſtaken in their reckoning by reaſon of the diſtance betwixt our times and his. The difference betwixt his Lordſhips computation and mine is not great, hee valuing twenty *Seſterces* at $3^{f}\,2^{d}$ of our coyne, and my ſelfe at $3^{f}\,1^{d}\,ob$, which in ſmall ſummes is ſcarce ſenſible, though in great ſummes I muſt confeſſe it appeare ſomewhat wider, which vpon the matter ſerues my turne better, in as much as it ſerues to make the exceſſe of the *Roman* luxury appeare the greater: yet to bolt out the truth, and withall to ſatisfie my ſelfe in this buſineſſe, I ſent to a friend of mine in London to take information from the mint-maſters what was the preſent value of an ounce of ſiluer with vs, becauſe the *denarius* being by generall conſent the eighth part of an ounce and the *Seſterce* the fourth part of the *denarius* it conſequently followes that as the ounce riſes or falls in value, ſo doth the valuation of the *Seſterce:* Anſwere was returned mee that the kings price of the mint for ſilver brought thither is fiue ſhillings, but betweene man and man, fiue ſhillings and three pence, The former of which I haue followed, as likewiſe doth Sir *Henry Sauill* in his Annotations on *Tacitus*, and our laſt tranſlatours in their marginall notes; but my L. of *Hereford* ſeemes to draw neerer to the latter which to ſpeake truly and properly is accounted the ſterling price: & therefore to mine owne calculation I haue now made bold to annexe his Lordſhips, leauing the Reader to his owne choiſe to haue recourſe vnto and make vſe of which he pleaſe. I was likewiſe about to haue ſet downe in the margin of my booke (which many haue deſired) the value of the *Seſterces* mentioned therein anſwerable to our *Engliſh* coines, but the difference being ſoe great betweene *Seſterty* and *Seſtertia*, when I found the ſumme to be expreſſed by *Seſtertys*, it being common to both, I could fixe vpon neither but by coniecture, and in caſting of it vp, by the one I found the ſumme ſometimes to fall ſo low vnder expectation, and

by

by the other to riſe ſo high aboue beliefe, and beſides the margin in many places to be ſo prepoſſeſſed with quotations, that in the end I reſolved to leaue all to the vſe of the calculated tables and the diſcretion of the reader, it beeing certaine that when wee finde out a thing by a concurrence and cooperation of our owne diligence it both relliſheth the ſweeter and ſtickes the faſter.

The third Advertiſement.

My third Advertiſement is, that ſome very obſervable things touching ſome part of the ſubject of this booke haue come to mine handes ſince thoſe parts paſſed the preſſe, and ſome others I had in readineſſe but could not conveniently inſert them, by reaſon of mine abſence when they ſhould haue beene inſerted in their proper places. And that which made me the more willing to expreſſe them heere, was that if the booke chance to come to a third impreſſion, they may be in a readineſſe to be inſerted. Of the firſt ranke then is the admirable abſtinence from all kinde of foode of diverſe perſons, and thoſe for the moſt part of the female ſexe and virgins, for the ſpace of many yeares together, ſuch and ſo ſtrange as neither *Pliny* himſelfe, nor any other of the Ancients that I haue yet met with, hath ſo much as mentioned any thing comparable therevnto in that kinde. *Paulus Lentulus* a doctour of Phyſicke in the province of *Bearne*, a Canton of *Swiſſerland* hath publiſhed a booke which he intitles *Hiſtoria admiranda, de Appolloniæ Schireæ virginis in agro Bernenſi inedia*, and dedicated it to our late Soveraigne King *Iames*, at his firſt entrance to the Crowne, in which epiſtle dedicatorie he ſaith, *admirationem ingentem parit quod noſtra & patrum memoria, jam aliquoties diverſis in locis talia contingerent: priſcis ſæculis (quantum quidem ex omnis ævi monumentis colligi poteſt) aut ignota planè, aut fortaſſe parum obſervata, exceptis paucis illis quæ in ſacris literis commemorantur, quæ à deo immediatè ad certum finem (ſicuti ex eiſdem ſacris literis patet) planè contra totum naturæ ordinem, verè miraculoſè edita ſcimus.* In the hiſtoricall narration he tells vs that himſelfe was with the maide he there writes of, three ſeverall times, and that ſhee was by the command of the Magiſtrates of *Bearne* brought thither, and hauing a ſtrict guard ſet vpō her, and all kinde of tryalls put in practiſe for the diſcovery of colluſion, in concluſion they found none, but diſmiſſed her fairely: In the firſt yeare of her faſting, ſhee ſlept very little, in the ſecond not at all, and ſo continued for a long time after. The ſame author in the ſame booke produceth diverſe other examples in the ſame kinde, though not vpon his owne experience, yet vpon the teſtimonie of witneſſes not to be excepted againſt; as of one *Margaret* a girle of about ten yeares of age borne in a village named *Roed*, about two miles from *Spire* who began to abſtaine from all kinde of ſuſtenance *Anno Domini.* 1539, and ſo continued for three yeares, walking in the meane ſeaſon, and talking, and laughing, and ſporting as other children at that age vſe to doe, yet was ſhee by ſpeciall order from the Biſhop of *Spire* delivered into the hands of the Paſtor of the Pariſh, and by him narrowly obſerved and afterwards by the command of *Maximilian*

King of the *Romans* committed to the keeping of *Gerardus Buculdianus* his Phyſition with whom he joyned a gentleman of his bed chamber, and at the end of 12 dayes finding by their relation that there could be no jugling in the buſineſſe, he gaue her leaue to returne to her friends, not without great admiration and princely gifts. A third narration he makes of *Catharin Binder* borne in the *Palatinate* whom *Iohn Caſimir Anno Domini* 1585, committed to the ſearch of a Divine, a ſtatſeman, and two Doctours of Phyſicke; ſhe is ſaid to haue fed only vpon aire by the ſpace of nine yeares and more, the diſcourſe whereof *Lentulus* received from *Fabritius* and therewith the narration of another maide borne in the Dukedome of *Iuliers*, who being about the age of 14 yeares was brought to *Cullen*, and is certainely reported to haue taken no kinde of meate or drinke by the ſpace of at leaſt three whole yeares. But the ſtrangeſt I haue met with in this kinde is the Hiſtorie of *Eue Fleigen*, out of dutch tranſlated into *Engliſh* and printed at *London Anno* 1611, who being borne at *Meurs* is ſaid to haue taken no kinde of ſuſtenance by the ſpace of 14 yeares together, that is from the yeare of her age 22 to 36, and from the yeare of our Lord 1597 to 1611, and this wee haue confirmed by the teſtimonie of the Magiſtrate of the towne of *Meurs*, as alſo by the Miniſter who made tryall of her in his houſe 13 dayes together, by all the meanes he could deviſe, but could detect no impoſture. Over the picture of this maiden ſet in the front of the dutch copie ſtand theſe Latine verſes.

Meurſæ hæc quam cernis decies ter ſexq; peregit
Annos, bis ſeptem prorſus non veſcitur annis
Nec potat, ſic ſola ſedet, ſic pallida vitam
Ducit, & exigui ſe oblectat floribus horti.

Thus rendred in the *Engliſh* copie.

This maide, of *Meurs* 36 yeares ſpent
14 of which ſhe tooke no nouriſhment
Thus pale, and wan ſhe ſits ſad and alone
A garden's all ſhee loues to looke vpon.

Franciſcus Citeſius a French Phyſition likewiſe witneſſeth that one *Catharin Colberghen* lived in *Spire* 7 yeares without meate or drinke: as alſo that within the towne of *Conflans* in *France* lying vpon the borders of *Limoſin* and the river of *Vien*, a Smith by name *Iohn Balam* had a daughter named *Ioane* borne in the yeare 1588, who for the ſpace of 2 yeares did neither eate nor drinke; in admiration and for verification of which wonder that famous and eloquent Doctour *Iacobus Viverius* wrote and publiſhed certaine verſes too long to be here inſerted. He that deſires to ſee more of theſe kinde of admirable faſtings, let him conſult with *Sylvius Conſil. adverſus famem*, *Laurentius Ioubertus* Deca. 1 Paradox. 2 and *Schenkius* in his *Medicinall obſervations*. *Lib.* 3. *obſerv.* 39. and truly me thinkes ſuch wonderfull workes of God as theſe, ſhould not paſſe by vs without a marke ſet vpon them, ſpecially conſidering that the greateſt and moſt notable part of the examples alleaged haue beene of religion: but I proceede.

Pag. 227. Amongſt the great *Heroes* and miracles for all kinde of

of learning moſt renowned in this latter age, *Ioſeph Scaliger* well deſerved his place, if that teſtimonie which *Caſaubon* giues of him in his preface prefixed before *Scaligers Opuſcula*, be true. *Nihil eſt quod diſſere quiſquam vellet quod ille docere non poſſet: nihil legerat, (quid autem ille non legerat?) quod non ſtatim meminiſſet nihil tam obſcurum aut abditum in vllo vetere ſcriptore Græco, Latino, vel Hebræo, de quo interrogatus non ſtatim reſponderet. Hiſtorias omnium populorum, omnium ætatum, ſucceſſiones imperiorum, res Eccleſiæ veteris in numerato habebat: animalium, plantarum metallorum, omniumq; rerum naturalium, proprietates, differentias & appellationes quà veteres, quà recentes tenebat; accuratè locorum ſitus, provinciarum fines & varias pro temporibus illarum diviſiones ad vnguem callebat; nullam diſciplinarum, ſcientiarumue graviorum reliquerat intactam, linguas tam multas tam exactè ſciebat, vt vel ſi hoc vnum per totum vitæ ſpatium egiſſet, digna res miraculo potuerit videri.* And leaſt this teſtimonie of *Caſaubon* might happily ſeeme partiall, I will therevnto annexe that of *Iulius Cæſar Bulengerus* a doctor of the *Sorbon*, and profeſſour at *Piſa*, who in the 12th booke of the hiſtorie of his time thus writes of the ſame *Scaliger*. *Sequutus eſt annus milleſimus ſexcenteſimus nonus Ioſephi Scaligeri morte feralis: quo noſtra ætas neminem majori ad literas genio ingenioq; tulit, et forte anteacta ſæcula parem omni doctrinæ genere non habuerunt.*

Pag. 218 Since this page paſſed the preſſe, there came to mine hands a letter of Doctor *Deodates* to my much honoured friend Sir *Richard Anderſon*, wherein vnder his hand he avowes for the ſubſtance thereof that relation which in that page is by mee reported of a memorable *Phlebotomie* made by him: the different circumſtances are, that I in my booke ſpeake of 63 ounces of bloud drawne from the ſame man within the compaſſe of 24 houres, whereas he in the letter mentions only aboue 60 drawne within the compaſſe of three dayes: but by two other circumſtances he much helpes my relation, the one that the partie from whom hee drew it was then of the age of 76 yeares, the other that hee ſurviued the cure eight yeares; and that the whole buſineſſe may the more liuely appeare in its owne colour, I will heerevnto annexe the letter it ſelfe, the rather for that I hold it to bee an evidence worth the preſerving.

To the right worſhipfull Sir *Richard Anderſon* Knight at *Pendly*.

SIR

TO ſatisfie your requeſt (which ſhall ever be to me a ſtrict commande) I ſend you in theſe few rude lines the particulars of that profuſe and very ſeldome imitable (though in that particular ſubject beyond meaſure ſucceſſefull) Phlebotomie. *About* 20 *yeares a goe I had a houſe at* Brainford *by reaſon of my attendance vpon Prince* Henry *and the now Queene of* Bohemia. *It hapned that a poore neighbour of mine a gardener by his trade, called Goodman* Treſtram *an old man of* 76 *yeares, of a ruddie and ſanguine complexion fell into a moſt violent inflammation of the lunges accompanied with a terrible feaver, ſhortneſſe of breath, ſtitch of both his ſides, a dry cough, and an vnquenchable thirſt. He requiring my aſsiſtance, I did viſite him; and finde-*

ing him in a more deſperate caſe, I reſolued to trie what helpe our arte could afforde to reſcue him from the clawes of death, and after a ſerious conſideration, I concluded that a plentifull Phlebotomie *was the only though very doubtfull remedie of his diſeaſe, being therevnto incouraged by the extraordinary fullneſſe and ſtrength of his pulſe. Wherevpon I ſent for a Surgion, and cauſed him to let him blood about 20 ounces: by which evacuation (his blood being extreamely purified) he felt a greate reliefe for 2 or 3 houres: but afterwards all his accidents came vpon him againe as inſtant as before: ſo that the next morning I was induced to repeate the bleeding in the ſame quantitie as before, whereby he found a great but a momentarie eaſe, for his paines and all other accidents did* recurrere pari quâ priùs violentia. *The third day viſiting him I was amazed to ſee the vnquenchableneſſe of this fire: yet remembring* Hippocrates *precept in theſe caſes* mittendum eſſe ſanguinem ad coloris mutationem. *I ventured the third* Phlebotomie *as copious as the two former: towards the latter end of the which, he ſaid he found an extraordinary lightſomeneſſe & eaſe more then he had felt before: wherevpon I ſtopped, & after his blood was ſetled I found 9 ſawcers very bad, but the laſt faire and pure, which gaue me hope of his recoverie, which hapned within few dayes after: and he ſurviued this cure 8 yeares. Thus to obey you I haue ſcribled this paper, wherein I wiſh I might liuely repreſent vnto you both my inward apprehenſion of your tranſcendent favours to me and mine, as alſo my fervent deſire to witneſſe my ſelfe in all occaſions*

Your inviolably devoted
ſervant

30 *Sept.* 1629.

Theod. Deodat.

Touching the vnchangeableneſſe of the heavens and the perpetuall change of the elements yet without loſſe to the whole, I fell vpon thoſe excellent verſes of *Buchanan* in his firſt booke *de ſphæra*, but too late to be inſerted into the bodie of my booke.

At quanquam moles omni ſibi parte cohærens
Vna ſit, & nexis per mutua vincula membris
Conſpiret, poſitaſque ſemel Rectore ſub vno
Obſervet leges: non eſt tamen omnibus vnum
Partibus ingenium, non vis nativa: ſed orbes
Aſtriferi, & nitidi ſublimis regia cæli
Immunis ſenij, et vultu immutabilis vno
Perpetuum ſervat ſolida & ſincera tenorem.
At quicquid gremio Lunæ complectitur orbis
Permutat variatque vices, trepidoq; tumultu
Æſtuat, & nunquam ſentit pars vlla quietem,
Nam ruit in ſeſe, & civili vulnere ſemper
Aut cadit, aut perimit, alioq; renaſcitur ore
Rurſus vt intereat.

Pag. 203. Thoſe words of the great *Eraſmus*, in his booke *de inſtitutione principis*, might well haue found a proper place. *Eſt tacita quædam adulatio in picturis, ſtatuis ac titulis; ſic Alexandro magno adulatus eſt Apelles,*

Apelles, pingens eum fulmen manu torquentem, & Octavius Apollinis effigie pingi gaudebat. Eodem pertinent immanes coloſſi quos olim Imperatoribus erigebant ſupra modum humanæ magnitudinis.

Pag. 188. Take along with you that memorable example of a Giant reported by *Thuanus Lib.* 61. *Anno.* 1575 (out of *Leonardus Gorecius in deſcriptione belli Iuoniæ*) where diſcourſing of an inroade of the *Tartarians* vpon the *Polonian territories* ſet on by *Amurath* grand Signior of the *Turkes* thereby to revenge an incurſion of the *Koſacks* vpon his dominions, he there ſpeakes of a *Tartar*, ſlaine by the hand of a *Polander*, of a prodigious bigneſſe, his words are, *inter quos vnum repertum prodigioſæ magnitudinis à Iacobo Niazabilovio occiſum ſcribit Leonardus Gorecius, cujus frons 24 digitos lata erat, ac reliquum corpus tantæ magnitudinis, vt jacens humi cadaver vmbilicum viri ſtantis attingeret.*

Pag. 124. We reade of a moſt ſtupendious earthquake *Anno.* 365. thus deſcribed by *Ammianus Marcellinus. Horrendi tremores per omnem orbis ambitum graſſati ſunt ſubitò, quales nec fabulæ nec veredicæ nobis antiquitates exponunt; paulo poſt lucis exortum denſitate crebra fulgurum vibratorum tremefacta concuciitur omnis terreni ſtabilitas ponderis* &c. of the like *vniverſall earthquake* I never heard nor read.

Pag. 235. The errour touching the neceſſitie of the *Euchariſt* to be given to infants continued in the Church a long time even about ſixe hundred yeares, as *Maldonate* ſayth in *Iohn.* 6. 53. and *Beatus Rhenanus in Tertul: de corona militis* obſerveth out of the *Rituall* bookes called *Agenda*, that this cuſtome was ſtill in vſe vnto the time of *Ludovicus Pius* and *Lotharius*, that is, towards nine hundred yeares after Chriſt. Mr *Selden* likewiſe in his booke *de angelis* hath obſerved that 22 of the fathers (as I remember, for the booke it ſelfe I haue not now by me) maintaine the *Corporeitie* of *Angels.*

Pag. 236. King *Alfred* in his preface vpon the *Paſtorals* of Saint *Gregorie* (which he tranſlated into *Engliſh*) ſaith, that when he came firſt to his kingdome, he knew not one Prieſt on the South ſide of the river *Humber* that vnderſtood his ſervice in *Latine*, or that could tranſlate an Epiſtle into *Engliſh*: and *Clemangis* in his booke *de corrupto Eccleſiæ ſtatu, Cap.* 6 *non à ſtudijs aut ſchola, ſed ab aratro etiam & ſervilibus artibus ad parochias regendas paſſim proficiſcebantur, qui paulo plus latinæ linguæ quam Arabicæ intelligerent, imo & qui nihil legere & (quod referre pudet) Alpha vix noſſent à Beta diſcernere, & ſi parum docti, negligentius ſane morati, vtpote qui abſque literis in otio educati, nihil niſi impudicitias, ludos, commeſſationes, jurgia, vaniloqua ſectentur.*

Pag. 237 The many exact *Tranſlations* and faire *Editions* of the *Bible* in this latter age deſerved here to haue beene remembred, as alſo the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which about foure or fiue yeares ſince, the moſt Reverend father in God and moſt excellently learned Prelate the preſent Archbiſhop of *Armach* and primate of *Ireland* not without great charge (as a rare jewell) got into his hands. It being a matter of ſpeciall moment, and yet ſcarce heard of among *Chriſtians* for many ages paſt, as witneſſeth Mr *Selden* in his preface to his *Marmora Arundelliana*, and Doctor *Feild* in his third booke of the Church and firſt chapter tels

vs, that in this laſt age of the world, we haue from the *Neſtorians* receiued the *Syriake* new teſtament, dilivered vnto them (as they ſay) from S^t *Marke* the *Evangeliſt* and religiouſly preſerved amongſt them till our times. See the preface of *Guido Fabritius* ſet before the tranſlation thereof in the Kings Bibles.

Ibidem. Conciones Cornelij Muſsi Hetruſca lingua editæ, Gregorij magni, Baſilij magni, Chryſoſtomi & ceterorum Greciæ patrum ſermonibus propter doctrinæ & facundiæ majeſtatem comparandæ. Sixtus Senenſis Bibl. Sanctæ. lib. 4. and yet for mine owne part I ſhould thinke the Sermons of Biſhop *King*, or Biſhop *Andrewes*, or Biſhop *Lakes*, nothing inferiour to his, and in ſome reſpects farre beyond them.

Pag. 231. Vpon *Rodulphus Agricola, Hermolaus Barbarus* beſtowed this Epitaph.

Invida clauſerunt hoc marmore fata Rodolphum
Agricolam, Friſij ſpemque decuſque ſoli:
Scilicet hoc vno meruit Germania laudis
Quicquid habet Latium, Græcia quicquid habet.

And to *Angelus Politianus Iohannes Picus Mirandula* in one of his epiſtles thus writes. *Quod ſi plures eſſent tales, non haberent hæc ſæcula cur invidérent antiquitati.*

Among the cheife *Coſmographers* of this preſent age, the exact labours of *Philippus Cluerus*, and among the renowned *Mathematicians*, ſpecially for *Geometricall* engins and proportions, the elaborate workes of *Simon Stevinius*, and for *Geographicall* concluſions with learned obſervations and diſcourſes therevpon (publiſhed in our language but worthy a better) *Nathaniell Carpenter* late fellow of *Exeter* Colledge in *Oxford* may not be forgotten. The laſt of which three in his ſecond booke & ſeaventh chapter thus wittily redargues the pretended findeing of coine, graved with the image and inſcription of *Auguſtus Cæſar* in the *American* mines, mentioned by *Marianus Siculus* in his hiſtorie of *Spaine*, and others thereby inferring that the weſt *Indies* were then diſcovered. we finde (ſaith hee) *Auguſtus Cæſar* for ſome petty conqueſt againſt barbarous people emblazoned by the Poets of that time to the higheſt pitch of their invention: we may obſerue the age wherein *Auguſtus* lived to be the floriſh and pride of all the *Roman* learning: and himſelfe the *Idoll* and ſubject of moſt of their poeticall flatteries: having the happineſſe to be inveſted in the *Empire*, in ſuch a time wherein the *Roman Monarchie* having beene too much wounded with a civill diſſention, was willing to admire her firſt Phiſition: and can any man be ſo ſenſeleſſe to imagine that the diſcovery of the golden World ſhould paſſe away clouded in ſuch a flattering age without any mention? could not ſo much as the name be regiſtred to teach poſterity the way to ſo rich an *Empire*? for mine owne part I can aſcribe this (if the hiſtorie deſerue credit) to nothing elſe but the pride and impoſture of the *Spaniards*, whom wee obſerue in all relations to bee a moſt ingratefull *Nation*, who admiring nothing but their owne greatneſſe, haue requited their beſt deſerving benefactors with diſgrace and obloquie; ſtriving to raze out their names and memorie to whom they owe the greateſt

teſt glory. *Columbus* was an *Italian* and no *Spaniard*, and therefore muſt not deſerue ſo much of *Spaine* as his golden *Indyes*: otherwiſe *Auguſtus Cæſars* image had beene better loſt then found; and the *Biſhop* receiued ſmall thankes for his paraſiticke preſentation. The Prelate he meanes was *Iohn Ruſus* Archbiſhop of *Conſentium* who preſented it to the *Pope*: and in the ſame place doth he clearely demonſtrate that by *Platoes Atlantis America* cannot be vnderſtood, and withall by the way giues vs a touch of the ſpeciall *Geographers* of theſe latter times, (beſides thoſe named by me. *Pag.*247) *Gemma Friſius, Munſter, Appian, Hunterus, Guicciardin, Michael Tramaſinus, Franciſcus Demongemitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vavaſor Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr* and others.

Pag. 254. Compariſon is made betwixt *Homer* and *Virgill* vpon which occaſion a worthy friend of mine ſent me theſe verſes herevnto annexed, which being ſo good, and withall ſo pertinent, I ſhould haue wronged both my ſelfe and him in ſuppreſſing them.

VINDICIÆ VIRGILIANÆ.

Sive

IVLII CÆSARIS SCALIGERI
Vergilium Homero præponentis contrà *I. Lipſ. Apologia.*

VTcunque contrà Iuſtus acriter pugnet,
Sententiæ tamen libens tuæ accedo
Vatum ſevere cenſor & gravis Iuli,
Cui Mantuanus omnium eſt apex ſummus
Quotquot fuerunt, ſunt, erunt Poëtarum.
At Sol Stagiræ Cæſaris Deus primam
Tribuit Homero, tribuit & Plato palmam:
Plato Poëtas exulare qui cunctos
Re præter vnum hunc publicâ ſuâ juſſit.
Tribuit vterque non nego merentique:
Sed tribuit olim ſæculis & haud paucis
Fulvum priuſquam hunc hauſerat Maro Solem:
Coæva namque floruiſſet Aeneis,
Nec occupaſſet Ilias & Vlyſſea,
Apollinarem noſter iſte cenſurâ
Sophi vtriuſque lauream reportaſſet.
Nam quod Paterculum citas tuum Lipſi,
Acremque teſtem Fabium, vtrumq; laudantem
Et præferentem calculo ſuo Chium:
Ratione aberras, remque non putas rectè.
Non quantacunq; merita vatibus nomen
Addunt, niſi ætas temporiſque longinqui
Adſit vetuſtas: nam recentibus livor
Malignus obſtat denſa nubila obtendens,
Suamq; ſummæ æruginem affricat laudi.

Ingens

Ingens tua olim dignitas fuit Publi,
Incomparabiliſque: verùm adhuc cauſsas
Declamitante Fabio, & improbè ſcriptis
Mendacibus Vellejo adhuc adulante,
Novitas & invidia tuæ obfuit famæ.
Nunc cum tibi adſint deſuere quæ ſæclà,
Simul & tui occidit malignitas ævi:
Emunctioris miror vt aliquis naſi,
Rerumq; liber æſtimator & prudens,
Tibi aut Homerum, aut quemlibet Poëtarum
Cuicumodi ſit anteponat aut æquet.
Duo Poëtam verba reſq; commendant,
Vtroque noſter ſummus in genere vates.
Fœcunda fateor & beata verborum,
Grajo ſupellex: interim tamen ſæpè
Friget, jacetq; negligens, levis, laxus.
Maroniana oratio gravis, caſta,
Illuſtris, apta, nobilis, ſibi conſtans,
Et mole commoda, artuum & toris firma:
Quali Deorum interpres, & Camænarum
Apollo præſes, ipſaq; vtitur Suada.
Momenta verò quiſquis æſtimans rerum
Præponderare Publio putat Chium,
Ille aut Achillis pervicaciam ſevi,
Vafrique Vlyſſis callidos dolos inter
Prudentiamque & fortitudinem, Herois
Piumque pectus Dardani quid eſt nescit:
Aut veritati autoritate prælatâ
Errare cum majoribus ſuis mavult
Quam vera ſapere cum minoribus, quorum
Vecordiæ hoc eſt, imperitiæ eſt illud.
Sed iſte Chius author, inquies, primus,
Rerumque origo eſt, vnde cæteri vates,
Summq; ſuxit ipſe Publius nectar.
Primo negamus eſſe originem primam,
Nam quas ab illo poſteri hauriunt, illas
Et ipſe ab alijs fortè fabulas hauſit.
Tum quicquid inde mutuatur hic noſter
Non à Magiſtro id accipit, nec vt diſcat,
Sed vt Magiſter adprobat quod eſt rectum,
Aut devianti comiter viam monſtrat,
Docet que rectè dicta perperam fari.
Aut ſaltem ab illo ſiqua didicit, & quis non
Sapiens per alium didicit atque profecit?
Tamen ita didicit jure dicere vt poſsit,
Nec ſi mandata noſtris discenda.

Iohannes Dunæus
S. T. B.

Pag. 430. *Caligula equum ſuum,* Incitatum *nomine, ad cœnam adhibuit, hordeum in auro appoſuit, poculis aureis vinum ei propinavit, Conſulem ſe eum facturum eſſe pollicetur, in Sacerdotio quoque collegam ſibi adſcivit, & Sacerdotem fecit: Dio Caſſius. lib.* 39. *pag.* 397. *&* 405.

Pag. 383. Of *Sergius Orata* named in this page for a notable glutton *Valerius Maximus lib.* 9. *cap.* 1. thus writes. *Ne gulam Neptuni arbitrio ſubjectam haberet, peculiaria ſibi maria excogitavit, æſtuarijs intercipiendo fluctus, piſciumque diverſos greges ſeperatos molibus includendo, vt nulla tam ſæva tempeſtas incideret, qua non Oratæ menſæ varietate ferculorum abundarent. Ædificijs etiam ſpacioſis & excelſis, deſerta ad id tempus ora Lucrinilacus preſſit, quo recentiore vſu Conchyliorum frueretur.*

Pag. 370. The ſame Authour in the place alleaged, cals *Clodius* the ſon of *Æſope* the Tragedian; *non ſolum perditæ, ſed etiam furioſæ luxuriæ juvenem, ampliſſimum patrimonium tanquam amaram ſarcinam quam celerrimè abjicere cupientem.*

Pag. 120. Of 70000 inhabitants in *Dalmata* ſcarce 3000 left aliue by reaſon of the plague. *Turkiſh hiſt. pag.* 92. *Lues ingens Romæ facta, ita vt per multos dies in Ephimeridem* 10000 *ferme mortuorum hominum referrentur. Euſebius in Chronico.*

Pag. 400. *Sergius Orata penſilia balneæ primus facere inſtituit, quæ impenſa levibus initijs cœpta, ad ſuſpenſa calidæ aquæ tantū non æquora penetravit. Val. Max.* 9. 1.

Pag. 133. In the yeare 1626. *Edmund Deane* Doctor of Phyſicke dwelling in the citie of *Yorke* publiſhed a little treatiſe which he intitles *Spadacrene Anglica,* or the Engliſh Spaw-fountaine, being a briefe relation of the acide and tart fountaine diſcovered by Mr *Slinsby* in the foreſt of *Knareſborow,* in the Weſt-riding of *Yorke-ſhire.* This diſcourſe he dedicates to the Phiſitians of *Yorke,* and touching the vertue of thoſe waters in that epiſtle writeth, that to extoll it aboue the *German Spaw* may be thought to be either indiſcretion or partiality, but why he may not parallell them (being in natures and qualities ſo agreeable) he profeſſeth that neither himſelfe nor they (as he ſuppoſeth) knew any inducing much leſſe perſwading argument, wherefore (ſaith he) being thus confident, I thought no part of our duties either to God our King or coūtry, to conceale ſo great a benefit, as may thereby accrew, not only to this whole kingdome, but alſo in time (after farther notice taken of it) to other forraine nations and Countries, who may perhaps with more benefit and leſſe hazard pertake of this our *Engliſh* Spaw-fountaine then of thoſe in *Germany.*

Pag. 169. *Petrus Paduanenſis* or *Aponenſis* commonly knowne by the name of *Conciliator* who liued and wrote about 330 yeares agoe, *differentia nona,* propoſeth this queſtion, *An natura humana ſit debilitata ab eo quod antiquitus?* and having argued the point too and fro ſomewhat doubtfully, ſeemes to conclude, that accidentally by reaſon of the luxury of latter ages it is weakned; yet with this caution, *Attendendum tamen quod licet dictū ſit quod natura humana iſto tempore ac iſtis climatibus ſit debilitata, et perfectionibus minorata: contingit aliis tēporibus et regionibus fortificari & perfici magis:* and againe, *cum natura humana et ordo ejus cum aliis ſit,*

vt quidam Circulus. 2 de generatione dicendum talem motum non fortificari in fine, ſed remanere eiuſdem diſpoſitionis, aut diuerſificatũ paruũper vt eius excitant cauſæ. To the authority of *Moſes* (which he takes to be *Davids*) *The time of our life is three-ſcore yeares and tenne*, and to that of *Hippocrates* diſtinguiſhing the ſeverall ſtages of mans agé as wee do now, hee makes none other anſwere but this, *Dicendum quod illud tempus non eſt multum elongatum à nobis, etſi ſit multum à generatione diſtans mundi.* And in concluſion vtterly enervates the force of his owne ſtrongeſt argument. *Ad illud quod dicebatur vnumquodque debilitatur per diſtare à ſuo principio: dicendum quod verum eſt, ſi illud quod diſtat totum eſſe accipit ab illo principio & non ab alio: ſic autem non eſt in propoſito: nam quod diſtat, & quod generatur non ſolum recipit eſſe a generante particulari ſed ab vniverſali, vt a corporibus ſuperioribus iam dictis cum homo hominem generet, & Sol: etenim videmus quod filius generatus, fortior eſt & longioris vitæ quam pater generans, cum filius magis diſtat à principio quam pater.*

Pag. 272. Amongſt the rare inventions which this preſent age hath afforded, *Nuntius inanimatus* may iuſtly challenge a place, and it were to be wiſhed that, being an experiment of ſo great conſequents, greater notice were taken of it by the *higher powers*, then hitherto hath beene, and that it might not die & be buried with the author thereof: Neither may we paſſe over in ſilence the inſtrument of *perpetuall motion*, invented by *Cornelius* a *German*, here in *England*; or the *Sayling Coaches* invented by *Stevenius* in the *Netherlands*, vpon both which *Hugo Grotius* hath beſtowed theſe excellent verſes.

In organum motus perpetui, quod eſt penes maximum Brittaniarum Regem.

Perpetui motus indelaſſata poteſtas,
Abſque quiete quies, abſque labore labor,
Contigerant cœlo, tunc cum natura caducis
Et ſolidis vnum noluit eſſe locum:
Et geminas partes Lunæ diſpeſcuit orbe,
In varias damnans inferiora vices.
Sed quod nunc natura ſuis è legibus exit,
Dans terris ſemper quod moveatur opus:
Mira quidem res eſt, ſed non nova, maxime Regum:
Hoc fieri docuit mens tua poſſe prius.
Mens tua quæ ſemper tranquilla & torpida nunquam
Tramite conſtanti per ſua regna meat.
Vt tua mens ergo motus cœleſtis imago eſt,
Machina ſic hæc eſt mentis imago tuæ.

Iter currus veliferi.

Mira canam, ſed viſa mihi, ſed cognita multis,
Et niſi viſa mihi, non habitura fidem.
Quod patet Occiduas Batavæ telluris in oras
Eſt latus, & Lateris pars ea nomen habet.
Nos à cœruleis vbi dividit vnda Britannis,
Et prætexta maris fluctibus arva iacent:
Hìc pater Oceanus ſitientes lambit arenas,
Iamque vagas laxat, iamque coercet aquas.

Ipſe

Ipſe ſibi poſuit fines Neptunus,& intra
Aggeris agnati mœnia ſævit hyems,
Proxima ſunt Hagæ Sceverinia littora noſtræ,
*A*quoreis dives piſcibus ille locus.
Hinc ſi Pettemum Zyphæque novalia pergas
Quærere,bis ſeptem millia pandet iter:
Millia quæ totidem vix Iphiclus ambulet horis,
Aut Ladas celeri notus ab arte pedum.
Hæc curru volitanda fuit via, ſedimus omnes,
Ante oculos cœlum,littora, pontus erant.
Vt ſuſpenſa ſuis tumuerunt carbaſa ventis,
Vt Pharus,vt naves,vt Sceverina perit,
Et velut indignans quod non ſua pondera vectet,
Neſcio quo ſtrepitu murmuris aura ſonat.
Non aliter mugire ſolet,cùm mittitur arcu
Gnoſſia Sauromatæ torta ſagitta manu:
Aut cum Naſſovius Rheni bellator ad vndas
Fulminat,& ferrum ſulphuris æſtus agit.
At ſimul evecti primas ſuperavimus iras
Flaminis,& certâ cæpimus ire viâ,
Æquoreos inter fremitus,ventoſque relictos
Senſimus in rapidis frigora nulla rotis.
Amiſſos tepidi fruſtrâ quæſivimus Auſtros,
Vela noti celeres non potuêre ſequi.
Talis erat,quocunque cito raperemur ad axe,
Qualis in æſtivo langueat aura iugo.
Orbita vix vmbram ſimulat niſi littore molli
Si quando celerem tardat arena fugam
Tunc & pulvereæ nubes,Veneriſque creatrix
Spuma procelloſis imbribus ora ferit.
Tunc pluit & conchas,& miſtum littore pontum,
Proximus eſt Lybicis Syrtibus ille labos.
Priſca vetus ſervat Cattorum nomina pagus
Indicio referens poſteritatis avos.
Huc nemore Hercynio miſſos veniſſe colonos
Diſcimus,hinc Batavi gens animoſa ſumus.
Hìc Caii turris fuit,hìc extracta Severo
Horrea, nunc ingens omnia pontus habet.
Quid lapides perijſſe querar? perijſtis & amnes,
Oſtia nec Rheni cernimus eſſe ſuper.
Navigat hâc currus,qua naves ante ſolebant,
Continuatque pari tramite littus iter.
Hinc ad Nordovicum fines,& Douſica regna,
Pergimus. O magni patria vatis ave!
Reſpicere a tergo Santfordica templa volebam;
Dum moror a tergo iam mihi vicus erat.
Egmundæ cineres,quibus incunabula debet
Relligio,& magnis regibus orta domus.

Vos quoque præterijt votis velocibus arbor:
Credibile eſt ipſos obſtupuiſſe Deos.
Sic celer avectas quantumlibet ante carinas
Currus,& æquoreas effugiebat aves.
Credimus exemplo tumidi latrare Pelori
Monſtra: canes Batavum non minus æquor habet.
Quæ Siculis Scylla eſt, nobis Honſhuſca vocatur:
Nomen naufragijs nobile nauta timet.
Hic formidatum Sylvæ ſpumantis in auras
It caput: æquoreis illa reſiſtit aquis.
Terrarum damnis Nereus alimenta profundi
Quærit,vt in noſtra luxurietur humo.
Non alibi Batavos propriora pericula tangunt:
Pro nullo facimus tam pia vota loco.
Structa manu moles tumidas niſi frangeret vndas,
Quod Pyrrhæ fuerat tempore,terra foret.
Nunc quoq; cum ſaxis & quercubus vnda dometur,
Proſtratæ quercus,ipſaque ſaxa jacent.
Sed nemus vſque recens ſurgit, redivivaque rupes:
Semper in his rauci gurgitis ira perit.
Siſtimur hic: rumpitque viam tranſverſus ab vndis,
Qui Pettem a ſecat littora montis obex.
Littora Baiano quæ nil ceſſura Lucrino,
Hoc vnum debent Sylva Canina tibi,
Hæc prope ſicca jacet fraudato Zypa profundo
Experta Oceani ſæpe,ſolique vices.
Hìc vbi ſquammigerum Proteus pecus egit in algâ.
Nunc viret in ſegites ingenioſus ager.
Marſacium pelagus colleſque binominis Ogæ
Non procul, & Flævi triſte furentis aquæ.
Nos hoc omne latus geminis confecimus horis,
Tantillum eſt ſpatij quod ferus horret Iber.

De hujus currus veliferi inventore,
eiuſdem Grotii epigramma.

Ventivolam Tiphys deduxit in æquora navim,
Iupiter in ſtellas ætheriamque domum.
In terreſtre ſolum virtus Stevinia: nam nec
Tiphy tuum fuerat,nec Iovis iſtud opus.

Pag. 235. *Piſcator* in his preface to his commentary on the *Proverbs* & the *Canticles* vndertakes a long diſcourſe to ſhew how farre wide the foure moſt noted doctours of the *Weſterne* Church,namely *Ambroſe Hierome Auguſtine* and *Gregory*,were in the expoſition of many paſſages of holy Scripture, together with the cauſes thereof. Wherevnto he makes this entrance; *viſum mihi eſt hac præfatione indicare cauſas expoſitionum falſarum quibus ſcripta illorum (quod citra contumeliã dico) referta ſunt, vt ex hac antitheſi eluceſcat, quanto beatior ſit in hoc negotio ætas noſtra quam*

ætas

ætas fuit illorum, ac proinde vt gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio & doctrinæ Cœleſtis luce agantur. And then having then performed (as he conceaveth) what he promiſed, he thus concludes. *Atque hæc ſunt exempla falſarum Sacræ Scripturæ veteris Teſtamenti expoſitionum quæ in quatuor illorum præcipuorum Eccleſiæ latinæ Patrum ſcriptis occurrunt: Vnde jam perſpici poteſt ſæculum noſtrum ſæculo illorum quod ad intellectum Sacræ Scripturæ attinet longè beatius eſſe. Faxit Deus vt hoc ipſius beneficium gratis animis agnoſcamus.*

The fourth advertiſement.

My fourth Advertiſement ſhall be touching ſuch additions as I haue now inſerted in this ſecond edition. To make a particular enumeration of all, or of the greateſt part thereof would proue I doubt, a buſineſſe no leſſe tedious to the reader, then troubleſome to my ſelfe, and perchance vnneceſſarie to ſuch as pleaſe to compare this latter impreſſion with the former: yet thus much I will be bold to ſay that there are few of them which are not proper to the preſent purpoſe, and make not ſome way for the ſtrengthning of the cauſe in hand. I will only inſiſt vpon the Sections newly added, which are ſixe in number. Whereof the firſt *lib.* 4. *Cap.* 1. *Sect.* 2.

That by the opinion of Prudentius, Caſtilio *and* Machiavell, *former ages doe not alwayes excell the latter.*

And though exceptions be taken at *Machiavell* in other caſes, yet I know no ſufficient reaſon but wee may well enough admit of his teſtimonie in this, being a matter of civill wiſedome & obſervation wherein without doubt few of his age were matchable with him; for other matters I will not, I may not, endeavour to Apologize him, yet I hope I may heare without offence ſet downe what in *Boiſſardus* part. 3. *Iconum virorum illuſtrium*, I finde reported of him which I muſt profeſſe when I read I thought very ſtrange. *Sunt vero* (ſaith he) deſcribing the life and conditions of *Machiavell*) *etiamnum ſuperſtites viri boni graves et fide digni, qui cum ejus notitiam in Italia familiariter habuerint, de eodem ingenuè teſtimonium perhibere non verentur, quod fuerit nimirum vir ſtupendæ eruditionis & prudentiæ, quin & vitæ integerrimæ morumque innocentiæ, inſigni & pietate ſumma.* And truly though it cannot bee denied but that hee deſerveth ſharpe cenſure in ſpeaking ſo ſlightly of religion in generall, and of the Chriſtian ſo baſely, yet I haue heard ſome wiſe men affirme that he thereby rather ſhewed what Princes commonly in thoſe parts were, then what they ſhould be, and truly I beleeue that the free expreſſion of himſelfe againſt the tyrannie, ambition and vſurpation of the Biſhop of Rome, was it that firſt opened the mouthes and ſharpened the pennes of ſo many Churchmen againſt him.

Now though it be ſayed that a three fold cord is hardly broken, yet to the teſtimonie of theſe three, I will adde two others *Canonherius* an *Italian*, and *Beſoldus* a *German*, the firſt of which writes himſelfe a *Roman* Doctor of Philoſophie, Phyſicke and Divnitie, and in his Politicall

differtations vpon the *Annals* of *Tacitus* propoſeth this queſtion. *Vtrum ſæcula noſtra antiquis ſint pejora* and thus preſently reſolues it. *Non ſolum eſt quorundam aſtrologorum opinio ſed et vetus, quotidiana & popularis querimonia, quod mores depraventur & quotidiè in pejus ruunt. Si hoc eſſet, homines non ſolum bipedum ſed & quadrupedum impuriſſimi jam eſſent, quod quidem profecto verum non eſt, ſed aliquam vicissitudinem hac in re fateri oportet.* And to this purpoſe he voucheth thoſe words of *Seneca* in his 58. Epiſtle to *Lucilius*. *Erras mi Lucili ſi exiſtimas noſtri ſæculi eſſe vitium, luxuriam, & negligentiam boni moris & alia quæ objicit ſuis quiſq; temporibus, hominum ſunt iſta non temporum, nulla ætas vacavit a culpa:* and after a long diſcourſe in the end coucludes. *His de cauſis mundum in peius ruere ac ſæcula noſtra antiquis corruptiora eſſe affirmare maximum mendacium eſt.* And for manners ſo for age he maintains, *Eandem ætatem attingunt homines, quam antea antiqui attigerunt, et vitam vltra* 110 *annos poſſunt homines protrahere, vt affirmat* Thom. Philolog. *de vita hominis vltra.* 110. *annos protrahenda.*

Beſoldus likewiſe a Civill Lawyer of *Germanie* in his *Politicall diſſertations de Repub. Curandi.* Sect, 6. propoſeth the ſame queſtion in ſomewhat different tearmes. *Commodè hic quæritur an mundus decreſcat ac ratione naturalium & moralium indies deterior evadat:* and therevpon (as his faſhion is) muſters vp a multitude of authors on both ſides, but for himſelfe concludes. *Mundus non ſolvetur fatigatione, non enim inſtrumenti conſumptione, vel diminutione, vel depravatione, multo minus ſinè habebit in juſta proportione quæ intercedere poteſt inter motũ et motorem.* In particular hee argues the queſtion about the pretended bones of Giants, and tells vs: *Memini me apud Mercurium Gallicum Tom.* 3. *Fol.* 195. *legiſſe ante paucos annos de oſsibus gigantum controverſiam inter rerum naturalium doctores enatam proditum, ea terræ luſus eſſe, cum non habeant veſtigia alicujus civitatis cui inesſe potuiſſet medulla fabularum: de gigantibus Wormatienſibus mentionem facit in itinere ſuo Graſſerus Fol.* 10.

Lib. 4. *Cap.* 10. are added two other Sections.

2. *The one of the monſtrous ingratitude of the Romans towards their beſt deſerving Citizens.*

3. *The other of two rare examples of this latter age, ſuch as cannot be paralleled, either among the Romans or any other of the ancients, the one of incomparable gratitude in the Lord* Cromwell *the other of admirable friendſhip betweene* Barbadicus *and* Tarviſanus *or* Triviſanus *two gentlemen of* Venice.

This latter example of the *Venetians* held ſo ſtrange that firſt *Giacomo* S. *Caglia* one of the principall Citizens publiſhed a Narration thereof in *Italian* anno 1627, and ſince *Alexander de Gattis* a Churchman of that Citie hath out of *Italian* tranſlated it into *latine* and printed it the yeare following in *Venice*, as was likewiſe the former; the title whereof thus runnes. *De monſtroſa amicitia reſpectu perfectionis quæ inter Nicolaum Barbadicum & Marcũ Triviſanum Venetæ filios nobilitatis gloria digniſsimos intercedit brevis ac veriſsima narratio cum procuratione generali, atque irrevocabili facta à primo in perſonam ſecundi: additum eſt etiam teſtamentum*

vnius

vnius & teſtamentum et Codicillus alterius: quæ omnia ab ipſiſmet viventibus fuere publicata. And becauſe moſt men are curious to inquire into relations of this kind, and the bookes I doubt are hard to be gotten either in *Italian* or *Latine*, I haue herevnto annexed the latter part of the Epiſtle to the reader, together with the *Hiſtoricall argument* and the inſcription of *de Gattis* added in the end of the latine Copie, though I muſt confeſſe that (in my judgement) it came farre ſhort of that which I haue already ſet downe vpon the ſame ſubject. *p.* 439.

AD CURIOSOS AC IUDICIO prædítos Lectores.

NOſtris ſolum temporibus (taceant qui dicunt mundum ſemper in pejus ruere) habemus rerum, & ſingulare, non fabulis aut figmentis celebratum, amicitiæ perfectiſſimæ exemplum, in illuſtriſſimis Dominis Nicolao Barbadico, & Marco Triviſano Patricijs Venetis nobiliſſimis. Exemplum, non ad exemplum præteritorum amicorum (ſive veri ſint ſive fabuloſi) at exemplum ſine exemplo, quodque aliorum tanto magis antecellit, quantum a primæ adoleſcentiæ tempore quo familiariter, ac domeſticè ſimul verſari cœperunt omnes cogitationes & omnes illorum actiones aliter non ſunt appellandæ, quam reciproca veræ atque incomparabilis amicitiæ opera, quæ pro ſingulari exemplo futura ſit cæteris, qui ſunt, quique pòſt alijs erunt in annis. Quanquam verò ab initio oculis invidiæ animoque perverſo huiuſmodi operationes perperam viſæ & in deteriorem partem acceptæ fuerunt, tandem tamen ipſarum lux ita clara, ac ſplendida facta eſt, vt ipſam & invidentia, & malevolentia confuſa penitus obtorpuerit. Atque ita egregiè hoc clariſſimum Amicitiæ exemplum triumphat, vt laudes ſemper & encomia hinc inde exaudiantur. Additis titulis ſupra communem vſum illuſtribus nuperis & mirabilibus poematum heroicorum inventionibus, quæ ad horum gloriam ſingularium Heroum adhuc viventium, compoſita ſunt a celebrioribus ſcriptorum recentium calamis, exiſtimantium ſe poſſe immortalitatem acquirere, ſi gloriam celebrent horum, nunquam ſatis celebratorum amicorum; imo non ſolum homines ſingulares, ſed Vniverſitates integræ nobilium totius Italiæ Academiarum publico decreto ſanxerunt, vt ſuo nomine ſcribantur & exaltentur tanti caſus prærogativæ, atque vt in eorum vitæ libris tam illuſtris memoria æternitati commendata perſeveret. Verbi Dei concionatores maxime celebres, in ſacris ſuis ſermonibus ponunt ante oculos tanquam ſpectaculum perfecti amoris, mutuæque inter homines dilectionis, ac tanquam imaginem ſupremi amoris & ſummæ Dei charitatis hanc perfectam & ſacroſanctam amicitiam. Principes etiam remotiores ad quos fama tantæ Vnionis pervenit, ſicut illam cum admiratione audivere, ita ſummis laudibus eandem extollunt. Hiſtorici noſtri temporis ac futuri, certè inter huius ætatis memoriâ digniora clariſſimum hoc exemplum, ad ſolam & veram amicitiæ Ideam collocabunt. Quos inter Illuſtriſſimus & Excellentiſſimus D. Nicolaus Contarenus Senator præſtantiſſimus, ob ſummã ejus prudentiam et doctrinam ab hoc ſapientiſſimo Senatu electus ad hiſtorias glorioſiſſimæ ſuæ reip. ſcribendas, publicè profeſſus fuit ac pollicitus eſt, ſe inter heroicas actiones hujus ſæculi digniores relaturum, hoc tanquam civilis virtutis exemplum, omnium quæ vn-

quam

quam visa fuerunt nobilissimum. Itaque patriæ hæc fælicissima ibit per Barbadicos & Trivisanos gloria onustior, quam per Horatios, Mutios, Brutos, & alios cives generosos, Roma vetus; quorum tamen memoria adhuc viget, & in æternum vigebit. Quod, si fabulæ à Poetis & Oratoribus inventæ, Patrocli & Achillis, Thesei & Perithoi, Pyladis & Oreſtis, Nysi & Euriali, Titi & Gysippi, & aliorum ejusdem generis, tantam adferunt admirationem, tantamque voluptatem legentibus quanto majorem, vera narratio certæ atque incomparabilis horum Venetorum Heroum amicitiæ, circumstantijs, & conditionibus mirabilibus associatæ, ferre debebit? Sed vt perspicuè videatur præcipuum huius actionis fundamentum, omnibus linguis, omnibus calamis, hominum omni exceptione maiorum tantoperè celebratæ, curiosè perlegite vos omnes, qui amorem & admirationem actionum laudandarum profitemini, perlegite, inquam, brevem hanc narrationem; quâ paucis comprehensam veritatem & probationem infallibilem, poteritis perspicere Heroicæ hujus ac immortalis amicitiæ, quæ nititur incorruptibili, perpetuæ, & immutabili virtuti. Vivite fælices, ac memoria sæpius repetite, mortem omnibus ex natura æqualem oblivione apud posteros, vel gloria distingui; et postquam diu nobis vivere non licet, saltem aliquid relinquendum, quo nos vixisse testemur.

Tacitus. Plinius Sec.

Argumentum Historicum.

Contraxere jam inde ab adolescentia suavissimam simul amititiam illustrissimi Domini, Nicolaus Barbadicus & Marcus Trivisanus, Patricy Veneti, ac tum ob propriæ virtutis meritum, tum etiam ob familiarum splendorem, tum denique ob dignitates & officia egregiè à Iuventute exercita in Repub. spectabiles. Solida hæc cordataque Amicitia omni tempore mutuis officijs culta eò pervenit, vt Trivisanus, propter redundantes in rebus necessarijs expensas, in itineribus, atque in ijs voluptatibus quæ hodiè propriæ sunt liberæ, ac magnanimæ Iuventutis, præter quandam in aleis adversam fortunam, & alios humanæ vitæ casus incidisset in admodum dissimilem a suis Natalibus, ac generosis cogitationibus conditionem, ære forsitan alieno superante fortunas suas, & ab omnibus, atque adeò ab ipsismet etiam fratribus derelictus esset, ab vnico fideli a vico Barbadico, Nobili viro ditissimo (præter quoddam mutuum quatuor millium ducatorum antea gratis concessum) in domum deinde propriam fuerit introductus, remissoque debito, quod cum illo habebat, atq; solutis duobus alteris millibus, quæ in magnam summam cum alijs contraxerat; tandem extraordinaria, generali et irrevocabili Procuratione, bonorum omnium suorum, mobilium & stabilium Præfectum & Administratorum constituerit, vt de ijs ad arbitrium suum disponeret. Neque his rebus Barbadicus satiatus, vt amicì commoditatibus, si fortè sibi obire contigisset, & optimæ administrationi suarum facultatum, ac beneficio filiorum prouideret, in suo Testamento disponit, vt, licèt conjugem, & fratrem habeat, Trivisanus solus Commissarius suorum omnium bonorum remaneat; vtq; ad illum pertineat filias in matrimonium collocare, neque vllo vnquam tempore cogi possit ad reddendam rationem administrationis, seu alterius rei peculiaris, quæ ad hanc pertineat hæreditatem. Eidem præterea donationem quandam legat, quâ ampliorem non potest sustinere suarum facultatum amplitudo: & multò majorem legaverat; sed coactus fuit modum donationi facere, ne in filiorum præjudicium vires patrimonij excede-

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ret. Ad quæ munera concedenda Barbadicus iſtè fuit provocatus, eò quòd viderit Triviſanum, ſimulatq; domum ſuam ingreſſus eſt, modeſtia animi ſingulari factum parcum alieni, ſi profuſior ac ſui prodigentior ante à fuerat; cum eodem momento temporis alearum luſum omninò dimiſerit, & alia quælibet ſolatia iuvenilia: quin ad conſuetudinem hominum eruditorum ac ſapientum, atque ad meliores & graviores legendos Authores convertens animum, eidem oſtendit, magnanimæ ejus liberalitati, animo ſincero, integris moribus & candida fide, ſe reſponſurum: quam fidem ſæpenumero antè, ac poſt hujuſmodi beneficia, Barbadicus eſt expertus in dilecto, atque conſtantiſsimo Amico: Cum unus ipſe, ut Barbadici vitam atq; honorem tueretur (quorum utrumq; idem Barbadicus acceptum ſe referre Triviſano palam fatetur) in illius magnis anguſtijs, gravioribus periculis tum manifeſtis, tum occultis, litibus injuſtis, perſecutionibus iniquis, calumnijs falſò impoſitis, ac diabolicis, toti urbi cognitis (quæ ipſi etiam Triviſano communes ſunt factæ: quod ſæpius ſolet accidere, cum ſemper voluerit veri, & unici amici innocentiam ſuſtentare, neque quod toti urbi notiſſimum eſt, peſſimam ipſius fortunam deſerere) non ſolam interruperit ſibi curſum ad præcipua munera majoreſque ſuæ patriæ gradus, ad quos ſtupentibus omnibus fæliciſſimè ferebatur; ſed etiam illos perdiderit, atque amiſerit; contraxerit etiam cum pluribus, quorum aliqui prius eidem fuerant ſodales, graves & periculoſiſſimas inimicitias ſola tantum ratione ejuſdem Amici, quod omnibus manifeſtiſſimum eſt; ſpreverit honorē illum extrinſecum, qui ab opinione gentium ſtultarum, & ratione carentium dependet; ac tandem vitam etiam propriam ſæpius periculis manifeſtiſſimis expoſuerit, quemadmodum in quacunque propoſita occaſione nunc etiam exponeret: cum multos annos vixerit, hodieque vivat Triviſanus, ob hanc Barbadici incomparabilem grati animi ſignificationem lautè, ſplendidè, & ſingulari auctoritate, miſericors in afflictos, humaniſsimus in amicos, ac præcipuè Mæcenas maximus virtute præditorum: honorificè etiam ab Amici filiabus habeatur, non aliter, ac ſi illarum Pater eſſet: atque ab ipſa illius conjuge læto vultu acceptus, & loco fratris veritùs honoretur; tum quod ejus merita in maritum cognoſcat; tum propter optimum ejuſdē naturæ genium, tum etiam ob non obvias ejus alias qualitates, quæ ipſum amore dignum & omnibus admirabilem reddunt.

Taceant, ſileant Oratores omnes,
Poëtæ omnes:

Quis immenſum complectitur?
Quis infinitum definiet?
Quis infandum fabitur?
Animi duo in uno ſpirant pectore!
Animus unus in duplice corde vivit!
Apinæ ſunt & tricæ:
At rape, clepe, harpaga inimicitiæ.
Sunt etiam Gemini in cœlo,
Sunt etiam Gemini in terra:
Illi ignes & ſydera:
Hi amores honeſtiſſimi.
Duo inter aſtra ſunt maiora lumina Sol & Luna

At

At ſunt etiam in terris duo lucidiſſimi Soles
Veneti firmamenti.
Tanta miracula ac talem metamorphoſin facit,
Non Nicolai Barbadici, & Marci Triviſani,
Sed Nicolai Triviſani & Marci Barbadici
Concordia et amicitia individua.
Nam ſi corda ſint promiſcua
Quid nomina non communicabit?
Ego interim
Alexander de Gattis
Altiſſimas Pyramides, ac ſumptuoſiſsima Mauſolæa,
Erigam ſtruamque
In memoriam Amicitiæ hujuſmodi ſempiternam.

Lib. 4. *Cap.* 12. *Sect.* 6. is added a new Section.

4 Probable proofes produced, that the Church of Chriſt before the conſummation of the world, ſhall yet inioy a more peaceable and floriſhing eſtate, then at any time hitherto it hath.

Since this Section paſſed the preſſe, two bookes came to mine hands, which, together with *Alſted* and thoſe other by him named, plainely maintaine that the thouſand yeares mentioned in the 20th of the Reuelation for the binding vp of *Satan* is yet to come: the one is written by *Carolus Gallus* a profeſſour of Diuinitie in the Vniverſitie of *Leyden*, publiſhed in the yeare 1592, and intituled *Clavis prophetica nova Apocalypſeos Iohannis Apoſtoli & Evangeliographi.* In his Epiſtle dedicatorie to the Prince of *Orenge*, and the States of the *Netherlands* he profeſſeth, it was a worke, *in quo* (ſaith he) *iam inde a viginti quinq; annis ſudavimus, legendo, meditando, indagando, ſcribendo, diſſerendo & in Eccleſijs ac ſcholis publicè docendo, quærentes & nihil intermittentes quod videbatur conducere ad inveniendum hunc divinum theſaurum.* Now this man after all this travell, ſearch and ſtudie, thus concludes his eight obſervation vpon the 20th chapter of that booke. *Breviter ſpiritus propheticus in hac Iohannis Apocalypſi vaticinatur de ſingulari adeoque miranda Eccleſiæ reſurrectione, renovatione ac reſtitutione, quod nimirum illa, hac noviſſima ætate ex Iudæis et Gentibus vivis ac mortuis conſpicua erit, et mirum in modum glorioſius quam vnquã antea ex mortuis vel prima morte reviviſet, innovabitur, reſtaurabitur & refloreſcet.* The other booke maintaining the ſame opinion is *Clavis Apocalyptica, ex innatis & inſitis viſionum Characteribus eruta & demonſtrata*, printed in *Cambridge Anno* 1627. The authour of it is ſayd to be Mr *Meade* a noted Diuine of that Vniverſitie, whoſoever it were, he hath (in my iudgement) ſhewed himſelfe an able man ſpecially in his *Synchroniſmes*, which in truth is a very exact peece, and ſuch as gives a marvellous great light to the propheſies of that booke. In the ſecond part of his *Clavis, Synchroniſmo quarto, quinto, ſexto et ſeptimo* he likewiſe indeavours to make it evidẽt, that *the thouſand years* deſtined for the *binding* of *Satan*, &, as the text hath it, *for the caſting of him into the bottomleſſe pitt, and ſhutting of him vp, and ſetting a ſeale vpon him, that he ſhould deceiue*

the

the nations no more, till the thouſand yeares ſhould be fulfilled, is yet to come: and againe in his learned manuſcript intituled, *Specimina interpretationum Apocalypticarum ad amuſim Clavis Apocalypticæ. Cap. vlt.* Hee confidently averrs, and by many waightie reaſons laboures to demonſtrate the ſame; yet with this modeſt reſervation addreſſed to his reader. *Tu rem omni ſemoto præjudicio in Dei timore expendas, mihique ſicubi erravero ex charitatis judicio ignoſcas.*

Lib. 4. *Cap.* 13. Two new Sections are added whereof the one is the ſeaventh and the other the eight of that chapter.

5. *Doubts preſented mee by a worthy friend touching mine anſwere to the former objection taken from the eight to the Romans.*

6. *My Reply to theſe preceeding doubts.*

Since this reply paſſed the Preſſe I fell vpon the common places of *Iohannes Gerhardus* Doctor of Divinity and profeſſor in the Vniverſitie of *Iena*, who in his ninth Tome and fifth chapter *de conſummatione Sæculi*, not onely maintaines an vtter abolition of the world by many reaſons and authorities not produced by mee, but in my minde moſt fully anſwereth this paſſage taken frō the 8th to the Romans; which becauſe it is held the ſtrongeſt objection againſt mee, and this booke I thinke is in few mens hands, I will here ſet downe at large.

Rom. 8. v. 19. *Expectatio creaturæ revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.* v. 20. *Vanitati enim creatura ſubjecta eſt, non volens, ſed propter eum qui ſubiecit eam in ſpe.* 21. *quia & ipſa creatura liberabitur à ſervitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei.* v. 22. *ſcimus enim quod omnis creatura ingemiſcat & parturiat vſque adhuc.* Hic locus Apoſtolicus primarius eſt, quem pro contrariâ ſententiâ vel maximè vrgent. Expreſſè enim videtur Apoſtolus aſſerere, quòd creatura æquè ac filij Dei à corruptione ſit liberanda, et ad libertatem ab omni corruptione immunem traducenda. *Reſp.* conſideranda ſunt in hoc dicto, 1 *ſubjectum* 2 *prædicatum.* Subiectum eſt ἡ κτίσις v. 19. et quidem πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις v. 22. quid vero nomine *creaturæ h. l.* intelligatur, de eo plurimùm variunt Interpretum ſententiæ. Quidam de Angelica, quidam de humana, quidam de corporali natura intelligunt. 1. Orig. Theodoret, in comm. Nazianz. orat. 1. in Iulian. Cyrillus. lib. 3. theſauri cap. 1. &c. per creaturam intelligunt *Angelos*, qui vanitati & ſervituti corruptionis non ſuæ, ſed hominum maximè electorum ſerviunt, et ab hac ſervitute liberabuntur in conſummatione ſœculi, & reſurrectione piorum ad vitam æternam. Quidam tamen piorum poſteriora duntaxat verba v. 22. *Omnis creatura ingemiſcet*; quidā verò et priora et poſteriora ad Angelos referunt. Hier. in comment. dubius eſt, magis tamen inclinat in eorum ſententiam, qui de Angelis exponunt: *univerſi* inquit, *hunc locum diverſis modis exponunt, ſive omnis creatura reſurrectionis tempus expectat, quia tunc in melius commutabitur, ſive Angelica, ſive rationalis creatura. Petrus enim dicit Angelos deſiderare gloriam Sanctorum. Et poſtea: Vanitati ſubiecta eſt creatura, ſi*

Angeli

Angeli hominibus miniſtrant, ſicut Angeli gaudent ſuper pœnitentes, ita dolent ſuper converti nolentes. Item: *manifeſtè docuit Apoſtolus, quia ingemiſcentiam creaturæ tribuit, quod non de irrationali vel inſenſibili creatura ſermonem fecerit.* Sed hæc interpretatio probari non poteſt. 1. quia Apoſtolus in genere loquitur, πᾶσα κτίσις. 2. Angeli ſunt beati et in bono ac gloria confirmati, ergò de ipſis dici nequit, quod ſint vanitati ſubiecti & ab ea liberandi, quod ſint in dolore & gemitibus; 3. Angeli non inviti ſed ſponte inſerviunt hominibus Pſal. 103. v. 21. Heb. 1. v. vlt. 4. explicatio illa occaſionem dedit impiæ hæreticorum quorundam opinioni, cuius meminit Auguſt. lib. 83. qq. q. 67. *quod Angeli omnes in dolore & gemitibus ſint, donec nos homines penitùs ab omni miſeria liberemur.* 2. Quidam *de creatura rationali* videlicet de hominibus textum Apoſtolicum accipiunt, ſed diverſimodè. Quidam enim *de hominibus in carne adhuc viventibus*, quidam *de ſpiritibus defunctorum textum accipiunt.* Illorum aliqui, *in genere de omnibus hominibus*, ac proinde de homine, vt homo eſt et dei creatura intelligunt. Auguſt. in expoſit. propoſit. Epiſt. Rom. n. 53. et lib 83. q q. q. 67. *Omnis creatura in homine eſt, quia intelligit ſpiritu, & ſentit animâ, & localiter corpore movetur.* Probat ex eo, quia Apoſtolus non dicit *totam* ſed *omnem creaturam*, & quia *abſurdum eſt gemitum tribuere creaturæ irrationali.* Idem ſtatuunt Anſelm. in comment, & ex pontificijs Andreas Maſius in cap. 6. Ioſuæ. *Omnis creatura*, inquiunt, id eſt, *omnis homo qui eſt nodus & vinculum omnis creaturæ, microcoſmus & mundi miraculum, quia homo ab omnibus creaturis aliquid participat, ab elementis ſcilicet eſſe, à plantis vegetari, ab animalibus ſentire, ab Angelis ratiocinari, & ſic omnes creaturæ patiuntur in homine & cum homine.* Sic creatura capitur pro homine Marc. 16. v. 15. Coloſſ. 1. v. 23. Atqui 1. nec de pijs nec de impijs hominibus dictum Apoſtolicum intelligi poteſt, ergò etiam de hominibus in vniverſum accipi nequit. Non de illis, quia creaturam ingemiſcentem à pijs expreſſè diſtinguit. v. 23. Quidam ſanè vt Aretius, Salmeron *de ſolis Apoſtolis* in illo verſiculo ſermonem eſſe volunt, cùm illi fuerint *Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ primitiæ*, confer Oecum. in comment. ſed contrarium oſtendit *generalitas deſcriptionis*, loquitur enim Paulus de omnibus pijs, *qui primitias ſpiritus habent, & redemptionem corporis expectant, quiq; ſpe ſalui facti ſunt. v.* 24. *qui per patientiam liberationem expectant. v.* 25. *quorum infirmitatem ſpiritus adjuvat.* pro quibus, *ſpiritus interpellat gemitibus inenarrabilibus. v.* 26. *qui ſunt ſancti. v.* 27. *qui Deum diligunt*, quibus *omnia cooperantur in bonum; qui ſecundum propoſitum vocati ſunt.* &c. v. 28. quæ omnia non poſſunt ad ſolos Apoſtolos accommodari. Neque verò Paulus ſic loquitur, *non ſolum autem, ſed & nos Chriſti vel ſpiritus primitiæ:* quæ phraſis ad Apoſtolos referri peculiariter poſſet, ſed dicit, *Nos qui primitias ſpiritus accepimus*, quod omnibus verè pijs eſt commune. Socinus in reſp. ad Pucc. p. 176. refert *ad Chriſtum* piorum caput, vt ſit ſenſus, omnes Chriſtianos ab interitu et corruptione liberatum iri, non ſecus ac Chriſtus ipſe liberatus fuit, vt ſic reſpectus habeatur ad v. 17. *coharedes Chriſti, ſi tamen compatimur* &c. At quomodo de Chriſto dici poteſt, quòd liberatus fuerat à ſervitute ἐφθορᾶς *cum caro ejus non viderit* διαφθορὰν? Pſ. 16. v. 10. Acts. 2. v. 31. cap. 13. v. 37. vt nihil dicam de eo, quod

per

per quam coactè ad remotiora verba Apostoli referantur. Missa igitur hac interpretatione addit Socinus particulam, *Et propter Angelos*, fuisse annexam, qui Dei beneficio ac liberalitate à corruptione absunt. Sed ostendimus jam ante non satis commodè de Angelis dici posse, quod vanitati sint subjecti, & a servitute corruptionis liberandi. Non de his quia impij non tam sollicitè expectant liberationem filiorum Dei, nec ingemiscunt pro illa obtinenda. 2. Apostolo non est propositum hoc loco explicare, quid sit in homine, vel quid in homine patiatur, sed *quid extra hominem* vnà cum ipso patiatur. v. 21. *non solum ipsa* creatura, *sed & nos ipsi* ἐν ἑαυτοῖς *intra nosipsos ingemiscimus*. Cohortaturus enim pios ad patientiam in adversiis, proponit iis exemplum tum *ipsius filij Dei* Christi Iesu v. 17. cum quo si patiantur glorificationem certò expectare possint, tum *totius creaturæ* quæ propter Deum creatorem vanitati subiecta, à servitute corruptionis aliquando liberabitur. 3. gemitus tribuitur h l. creaturæ non *propriè* sed *metaphoricè* per prosopopœiam, vt postea monebitur 4. particula πᾶσα in Scripturis accipitur tum *collectivè* tũ *distributivè*, ac pro ratione subiectæ materiæ explicãda est per τὸ *omnis*, vel *tota*. Quidã ergo putant hoc loco vertendam esse per τὸ *omnis*, cum Apostolus loquatur non de *partibus* sed *speciebus* creaturæ, *totum* enim dicitur respectu specierum, *omne* respectu partium. Sed potest sine vlla absurditate accipi non solum de *generibus singulorum*, sed etiam de *singulis generum* nam & *omnis creatura* h. e. omnes creaturæ corporalis species, & *tota creatura* h. e. omnia specierum individua servituti corruptionis sunt subiecta. Quidam verò in specie *de certa hominum classe* locum hunc exponunt; Cùm enim omnes homines in duas distribuantur classes, in *pios* sc. ac *impios*, iustos & iniustos, renatos ac non renatos, inde quidam de illo, quidam de hoc hominum genere locum explicant, priorem interpretationem profert Gregorius in comment. Iob. 3. lib. 4. moral. cap. 41. *Iustos*, inquit, *quamvis nullus desiderium carnalium tumultus possideat, duris tamẽ vinculis eos in hac vita positos suæ molestia corruptionis ligat. Aliud nempè justi de morte, aliud de corpore tolerant, & contra semetipsos quotidiè interno certamine desudant &c. Verum hæc creatura tunc à servitute corruptionis eripitur, cùm ad gloriam filiorũ Dei resurgendo sublevatur. Hinc itaque Electi molestè vinctì sunt, quia adhuc corruptionis suæ pœnâ deprimuntur, sed cùm corruptibili carne exuuntur, ab omnibus, quibus nunc astricti sunt, molestiæ vinculis relaxantur.* Gregorium sequitur Lyranus in comment. *Creaturæ sunt boni, qui in creatione Dei manserunt, vel quia sunt causa omnium.* Item *Creatura est homo non amans ista caduca, patienter tamen ferens, sciens Deum subiecisse ad conversationem humilitatis, liberabitur autem à cura quærendi victum, & alia, quibus servitur nostræ mortalitati.* Eadem interpretatio probatur Caietano, Catharino in comm. & Salmeroni Disputat. 17. in epistol. Roman. Tom. 13. pag. 556. qui eam hisce ornant pigmentis : *Dicitur homo iustus præcisè creatura, vel quia is manet in eo bono, in quo creatus à Deo fuerat, in gratia scilic. & justitia, vel propter excellentiam, quia omnis creatura electorum hominum causa potissimùm à Deo condita est, atque jis præcipuè deservit; quo sensu vox creaturæ vsurpatur Iacob. 1. vers. 18. voluntariè nos genuit, vt simus*

initium aliquod creaturæ ejus. Dicitur omnis creatura, vt ſignificetur vniverſitas iuſtorum cuiuſcunque nationis, ſexus, ætatis, conditionis & profeſſionis fuerint. Hæc creatura h. e. iuſtus expectat revelationem gloriæ filiorum Dei, tanquam complementum præmij et conſummationem ſuæ fælicitatis ſibi promiſſum, interim ſubiectus eſt vanitati, h.e. rebus comporalibus & mutabilibus propter neceſſitates præſentis vitæ circa eas occupatus &c. Socinus in reſponſ. ad defenſ. Franciſci Puccii cap. 6. pag. 170. pro aſtruenda iſtac interpretatione ſequentia vrget fundamenta. 1. *articulus additus voci* κτίσεως v. 19. *præter numerum ſingularem apertè demonſtrat, de inſigni aliqua creatura verba fieri, de ea ſcil. cuius in præcedentibus fecerat mentionem, videlicet de hominibus per ſpiritum Dei regenitis.* 2. *Non tantum in primis illis verbis articulus eſt, ſed in ſequentibus ſemper repetitur, & poſtremò in eo loco ponitur, vbi neceſſe ſit ſi rectè Latinè interpretari velis addere pronomen hæc aut illa.* v. 22. πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις *omnis illa ſive hæc creatura; Si Paulus de omni creatura generatim loqui voluiſſet, non* πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, *ſed* πᾶσα κτίσις *dixiſſet, ac in ſuperioribus, vbi non eſt nomen omnis, non in ſingulari, ſed in plurali numero locutus fuiſſet.* 3. *Si de tota rerum natura Apoſtolus verba facere voluiſſet, non dixiſſet* πᾶσα, *ſed* ὅλη κτίσις. 4. *res ipſa, de qua Paulus hic loquitur, de alia creatura re, præterquam de homine per ſpiritum Dei regenito verba hæc intelligi vetat. Quænam creatura patefactionem filiorum Dei expectat, præter illos homines, qui divinitùs edocti, ſpiritum mentis ſuæ renovati ſunt?* ἀποκαραδοκία *ipſum actum & geſtum expectandi ante oculos ponit, ſignificat enim exerto capite expectare, at hic actus hominibus tantum competit. Quomodo omnibus creaturis vnquam accommodabitur illud, non volens, ſed ſua ſponte? quomodo illud in ſpe? quomodo illud ingemiſcet & parturit vſq; adhuc? nam pluſquam poeticè & per proſopopœiam quandam prorſus inauditam hæc omnia dicta fuiſſe aſſeverabimus? at quemadmodum non per proſopopœiam de ijs qui primitias ſpiritus habebant ſed ſecundùm ipſiſſimam veritatem dicitur, quod intra ſe gemerent, expectantes adoptionem filiorum Dei, ſic de omni illa creatura verè & non fictè dictum fuit, quod ingemiſceret ac parturiret.* 5. *in alijs etiam Scripturæ locis verbum creare pro regignere, & quaſi iterum creare, ac nomen creaturæ pro homine ponitur.* Sed quid de his rationibus ſtatuendum ſit, partim ex præcedentibus intelligi poteſt, partim ex ſequentibus manifeſtum erit. Oſtendimus jam ante, pios ab illa creatura ſecum ingemiſcente diſtingui. Iuſti ſunt ipſi filij Dei, *quorum revelationem creatura ſolicitè expectat*, vtique ergo per creaturam non poſſunt prociſè intelligi juſti. Adde quod vox *creaturæ* indefinitè poſita, (quo modo v. 20. ponitur) nunquam in Scripturis pro ſolis pijs, & juſtis hominibus vſurpatur, ſed perpetuò additur quædam deſcriptio ac ἀπαρτισμὸς, vt *creatura nova* 2. Cor. 5. v. 17. Galat. 6. v. 15. quantò minùs ita accipi commodè poterit, quando additur *particula vniverſalis* πᾶσα quod fit v. 22. Socinus d. l. vrget dicta Apoſtolica Epheſ. 2. v. 10. Iac. 1. v. 18. in quibus vox creaturæ abſolutè poſita vſurpatur pro hominibus regenitis, ſed *deſcriptio addita* ſignificationem illam ſatis luculentè demonſtrat. *Creati ſumus in Chriſto ad opera bona, genuit nos verbo veritatis.* Poſteriorem interpretationem recitat Auguſtinus d. l. *Creatura, hoc eſt, homo infidelis liberabitur à ſervitute corruptionis, hoc eſt, à peccato, quia vocabitur ad fidem, fietque filius, vt poſtea liberta-*

Libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei conſequatur. In ijs (inquit) *qui crediturí erant, videbat Apoſtolus, quod dicebat, quia creatura, hoc eſt, Natura hominis, quæ tantumodo creatura eſt, nondum per fidem aggregata numero filiorum Dei, liberatur à ſervitute interitus, vt interitui non ſerviat, cui ſerviunt omnes peccatores. Peccatori enim dictum eſt, morte morieris, liberabitur autem in libertatem gloriæ filorum Dei, i. e. vt & ipſa perveniat ad libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei per fidem, quæ fides cum in ea non erat, creatura tamen modo dicebatur, & ad ipſam refertur, quod ſequitur. Scimus quia omnis creatura congemiſcit: erant enim adhuc crediturí, qui ſpiritui ſubiacebant laborioſis operibus.* Sed Apoſtolus hoc loco non agit *de liberatione à ſervitute peccati* quæ fit per fidem in hac vita, ſed de *liberatione à ſervitute corruptionis*, quæ non niſi in morte & per mortem obtingit, quod ipſum ex v. 23 Auguſt. ibid. rectè colligit: *Hæc adoptio*, inquit, *quæ iam facta eſt in ijs qui crediderunt in ſpiritu, non in corpore facta eſt. Nondum enim corpus reformatum eſt in cæleſtem illam mutationem, ſicut ſpiritus iam mutatus eſt reconcilatione fidei ab erroribus converſus ad Deum.* Adde quòd impii & iniuſti, quatenus tales, ſervituti peccati ſponte ſint ſubiecti, nec deſiderent ab ea liberari. Qui de ſpiritibus defunctorum textum exponunt, illi eum accipiunt, *de animabus Sanctorum ante Chriſtum defunctorum*, qui liberationem ex limbo expectaverint. Hieron. in comm. *Omnem creaturam dicunt eſſe, quicunque vſque ad adventum Chriſti juſti fuerunt, quia & ipſi nondum accipientes expectant, Deo pro nobis aliquid melius providente.* Et poſtea; *Communem creaturam nominat poſt Adamum & Evam iuſtos qui fuerunt vſque ad tempus Chriſti &c.* Sed hæc ſententia 1. nititur falſa hypotheſi. 2. nec ſatis commodè de animabus in limbo dicetur, quòd *vanitati & ſervituti corruptionis* fuerunt ſubiectæ quia pœnam duntaxat *damni*, non autem *ſenſus* illis aliàs tribuunt. Apoſtolus dicit *creaturam adhuc ingemiſcere et expectare.* Atqui eo tempore, quo Apoſtolus hæc ſcribebat, limbus iamdudū erat evacuatus, vt ipſiſmet huius limbi Architecti concedunt. Quod v. 20. indefinitè dicitur *vanitati ſubiecta eſt creatura*, illud quidam *ſpecialiſſimè, adeoque individualiter* de Adamo & Eva accipiunt Hieron. in comm. h. l. Quidam etiam ſic dicunt: *Adam et Evam eſſe creaturæ, quos olim ſerpens à ſpe divinitatis vanitati ſubiectos corruptioni efficerit deſervire, non ex ſemetipſis peccantes, ſed ſerpentis inſtigatione et conſilio. Et ipſi*, (inquiunt) *liberabuntur, vt iam non corruptioni deſerviant.* Et poſtea; *Creatura autem Adam eſt et Eva, quæ adhuc expectat à Deo ſe recipere adoptionem. Vanitas eſt prævaricatio, cui ſubiecta Eva non propriâ voluntate, ſed ſerpente decepta ſpe illa, quâ audierat, eritis quaſi Dei; ſervitus autem eſt corruptionis, quam audivit Adam: Terra es, et in terram ibis. In reſurrectione autem recepturi ſunt incorruptionem filiorum Dei.* Sed hæc interpretatio iiſdem evertitur argumentis, quibus prior, ac idem vtrobique manet ſubiectum in propoſitionibus Apoſtolicis, vt ſeries connexionis oſtendit. Quidam ergo non de *Angelica*, nec de *humana*, ſed *de corporali et irrationali creatura*, hoc eſt de tota vniverſitate creaturæ corporalis & ratione carentis, quæ comprehendit cœlos, elementa, aliaque ex elementis conſtituta, locum Apoſtolicum exponunt. Ita ſtatuunt ex Græcis Patribus, Chryſoſtom: Theodoretus, Theophilactus & Oecumenius in comm. h. l. Ex Latinis Hilar.

lib.12.de Trin. *Ambroſ.* lib.4. hexaem. & autor commentariorum in Epiſtolas *Pauli*, qui ſub nomine *Ambroſij* in operibus ejus extant, & ex noſtris plerique omnes. Probatur hæc interpretatio 1. ex creaturæ appellatione; κτίσις propriè ſignificat, quicquid eſt à Deo creatum, totam ſcil. mundi machinam cum omnibus partibus contentis. *Syrus* reddit בריתא à rad: ברא *creavit.* 2. *ex invariata repetitione.* Apoſtolus in quatuor diſtinctis verſiculis nomen *creaturæ* quater repetit ſine vlla variatione, permutaturus proculdubio hoc nomen voce alia, niſi creaturam generaliter acceptam intelligere voluiſſet. 3. *ex aliorum locorum collatione* Sap. 13. v. 5. *à magnitudine & ſpecie creaturis per analogiam generator illorum conſpicitur, Rom.* 1. v. 20. *inviſibilia Dei à creatura mundi per ea, quæ facta ſunt, conſpiciuntur,* vbi manifeſtum eſt, nomen κτίσεως pro viſibili creatura accipi. 4. *ex oppoſitione* creaturæ illi, de qua Apoſtolus v. 19. 20. 21. & 22. egit, opponuntur v. 23. *homines & quidem filij Dei ſpiritum adoptionis habentes.* 5. *ex ſufficienti enumeratione.* Si enim nec Angelica nec humana creatura intelligi poteſt, vt oſtendimus, itaque ergo creatura corporea, viſibilis & irrationalis intelligitur. 6. *ex interpretum teſtificatione.* Multi enim ex veteribus & recentioribus ita interpretantur, vt oſtendimus. Diximus autem intelligi *creaturam corpoream viſibilem & irrationabilem,* vt ab hoc ſubjecto propoſitionis Apoſtolicæ excludimus *Angelos* & *Homines.* Et ſanè Angelos malos hinc excludi, dubium nullum, quia illi non *liberabuntur à ſervitute corruptionis, nec expectant revelationem filiorum Dei in die noviſſimo ſecuturam,* ſed diei illius mentione exhorreſcunt, vt colligitur ex Math. 8. verſ. 20. 2. Pet. 2. v. 4. Iud. verſ. 6. *Bonos Angelos & ſpiritus defunctorum piorum creaturæ* appellatione *ſimul* intelligi, ſtatuit *Aretius* in prob. loc. 156. pag. 499. *Miror,* inquit, *ſi de illis qui in cœlis agunt vitam beatiſſimam, textus Apoſtolicus intelligi non poteſt. Sancti enim defuncti expectant corporum ſuorum reſtitutionem, ſine quibus beatiſſimam vitam agere non poſſunt, quibus dum carent, meritò ſub ſervitute interitus eo reſpectu dici poſſint. Sancti Angeli gaudent peccatoribus pœnitentibus, quibus dum ſerviunt, quid impedit de illis etiam accipi ratione miniſterij, non naturæ?* Sed de Angelis hunc locum non poſſe intelligi jam ante oſtendimus. Regerunt, qui Angelos ab Apoſtolo nomine creaturæ ſimul intelligi arbitrantur. 1. *Angelos bonos dici ſubiectos vanitati & corruptioni non ſuæ, ſed hominum, quibus inſerviunt.* 2. *ab hac vanitate eoſdem liberandos, quando totus mundus ſuâ vanitate peribit, et gaudium beatorum perfectum erit.* 3. *ingemiſcere eos ac dolere ſuo quodam modo, vt enim lætantur ſuper peccatore pœnitentiam agente Luc.* 15. *v.* 10. *ſic ob corruptum hominum ſtatum dolent, ſenſu miſeriæ noſtræ afficiuntur, et gloriam filiorum Dei, per quam ruinam ſuam ſciunt eſſe reparandam, exoptant.* At hæc omnia tum demum locum haberent, ſi Angeli, vt reliquæ creaturæ corporeæ impijs inſerirent, illud enim ſervitium Apoſtolus præcipuè in hoc loco nomine *vanitatis* intelligit, vt oſtendimus. Iam verò Angeli piis duntaxat inſerviunt. Adde quod ſit diſpar ratio inter *lætitiam* ac *triſtiam*. Lætantur Angeli peccatoribus pœnitentiam agentibus, quia hic effectus non pugnat cum gloria & fœlicitate in qua divinitùs confirmati ſunt: triſtari autem ac dolere minimè poſſunt quia triſtitia

triſtitia & dolor cum fœlicitate illa pugnat, in cœlo enim *nec dolor nec gemitus.* Apoc. 7. Explicationi ſpiritibus piè defunctorum robur aliquod quæri poſſit ex eo, quod Apoc. 6. v. 11. *animæ matyrum* dicuntur judicij ac reſurrectionis ſolicitè expectare dicuntur, ſed quia animas cœleſtis gloriæ participes jamdum factas, *vanitati adhuc ſubjectas & à ſervitute corruptionis adhuc liberandas* ſtatuere perquam durum, ideo eas à latitudine ſubjecti in textu Apoſtolico ſecludimus. Si quis verò omninò *Sanctos Angelos & animas piè defunctorum* nomine creaturæ ſimul velit intelligere, is poterit v. 19. vbi *indefinitè* ponitur creaturæ nomen, de corporali, viſibili & rationali creatura accipere, ſed v. 22. vbi additur particula vniverſalis πᾶσα κτίσις in genere de omni ente creato, de tota entis finiti latitudine accipere, quo modo accipitur Iudith 16. v. 17. Apoc. 3. v. 14. *ac per ingemiſcentiam ac parturitionem* vehemens deſiderium abſque vllo doloris & moleſtiæ ſenſu intelligere. Fateri interim cogetur, nihilominùs ab hac creaturæ vniverſalitate excipi *Angelos malos & animas damnatorum*; itemque articulum v. 22. additum πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις videri ἀναφορικὸν, vt ſit ſenſus *omnis illa creatura*, ſcil. de qua hactenus actum, adeoque αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις illa ipſa creatura, vt v. 21. habetur, *nobiſcũ ingemiſcit:* Qua ratione identitas ſubjecti in ſingulis quatuor verſiculis evidenter confirmatur.

Prædicatum tria membra complectitur, 1. *ſubjectionis ſervitium.* 2. *expectationis deſiderium.* 3. *liberationis beneficium.* De primo dicit Apoſtolus v. 20. ματαιότητι *vanitati ſubjecta eſt creatura non volens, ſed propter eum qui ſubjecit eam in ſpe* v. 21. *dicit eam eſſe conſtitutam ſub ſervitute corruptionis.* Per ματαιότητα 1. *Chryſoſt. Theophyl. Oecumen.* intelligunt *corruptionem. Quemadmodum* (ait *Chryſoſt* in comm.) *homine corruptibili effecto creatura quoque corruptibilis eſt effecta, ſic homine effecto incorruptibili & ipſa quoq; ſubſequetur.* homil. 10. ad populum Antioch. *Deus mirabilem hunc fecit mundum ſed corruptibilem. Vanitati creatura ſubiecta eſt*, h.e. *corruptibilis facta eſt Deo iubente. Quoniam enim hominem creatura nutrire debebat corruptibilem, & ipſa corruptibilis eſſe debeat. Non enim decebat corruptibilia hominum corpora incorruptibili creatura vti.* Diceretur ergo hoc ſenſu ματαιότης *ſervitus corruptionis*, hoc eſt, corruptio quæ eſt quædam ſervitus; vt enim ſervus invitus ſervit, ita creaturæ intereunt invitæ. Vera eſt hæc interpretatio, ſed non plena, nec præcipuum Apoſtoli ſcopum attingit. 2. Origenes lib. 1. περὶ ἀρχῶν, c. 7. *Vanitas hæc ſunt corpora, in quæ animæ ante corpus exiſtentes, ob peccata ſua ſunt detruſæ, et talia corpora ſunt etiam Sol, Luna, imò et terra et cæli. Hæc enim omnia habent animas, quæ ante ea extiterunt, ac conſequenter poſſunt ipſa peccare, iudiciumq; Chriſti æquè ac homines ſubibunt. Hæc ergo corpora propriè expectant reſurrectionem, et vt à corruptione liberentur, propriè ſperant et ingemiſcunt. Hæc interpretatio* hæretica eſt & abſurda vt oſtendit *Epiphan.* hæreſ. 64. & *Hieronym.* in Epiſtola ad *Avitum.* 3. *Eraſmus* ματαιότητα vertit *fruſtrationem*, quod creatura non aſſequatur illud quod vtcunque contendit efficere, τὸ ματαιον enim quandoque ſignificat *fruſtraneum*, quod fit μάτην fruſtra, quo agens non aſſequitur finem, quem ſibi propoſuit. Creaturæ propoſitam habent incolumitatem

lumitatem sui, eam verò impedit φθορὰ sive corruptio, sed Apostolus ipse ματαιότητα exponit per δουλείαν φθορᾶς. Natura meditatur *immortalitatem specierum* per quotidianam ac perennem Individuorum successionem, sed hoc frustra fit, quia non solum *Individua* quotidiè intereunt, verum etiam et ipse species in consummatione sæculi abolebuntur. 4. Socinus d. l. p. 180. *per vanitatem* cui creatura, h. e. vt ipse interpretatur, *homines regeniti in hac vita* sunt subjecti, intelligendum esse dicit, *non corruptionem simpliciter, quæ omnibus animantibus non tantum hominibus communis est, sed abjectionem, ignominiam et perpessiones illas, quarum antea Apostolus mentionem fecerat & quæ Christianorum sunt propriæ, quas necessario non corruptio tantùm, sed plerumq; etiam immatura corruptio consequitur.* Sed in nullo scripturæ loco φθορὰ pro illis calamitatibus & passionibus piorum vsurpatur. Vera igitur & genuina interpretatio est ea, qua *per vanitatem cui creatura subjecta est* intelligitur, non solùm defectus mutabilitatis, corruptio & mortalitas, cui omnes creaturæ corporeæ ac visibiles subjectæ, sed etiam ac cumprimis servitium illud, quo creaturæ in hac vita abusibus impiorum coguntur esse subjectæ. *Omnis homo vivens vanitas est*, inquit Psaltes. Psal. 39. v. 6. quia ergò creaturæ inserviunt homini, ideò per hoc servitium subiiciuntur vanitati. Omnes homines sunt mortales & corruptibiles, quia ergò creaturæ inserviunt hominibus impijs nequiter eas abutentibus, ideò per hoc servitium subeunt δουλείαν φθορᾶς *Sol oritur super bonos & malos, pluvia descendit super justos et injustos* Math. 5 v. 45. aerem communiter hauriunt pii ac impii, terra omnes ex æquo alit, & mortuos tam bonos quam malos in gremium suum recipit, terrâ nascentibus omnes fruuntur, cùm tamen soli pii beneficiis illis digni sint, hoc ergo servitium impiis præstitum est illa ματαιότητι ac ἀχλαίᾳ φθορᾶς cui creaturæ in hac vita coguntur esse subjectæ. Sic vinum est bona & præclara Dei creatura, sed cogitur in hac vita servire cupiditatibus ebriosorum. Hæc est illa servitus corruptionis, *cui creatura illa subjecta est non volens*, vnde *ingemiscit* & iuxta prosopopœiam Apostolicam *expetit ab hac servitute liberari*, elegit enim potius non esse & in nihil abire, quam abusui ebriosorum inservire, & hac ratione contra creatorem suum quasi militare; Idem iudicium esto de reliquis Dei creaturis. Potest cum hac explicatione coniungi prima & tertia, nam propter peccatum non solùm homo morti, sed etiam tota creatura *corruptioni est subjecta*, ac sæpius cogitur luere pœnam scelerum ab hominibus commissorum: propter peccatum protoplastòn terræ maledictio denuntiatur, *vt germinet spinas ac tribulos.* Genes. 3. v. 17. 18. in diluvio propter peccata hominum totus terrarum orbis miserè vastatur; propter peccata Sodomitarum totus illius regionis tractus, qui ob pulcritudinem, amœnitatem & fertilitatem *Paradiso* comparatur, igne cælitùs depluto exuritur; in plagis Ægypti terra, aqua, aer propter Pharaonis obstinatam malitiam inficitur ac corrumpitur, impiis minatur Deus *cælum ferreum ac terram æneam*, quæ est misera vanitas & corruptio, cui propter hominum creaturis pessimè abutentium peccata, natura rerum est subiecta. Præcipuus insuper creaturarum finis est, vt ex illarum inspectione Deum creatorem agnoscamus Rom. 1. v. 20. atqui hunc finem apud impios creatura non assequitur, ideoque in illis

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ad διορθωσιαν informandis inſtar magiſtri negligentes & refractarios diſcipulos informantis fruſtra laborat, quæ etiam eſt *vanitas & ſervitus corruptionis*, quo ſenſu ac reſpectu tertia interpretatio cum quarta coniungi poteſt. Cæterùm huic vanitati & ſervituti corruptionis creatura dicitur ſubiecta, ουχ ἑκουσα *non volens, ſed propter eum qui ſubiecit eam in ſpe*. h. e. non proprio vel naturali motu ſe illi ſubiecit, ſed Dei creatoris voluntate eidem ſubordinata, ſive certo modo atque ordine eſt ſubiecta. Syrus reddidit לא בצבוכה *non pro voluntate ſua non ſponte aut pro voto ſuo*. ac αποτασσομενον adiectum ἐπ' ἐλπιδι coniunxit cum verſu ſequente 21. *in ſpe quod & ipſa creatura liberabitur*. Quomodo vero creatura *non volens* vanitati ſubiecta? Qui per *vanitatem* intelligunt mutabilitatem & corruptionem, in varias abeunt ſententias, cùm eſſe mutabile et corruptibile videatur creaturæ corporali ac viſibili eſſe naturale, vtpote proveniens ab eſſentialibus ipſius principiis. Thomas illud *non volens* ſic interpretatur, *quod defectus, qui conſequuntur naturæ corpoream mutabilitatem, cuiuſmodi ſunt ſenium, putrefactio, corruptio, ſint contra naturam particularē huius vel illius rei, cuius nimirum appetitus tendit ad ſui conſervationem & fugit ſuā corruptionem*; Theophylactus refert ad Dei providentiam & creationem: *Hoc*, inquit, *ſignificat Dei providentia & cura mundum eſſe conditum, nec ipſum per ſe fuiſſe extructum, ſed totum ad commoditatem & vſum hominis à Deo eſſe factum*. Alii referunt ad ſecuturam mundi renovationem: *Non volens dicitur, quia cum hic mundus expectet mirabilem illam renovationem & ſtatum gloriæ, ad quē in reſurrectionis tempore perventurus eſt, ideò præſentem hunc ſtatum tanto ignobiliorem dicitur non velle, comparatione ſcil. maioris boni quod expectat*. Sed quia per vanitatem & ſervitutem corruptionis diximus præcipuè intelligi ſervitium, quod impiis in hac vita creaturæ impendunt, ideò ſenſus eſt, quod creatura quaſi abhorreat à peſſimo illo impiorum abuſu, interim tamen quia primitùs ad vſum hominis condita, ideò Dei creatoris imperio & ordinationi obſequitur. Cùm enim Apoſtolus per emphaticam Proſopopœiam totiùs creaturæ corporeæ vniverſitatem velut vnam quampiam perſonam nobis proponat, vt poſtea videbimus, ideò etiam ſenſum & appetitum ipſi tribuit, quod *non volens* vanitati illi h.e. impiorum abuſui ſit ſubiecta. De ſecundo *Prædicati* membro dicit Apoſtolus v. 19. ἡ ἀποκαραδοκια τῆς κτισεως τὴν ἀποκαλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται. & verſ. 22. *ſcimus quod omnis creatura* συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἀχρι τοῦ νῦν. Dixerat verſ. 18. *paſſiones huius temporis non eſſe condignas ad futuram gloriam, quæ in nobis revelabitur*. verſ. 19. ſubiungit ἀνθυποδοκιμως, *ſolicita enim creaturæ expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat*. 1. vt quodamodo explicet magnitudinem ac pondus futuræ illius gloriæ, cuius cauſa, donec reipſa contingat, omnes moleſtias & quævis huius vitæ adverſa æquo animo tolerare debeamus, cum etiam irrationalis creatura anxiè ac ſolicitè tempus illud, in quo gloria filiorum Dei manifeſtanda eſt, expectet, quod magnum eſt argumentum, gloriam illam eſſe auguſtam & inæſtimabilem. 2. vt certitudinem ſecuturæ illius gloriæ demonſtret, quia enim omnis creatura revelationem filiorum Dei avidiſſimè expectat, ideò ea certiſſimè ſuo tempore ſequetur, neque enim illud vniverſale totius naturæ deſiderium à Deo ipſi innatum atq; inſitum poteſt eſſe fruſtaneum. 3. Vt dignitatem

filiorum

filiorum Dei exprimat,quod illis non ſolum, *omnia in bonum cooperentur, quod primitias ſpiritus acceperint,quod cum Chriſto patiantur, ac proinde etiam cum ipſo glorificandi ſint*, ſed quod omnia etiam vnà cum ipſis ingemiſcant,parturiant & liberationem eorum vnicè expetant. Magna autem in verbis Apoſtoli eſt emphaſis. Expectationem illam creaturæ revelationem filiorum Dei deſiderantis vocat ἀποκαραδοκίαν, quod Hilar. lib. 12. de Trin: vertit *longinquam*, Ambroſius *frequentem expectationem* iam inde ſcil. à prima mundi origine, vel ſaltem à lapſu protoplaſtôn cœptam & quotidiè durantem. Theophylactus rectiſſimè vertit *ſolicitam;anxiam & quaſi exerto capite factam expectationem.* Componitur enim hæc vox ex ἀπὸ, à, κάρα *caput*, & δοκεῖν videre, qui enim aliquid videre magnopere deſiderant & cupidè expectant, exporrecto,ſive exerto capite ſubinde illud proſpiciunt, in altum ſuſpiciunt, quaſi rem deſideratam indè expectent. Syrus reddidit: *Omnis creatura expectat & oculos intendit* מסבי֝א *in ſpecula quaſi expectat* Philip. 1. v. 20. vtitur hac voce Apoſtolus ad exprimendum vehemens illud *deſiderium* ac *ſpem* qua afflictiones quas pro Chriſto patiebatur, in ipſius gloriam ceſſuras ſperabat. In verſione Aquilæ habetur. Pſal. 37. v. 17. pro ההחזיל vehementèr *expectavit, inſtar parturientis*, quâ ſimilitudine etiam poſtea vtitur Apoſtolus. Polybius vtitur hoc vocabulo *de anxia, ſolicita illa expectatione, quam exercitus ad prælium parati habere ſolent dum expectent Imperatoris mandatum.* Emphaticè igitur vox ἀποκαραδοκίας *expectationem creaturæ ſolicitam exprimit.* Auget emphaſin, quod Apoſtolus non ſimpliciter dicit, *creatura expectat*,ſed *expectatio* creaturæ expectat q d.creaturæ tam anxiè atq; avidè gloriam illam expectant,vt videantur eſſe ipſa expectatio: *per revelationē filiorū Dei* intelligit plenariā cōmunicationē gloriæ cœleſtis in vita æterna quæ filijs Dei in die noviſſimo cōtinget,vt colligitur ex v. Col.3.4. Ioh. 3.v. 2.hæc filiorum Dei revelatio eſt *conſūmata conſolatio. h. e. conſummata gloria quæ non erit niſi reſumptis corporibus*, ait Hilarius in Pſal. 125. v. 22. addit *creaturam* συστενάζειν καὶ συνωδίνειν, vbi rectè notat Chryſoſtomus quod *Apoſtolus* προσωποποιεῖν τὸν κόσμον ὥστε ἐμψυχότερον εἶναι τὸν λόγον *introducit totam rerum creatarum viſibilium ac corporearum* vniverſitatem *velut fœminam quandam parturientem et ingemiſcentē ob dolores, quos ante partum & in partu ſuſtinet.* Quia enim dies noviſſimus eſt tempus παλιγγενεσίας Math. 19. v. 28. quo terra magno & mirando partu corpora reſuſcitatorum in lucem edet,ac filij *reſurrectionis* in vitam prodibunt; Luc. 20. v. 36. ideò creaturam adventum diei noviſſimi cupidè expectantem parturienti,& præ dolore ingemiſcenti fœminæ confert. Talis proſopopœia etiam in alijs Scripturæ locis occurrit,ſic mare, flumina, montes,arbores,introducuntur a ſpiritu Sancto, vt *plaudentes, jubilantes,& exultantes*: Non autem ſimpliciter & abſolutè pronunciat Apoſtolus,*quod creatura ingemiſcat ac parturiat*, ſed quod συστενάζει ac συνωδίνει *ſimul ingemiſcat ac ſimul parturiat*,vel quod creaturæ inter ſeſe,vel (quod convenientius eſt vt apparet ex v. 23) quòd *vnà cum homine* ingemiſcant & parturiant, h.e. in ſimilitudinem parturientis doleant, anxiè expectantes tempus, quo filii Dei, ſivè gloria filiorum Dei eſt revelanda quamvis diverſitas quædam lectionis hìc occurrat. (quidam enim codices olim habuerunt, *congemiſcit*, & *parturit*,quo modo legit *Hieronym.*

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in comm.cap.24. Eſa. Quidam: *congemiſcit & condolet.* Quidam congemiſcit & dolet. Auguſt.d.l. Quidam ingemiſcit & parturit, Cyrill. lib. 5. Theſ. cap. 7. Heſych. lib. 5. in Levit. Ambroſ. in comment. ſed dubium nullum, genuinam eſſe lectionem eam, quæ habet *congemiſcit & comparturit)* Additus ὡρισμὸς ἄχρι νῦν diverſimode exponitur. Qui ad *homines pios* referunt, ſic exponunt, quod ille dolor ac gemitus per gratiam juſtificationis non ſit ablatus; ſed maneat in piis vſque ad mortem. Qui ad *ſpiritus defunctorum* referunt, eo ſenſu accipiunt, quod animæ vſque ad diem reſurrectionis corporum ſuorum reſtitutionem, & gloriæ filiorum Dei revelationē expectent. Sed quid de hiſce hypotheſibus ſtatuendū ſit, iam antè vidimus, de corporea, viſibili & irrationabili creatura Apoſtolo ſermo eſt, quam dicit *vſq; nunc* expectare, vt oſtendat deſiderium illud eſſe non ſolum anxium, ſed etiam continuum, quod jam inde à lapſu protoplaſtôn cœperit, ac ab eo tempore perpetuò duraverit, quin & ad finem vſque mundi duraturum ſit, De *tertio prædicati membro* tractat Apoſtolus. v. 21. *quia & ipſa creatura liberabitur à ſervitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei*, hoc eſt anxia illa creaturæ expectatio non fruſtrabitur ſuo eventu, quia creatura à ſervitio illo, quo impiorum abuſibus ſervire cogitur, aliquando liberabitur. Quod additur εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης diverſimodè exponitur. 1. Chryſoſt. accipit *cauſaliter*, particulam enim εἰς exponit per διὰ *propter, vel in commendationem* libertatis & gloriæ filiorum Dei, id quod declarat quadam ſimilitudine. *Quemadmodum Nutrix quæ infantem alit regium, illo ad regium principatum evecto, & ipſa quoque bonorum fructuum percipit: pari ratione cum homo gloriâ donabitur, hanc ejus gloriam cæteræ creaturæ quæ homini ſervierunt participabunt; Thomas in ſupplem. q. 91. art. 3. Quemadmodum paterfamilias cum dignitas filio nova confertur, illius famulos novo atque illuſtri amictu induit: ſic Deus cum nova ſempiternaque dignitas homini in cœlo tribuetur, creaturam quæ illi ſervit, illuſtriore veſte decorabit. Sed hæc explicatio renovationem mundi fore* præſupponit, quod adhuc in quæſito eſt. 2. Quidam exponunt *exemplaritèr in libertatem* h. e. in imitationem vel ad exemplum *libertatis gloriæ* ſive *glorioſæ filiorum Dei*, vt ſic ſimilem quandam libertatem, ſtabilitatem & immortalitatem cum filiis Dei reliquæ creaturæ intelligantur accepturæ. 3. Ambroſius accipit *temporaliter* quiá εἰς ἐλευθερίαν accipit pro ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ *in libertate*, vt ſic denotetur tempus, quo liberanda erit creatura à ſervitute corruptionis, nimirum quando filiis Dei *libertas gloriæ* h. e. glorioſa liberatio ab omni miſeria, infirmitate, mutabilitate, afflictione adeoque ab omnibus corporis & animi malis obtinget. 4. poſſet etiam particula εἰς exponi *eventualiter*, ἐκβατικῶς *Creatura liberabitur à ſervitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei*, h. e. quando creatura in conſummatione ſœculi ab illa vanitate & ſervitute corruptionis liberabitur, tunc *libertas gloriæ* ſive glorioſa libertas filiorum Dei in publico Angelorum & hominum conſpectu manifeſtabitur. Hiſce probè obſervatis facile appareret ex hoc loco Apoſtolico mutationem præſentis mundi in ſtatum meliorem non poſſe Apodictic è demonſtrari. 1. Quod ſi enim de *creatura Angelica* vel humana ſubiectum Apoſtolicæ prædicationis accipiatur, nihil præſidii in hoc textu invenient, qui accidentium tantùm abolitionem

nem defendunt. Sed quia interpretationes illæ licet magnis in ecclesia Doctoribus probatæ, textui minùs conveniunt, ac ſimplicius eſt *per creaturam* intelligere vniverſam creaturam corpoream viſibilem & irrationalem, ideò addimus. 2. Apoſtolum nequaquam dicere, *quòd liberanda ſit creatura à corruptione*, quæ phraſis ſubſtantiali interitui oppoſita videri poterat, *ſed à ſervitute corruptionis*, quæ eidem minimè adverſatur: Renati in hac etiam vitâ liberantur *à ſervitute peccati* Rom. 6. v. 7. interim non liberantur plenariè *ab* ipſo *peccato*, quippè quod in carne ipſorum adhuc habitat. Rom. 7. v. 17. Si Chriſtianus in Turcia captivus detineatur, ac miſera ſervitute prematur, inque ea tandem moriatur, is liberatur à ſervitute corruptionis, ſed non ab ipſa corruptione, quia corpus ejus in pulverem convertitur. Si creaturæ liberantur *à ſervitute corruptionis* h. e. à ſervitio, quod impijs hominibus in hac vita mortali impendere coguntur, interim tamē ipſæ non ſunt nec fiunt liberæ à corruptione. 3. Liberatio illa creaturæ non fit per renovationem, reſtaurationem, incorruptibilitatis communicationem, inq; meliorem ſtatum mutationem, ſed per ipſam corruptionem atq; annihilationem, quando ſcil. hominibus impijs non amplius cogentur ſervire. Quo.n. ſenſu *vanitas & ſervitus corruptionis* ipſis tribuitur, eodem ſenſu oppoſita *liberatio à ſervitute corruptionis* ipſis aſſignanda, vt oſtendit oppoſitio. Iam verò *vanitas & ſervitus corruptionis* creaturæ tribuitur ſenſu eo, quòd impijs turpiter ac nefariè contra voluntatem creatoris illis abutentibus coguntur in hac vita ſervire, Ergò etiàm liberatio à ſervitute corruptionis eo ſenſu illis tribuenda, quod ſervitium illud vnà cum hac vita mortali deſinat, quæ ſervitij abolitio non ſolum *per renovationem* ac reſtaurationem, ſed etiam per *annihilationem* fieri poteſt, ac proinde *ab indeterminato ad determinatum, à genere ad certam ſpeciem, à liberatione admodum liberationis* per renovationem non debet fieri progreſſus. 4. Tertull. lib. de anim. cap. 42. de Epicuro memorat, *quòd, mortem ad nos nihil pertinere, hoc evincere voluerit argumento: quod diſſolvitur, ſenſu caret, quod autem ſenſu caret, nihil ad nos.* Senec. in conſolatione ad Martiam, *per mortem homini liberationem ab omnibus malis contingere dicit*, atq; interim morte totaliter hominem interire opinatur: *Mors* inquit, *omnium & ſolutio eſt & finis, vltra quam mala noſtra non exeunt.* Ibid. *non poteſt eſſe miſer qui nullus eſt.* Quod ille ſenſu Epicuræo de homine ad immortalitatem condito falſò affirmavit, illud ad creaturas corporeas propter huius vitæ vſum conditas ſano ſenſu applicare poſſumus. Interitus creaturæ ſervitii illius cui in hac vita ſubiecta eſt, & ſolutio eſt & finis, vltra quem ſervitium illud non erit. 5. Meritò verò vrgemus illud quod Apoſtolus nomine creaturæ non tantum intelligat cœlum, Elementa ac terram, ſed omnes omninò corporeas, viſibiles & irrationales creaturas, quæ abuſui impiorum in hac vita non minùs, quàm cœlum, terra & elementa ſint ſubiectæ. Quod ſi ergò *liberatio illa à ſervitute corruptionis* aliquando futura eſſet per renovationem & incorruptibilitatis participationem, conſequens foret, non ſolum cœlum & elementa ſed etiam corpora mixta, ac omnium ſpecierum in brutis & arboribus individua eſſe aliquando renovanda, & ad incorruptibilitatem reſuſcitanda quod tamen nec ipſi renovationis patroni concedunt. Vim huius inſtantiæ

Franciſc u

Franciſcus Puccius in defenſ. adv. Socinum ferre non potuit, inde *pag:* 18. diſputat, *etiam bruta animantia eſſe ad incorruptibilitatem reſuſcitanda.* 6. Ideò verò Apoſtolus maluit dicere, *creaturam liberandam à ſervitute corruptionis*, quàm totaliter interituram, tum quia voluit vſurpare talem phraſin, quæ etiam de homine prædicari poſſet, nec tamen hominis reſpectu interitui eſſet oppoſita. Iam verò totalis interitus ac corruptio in die noviſſimo hominibus non competit, liberatio autem à ſervitute corruptionis hominibus eſt etiam communis: tum quia voluit in proſopopœia allegorica, & hyperbole illa metaphorica, qua creaturis irrationalibus actus quoſdam rationis dedit, perſiſtere, q. d. Si creaturæ abuſui impiorũ in hac vita ſubiectæ ſenſus ac rationis eſſent participes, præoptarent potius omnimodam annihilationem, quàm talem ſervitutem. 7. ex phraſi εἰς ἐλευθερίαν colligi nequit, *terminum ad quem* liberationis, fore vnum ac eundem creaturæ cum filiis Dei, aliàs enim ſequeretur, creaturam etiam vitæ æternæ & cœleſtis gloriæ filijs Dei promiſſæ, fore participem, ſed denotatur duntaxat *liberationis tempus* vt ex Ambroſio monuimus. Quidam addunt, *non inſtitui identitatem, ſed generalem comparationem*, cuius ſenſus hic ſit. Sicut certa eſt liberatio filiorum Dei à ſuâ vanitate & ſervitute corruptionis, cui in hoc mundo ſubjacent, ſic etiam certa erit reliquarum creaturarum à vanitate liberatio, quamvis liberationis modus, vtrobique plurimum variet, Confer. D. Feurborn. in diſput. contra Phiſ. Cæſarem th. 132. & ſeqq.

I will conclude this Advertiſement, as the Authour of this Commentary begins his diſputation touching the pretended *renovation* of the World, neither did I intend it otherwiſe; Sententiam de ſubſtantiali mundi φθορᾷ ſeu interitu non defendimus vt *fidei articulum* ad ſalutem ſcitu ac creditu ſimpliciter neceſſarium, ſed eam emphaticis Scripturæ dictis, quæ de fine mundi loquuntur, magis conformem eſſe dicimus.

The fifth Advertiſement.

MY fifth Advertiſement ſhall be touching the teſtimonies which ſome Reverend Prelates, and other graue Divines, and learned Profeſſours haue beene pleaſed vnder their hands to impart vnto me concerning my booke, and the ſubject thereof, more ample then I can acknowledge, or deſerue, which I ſhould not haue publiſhed, had I not found mine endeavours ſleighted by ſome, and by others in the maine point oppoſed, profeſſing themſelues ſtill vnſatisfied, as if I maintained a paradoxe for oſtentation of wit, or affectation of ſingularitie, rather then a ſound poſition for loue of truth, and the advancement of Gods glorie.

WORTHY SIR.

IT lyeth not in my power to make any ſufficient requitall vnto you for the many courteſies which I received from you at Oxford; but eſpecially for your laſt remembrance of mee with that noble monument of your learning and induſtrie, which you were pleaſed to ſend vnto mee. Other bookes I ſeldome read but once, and that curſorily too, for the moſt part: but here, juvat vſque morari; *the things contained therein beeing ſo artificially mixed with ſuch variety of learning and matter of delight, that they can not but* decies repetita placere. &c.

Your faithfull friend and brother

IA: ARMACHANUS.

GOod Mr Doctor, giue me leaue I pray you, with many hartie ſalutations and much deſire of your acquaintance, to thanke you for the great pleaſure and contentment I haue received in reading againe and againe, your learned and excellent diſcourſe touching the power and providence of God in the goverment of the world: Wherein as I could not wiſh any thing to be defalked, ſo me thought I wanted now and then the expreſſing of the Roman & Greeke *ſummes in our moneyes currant now a dayes* &c.

Your very loving friend and hearty wel-willer

FR: HEREFORD.

FOr your booke as you treat on a ſubject wherein much learning may bee ſhewed, ſo truly you haue ſhewed it abundantly, and I thinke there is no ingenuous ſchollar but doth worthily eſteeme and commend it. &c.

Your loving friend and brother to be commanded

GODFR: GLOUCESTER.

TRue indeede it is that his Lordſhip in the ſame letter (which came not to
'my hands till my booke was almoſt paſt the preſſe) was pleaſed to doe mee
'the favour to propoſe certaine doubtes againſt my tenet, deſiring ſatisfa-
'ction therevnto, which I haue vndertaken & truſt by gods aſsiſtance in due time
'to make good, but for the preſent mine occaſions are ſuch, as they call my
'thoughts and imployments another way, ſo as I am forced to preſume vpon his
'Lordſhips pardon and patience for a while; and indeede to blot my paper with a
'ſudden ſleight anſwere to a perſon of that eminent ranke, and to arguments
'waighing ſo ponderouſly in the ballance of ſo graue a judgement, himſelfe (as I
'conceiue and haue written to his Lordſhip) would hold it a point neither of ci-
'vilitie nor diſcretion.

Theſe

Theſe teſtimonies following I haue the rather added, partly for that in my *Preface* to the Reader I had affirmed, that for the maine points of my booke, I had the approbation of the *publique Profeſſours* therein, and partly to ſhew their concurrence in opinion with mee, to whoſe cenſure I had in mine *Epiſtle Dedicatory* ſubmitted both my ſelfe and my booke.

REVEREND SIR

WHen you firſt propoſed vnto mee the probleme which is the ſubject of your learned diſcourſe, I was then your adverſary in the point, but now am your convert. I haue learned from you, that our many defects, argue not a ſucceſſiue decay and conſumption in Nature: for if from the beginning, the beeing of the Creature, had beene attended with dayly loſſe of entity and perfections, how hath it eſcaped not-beeing or annihilation? The age wherein you liue oweth vnto you the reſtitutiō to her proper inheritance, together with an aſſured hope, that her poſterity ſhall not periſh, till that finall diſſolution by the power of God. You adde life to the endeavours of both, ſeeing they cannot longer doubt that they may equall (if not tranſcend) the Acts and vertues of their Predeceſſours.

Samuel Fell Profeſſour for the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*.

REVEREND SIR.

I Am enformed by Religion and Reaſon, that there is an infinite Power, Providence, propagation, and Protection. Had I but doubted of this, I might eaſily haue beene taught it by your learned labours. And the World can never winne mee to beliefe an vniverſall Decay, while there liues ſo ſtrong a penne to maintaine the perpetuall flouriſhing of it, till it ſhall be no more.

Ed. Lapworth M.D. & Natur. Philoſoph. Profeſſor Sedlianus.

REVEREND LEARNED SIR

YOur Booke of the Providence of God &c I hold to be a worke of good Iudgment, truth and vſe. We finde in phyſicke, Simples in Nature for medicines, and our conſtitutions to bee the ſame they were of old, for the generall, though particulars may be accidentally weaker: and ſo aſcending to their higher cauſes, the Elements and Heavens, Sunne, Moone &c are (I am perſwaded) the ſame as they were created. The vniverſe is (I thinke) and ſhall continue the ſame, by God his power and goodneſſe, till it be diſſolved by the ſame breath which made it.

Tho. Clayton. Med. Prof. Regius.

Advertiſements.

REVEREND SIR.

YOur learned and elegant Apologie doth ſo clearely demonſtrate a permanent vigour of Nature, both celeſtiall & ſublunarie; and ſo ſtrongly convince all pretended reaſons for a perpetuall and generall decay, that the Reader (not obſtinately reſolute to maintaine his owne Hypotheſis) cannot but ſee and reject the common errour, and from you receiue and embrace the Truth, to which I moſt willingly ſubſcribe.

Io. Bainbridge Med. D. &
Aſtronomiæ profeſſor
Savilianus.

REVEREND SIR.

I Muſt confeſſe before the reading of your booke, I was of that opinion (touching the vniverſall decay of the world) which you juſtly tearme a popular errour: but through the ſtrength of your arguments, the weight of your authorities, and pregnancy of inſtances alleaged, am I now otherwiſe perſwaded: nor haue I in my ſlender reading obſerued, or doe I thinke that Hiſtory, either ancient or moderne, can afford reaſons and inſtances, of equall number & weight to diſproue your aſſertion.

Degoreus Whear Hiſt. Præl.
Camdenianus.

SIr, as reaſon perſwades judgement, ſo report credulity. A popular tradition is ſoone prevalent: but ſounder learning as ſoone deſtroies it. So hath your accurate induſtry confounded that vulgar errour of deficient nature. My owne profeſsion muſt ſubſcribe to it. Never did the Orientall languages finde ſuch perfection as in this laſt Century.

Iohn Morris
King's profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue
in the Vniverſitie of Oxon.

GOod Doctor Hakewill, I haue ever beene of your opinion, that the generall decay which is pretended to be in Nature, and in bodies naturall, both celeſtiall and elementarie, is but a meere conceit: as alſo that the perpetuall declination, which is ſuppoſed to attend mankinde, in regard of age, ſtrength, wit and manners, through naturall cauſes, is but a common errour: which you haue fully proved in your learned and copious diſcourſe: and now at foureſcore and ten yeares of age I ſhall not eaſily be otherwiſe perſwaded.

Thom. Allen
of Gloceſter Hall.

One

One more teſtimonie I will adde, but that one in ſteed of many, ſent me from a deare freind and neere neighbour of mine, whoſe ſtation in the Church of God were it anſwerable to his gifts, he ſhould doubtleſſe moue and ſhine in an higher and larger ſpheare then now he doth.

In eruditiſſimam D. Hakewilli. Apologiam Elogium.

SVo creare numini Mundum parem,
Carentem origine, neſcientem termini,
Non potuit ille cuncta qui poteſt Deus.
Hinc æviternum condidit, ſimilem ſibi,
Rei creatæ ſola quæ Perfectio
Ab Architecto potuit optimo dari.
Perire namq; cauſsâ ab exterâ nefas
Cui nil ſit vſquam quod repugnet exterum:
Contrà duello quicquid interno cadit
Succeſsione mutuâ rependitur.
Ergò labore nec fatiſcit perpete,
Quiete vires nec redintegrat novas:
Non tabe languet, non ſenectâ deficit,
Non letho ab hoſte, morte non obit ſuâ.
Hoc Omne magnum, terra, cærulum, polus,
Sol, aſtra, luna, quicquid humanum genus
Ambit, tegitque ſuſtinetque, ſexies
Bis quina ſæcla plùs minuſve ſubſtitit.
Ætas, ſtatura, ingenia, mores interim,
Quæ ſunt fuere, quæque ſunt futura ſunt.
Tenorem eundem cuncta ſervant: omnia
Tuetur idem qui creavit artifex.
Tuebiturque ſarta tecta quatenùs
Ipſi placebit: ſolus ævum cum volet
Finire poterit ille qui potuit dare.
Dabitque finem, non aquarum molibus,
Priſca vt Gigantum cum piaret ſæcula:
Sed ignium vndis, Chriſtiana quod docet,
Subeſſe falſum cui nihil poteſt, Fides.
Nam cum ſupremus arduo Iudex throno
Ius mortuiſque dicet & viventibus:
Torrens ab imo flammeus ſolio Dei
Fragore acuto, vaſto & impetu fluens
Involvet, obruetque cuncta, & omnis hæc
Reddetur ingens quam videmus machina
Levis favilla, tenuis & cimiſculus,
Cinis, favillæ: non ſat eſt, imò Nihil.
Hæc, hiſque plura Hakwillianus ſuggerit
Docti catique doctus & catus liber,
Volvendus ille mente ſeriâ, & manu

Crebra terendus: Rem putas? nil dignius,
Rerum lacertos & toros? nil fortius:
Formam ordinemq; ? Pulcrius nihil: Stilum,
Phraſinq; ? nil eſt vſpiam elegantius.
Sic vſquequaque dulce miſcet vtili,
Tuliſſe punctum vt omne nullus ambigas.
Sacerque vatum me niſi fallat tripos,
Vivet, vigebit: quippe cui Genius ineſt.
Nec interibit vſque dum noviſsimo
Natura rerum & ipſa ſolvitur die,
Cremante cuncta publico Mundi rogo.

Io. Dunæus
S. T. B.

Cantabrigienſis

Diverſe other faire and rich teſtimonies (farre beyond my expectation and merit) I haue receiued at ſeverall times, and vpon ſeverall occaſions from other worthy men; but theſe I conceiued would ſuffice to make it appeare, and to let ſuch as beleeue otherwiſe to know, that I ſtand not ſingle, nor maintaine a paradoxe.

The ſixth Advertiſement.

MY ſixth and laſt advertiſement ſhall be touching mine intention propoſed in my preface prefixed before my firſt edition, & now againe before this ſecond, about the publiſhing of a ſecond *Apologie or Declaration of the power and providence of God in the government of his Church:* towards the erecting of which building I haue gathered many materialls, but finde as in building the juſt proportion of the frame farre to exceede the Idea of that firſt modell which I preconceiued and proiected to my ſelfe; and withall I feele that the ſtate of my bodie will not admit of long ſitting and much writing, both which that great buſineſſe will neceſſarily require, ſo as I am forced in this caſe to take vp that in the *Wiſedome* of Solomon: *The corruptible bodie preſſeth downe the ſoule, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth downe the minde that muſeth vpon many things:* or rather that in *Eccleſiaſtes, of making many bookes there is no end, and much ſtudie is a wearineſſe of the fleſh.* The thinge I intended was cheifely for the comfort of ſuch pious ſoules as mourne in conſideration of the late diſtreſſes of the Church of Chriſt, by ſhewing that in all theſe there hath beene and to the worlds end will be, as in civill affaires and in the whole courſe of nature (though ordered by a more ſpeciall providence) a circular revolution, or alternatiue viciſſitude by mutuall interchanges and returnes; in which purpoſe I finde my ſelfe for the maine matter prevented by *Stephanus Pannonius* in that booke of his which he intitles *de Circulo operum & judiciorum Dei.* Yet for the preſent I could not but publiſh ſomewhat for the raiſing of mens fainting and drouping ſpirits, by alleaging the authorities of learned

9.15.

12.12.

Lib. 4. c. 12. Sect. 6.

ned men (to whoſe number many more then I haue named might eaſily haue beene added) and by producing at leaſtwiſe probable reaſons and proofes from holy Scriptures, that the Church of Chriſt ſhall yet before the conſummation of the world (by the vtter ſubverſion of Antichriſt, the converſion of the Iewes, and a fuller calling of the Gentiles) flouriſh more in peace and power, in doctrine & manners, in true pietie and glorious beautie then hitherto it hath done. And though I dare not preſume ſo farre (as ſome haue) to aſſigne a prefixed yeare for the accompliſhment thereof, and though the enemies of the Church proudly inſult over her by reaſon of their late victories and triumphs: yet for mine owne part I verily beleeue that ſuch a change ſhall be, and little doubt, but that ſome of this preſent age may liue to ſee it. In the meane ſeaſon it is the duttie of euery good Chriſtian with patience to waite for it, with arguments to pleade for it, with prayers to begge for it, and with the reformation of their liues, and their beſt endeavours to ſtriue for it. And for my ſelfe that little remainder of time which the great god of heaven ſhall be pleaſed to ſpare me in this vally of teares, by his gratious aſſiſtance I will heereafter imploy in a more diligent diſcharge of my miniſteriall functiō for the gaining of ſoules to him who hath placed me in that high calling; which of all other workes vndoubtedly brings with it both the greateſt comfort in this life, and reward in the next, *for they that be wiſe ſhall ſhine as the brightneſſe of the firmament, and they that turne many to righteouſneſſe, as the ſtarres for ever and ever.* Dan 12.3.

Non eſt mortale quod opto.

THE TABLE
OF THE VALVE OF THE ROMAN SESTERCE,
compared with our Engliſh coyne now in vſe.

BEcauſe in the fourth and laſt booke of this enſuing treatiſe in diſcourſing of the *Roman luxurie*, frequent mention is made of their exceſſiue expences, and the ordinary computation, of their Authors, vvhoſe teſtimonies I vſe, is by *Seſterces*. I held it requiſite for the better vnderſtanding of thoſe ſummes by ſuch vvho are not acquainted vvith the *Roman* coynes, in this table to expreſſe the value of the *Seſterce*, and vvithall to reduce ſome of their moſt noted ſummes to our *ſterling*, that ſo the Reader deſirous to know any particular ſumme, may either finde it expreſſed in this Table or eaſily finde it out by proportioning the ſumme he deſires to knovv vvith the neereſt vnto it either aboue or vnder.

The *Seſtertius* vvas among the *Romans* a coyne ſo common, that *nummus* and *Seſtertius* came at length to be vſed promiſcuouſly the one for the other, ſo called it vvas *quaſi Semiſtertius*, becauſe of three *aſſes* it vvanted halfe a one, and is thus commonly expreſſed II S, or thus H-S, by vvhich is vnderſtood tvvo *aſſes* and an halfe. For the value of it, ten *aſſes* make a *denarius* or *Roman* pennie, ſo tearmed becauſe it contained *dena æra*, which were the ſame with their *aſſes*; ſo as the *Seſterce*, containing *two aſſes* and an halfe, muſt of neceſſity be found in the *denarius* foure times; now the *denarius* being the eight part of an ounce, and an ounce of ſilver being now with vs valued at fiue ſhillings; it followes from thence that the value of the *denarius* is ſeaven pence halfe penny; and conſequently of the *Seſterce*, being the fourth part thereof, *pennie halfe pennie farthing halfe farthing*. Touching the manner of counting by *Seſterces* a controverſie there is betwixt *Budæus* & *Agricola*, whether *Seſtertius* in the maſculine and *Seſtertium* in the neuter, bee to be valued alike, which *Agricola* affirmes, *Budæus*, vpon better reaſon in my judgement, denies, and to him I incline, holding with him that *Seſtertium* in the neuter containes a thouſand *Seſtertios*: But here two things are ſpecially to be noted; firſt, that if the *numerall*, or word that denoteth the number being an *adjective* and of a different caſe, be joyned with *Seſtertium* (by an abbreviation put for *Seſtertiorum*) in the genitiue caſe plurall, then doth it note ſo many thouſand *Seſtertij*; for example, *decem Seſtertium* ſignifieth *decem millia* tenne thouſand *Seſterces*: Secondly, if the *numerall* joyned with *Seſtertium* be an *adverb*, then it deſigneth ſo many hundred thouſand, *ex*: *gra*: *decies Seſtertium* ſignifies *decies centena millia*, ten hundred thouſand or a million of *Seſterces*; and ſometimes the ſubſtantiue *Seſtertium* is omitted but neceſſarily vnderſtood; the adjectiue then or adverbe ſet alone being of the ſame value as if the ſubſtantiue were expreſſed, as thus, *decem* ſtanding by it ſelfe is fully as much as *decem Seſtertium*, & *decies* in like caſe, as if it were *decies Seſtertium*, which I haue premiſed that the reaſon of my rendring the *Latine* ſummes might the better be conceived, now to the table.

Seſterces *Are worth*	In Engliſh monies.	Seſterces *Are worth*	In Engliſh monies.
Twenty	o^{l}-3^{s}-1^{d}-ob	A Million,	7812-10-0-0.
A hundred	15-7-ob.	Fiue Millions,	39062-10-0-0.
Fiue hundred,	3-18-1-ob.	Ten Millions,	78125-0-0-0.
A thouſand,	7-16-3-0.	Twenty Millions,	156250-0-0-0.
Fiue thouſand,	39-1-3-0.	Fiftie Millions,	390625-0-0-0.
Ten thouſand,	78-2-6-0.	A hundred Millions,	781250-0-0-0.
Twenty thouſand,	156-5-0-0.	Two hundred Millions,	1562500-0-0-0.
Fiftie thouſand,	390-12-6-0.	Fiue hundred Millions,	3906250-0-0-0.
A hundred thouſand,	781-5-0-0.	A thouſand Millions,	7812500-0-0-0.
Fiue hundred thouſand,	3906-5-0-0.		

A Talent is 750 ounces of ſilver, which after fiue ſhillings the ounce, is 187 pounds.

MY

MY LORD OF *HEREFORD'S*
TABLES OF CALCVLATION WITH
the reformation of ſuch miſtakes as were found in that Copie which it pleaſed his Lordſhip to ſend mee.

Vnus Seſtertius in maſculino genere, ſive vnus nummus, valebat noſtræ monetæ Anglicanæ fere 2d

Nimirum vt 10 valeant 19d

Seſtertij. Viceni ſeſtertij 0l 3s 2d
30 0-4-9
40 0-6-4
50 0-7-11
60 0-9-6
70 0-11-1
80 0-12-8
90 0-14-3
100 Seſtertij vel 100 nummi (quod idem ſonat) valebant 0-15-10
Duceni 1-11-8
300 2-7-6
400 3-3-4
500 3-19-2
600 4-15-0
700 5-10-10
800 6-6-8
900 7-2-6
Mille nummi valebant 7-18-4

Seſtertia. Bina H-S. vel bina Seſtertia in neutro genere valebant 15-16-8
3 H-S. ſive ſeſtertia, ſive 3 millia nummorum valebant 23-51-0
4 H-S. 31-13-4
5 39-11-8
6 47-10-0
7 55-8 4
8 63-6-8
9 71-5-0
Dena H-S. ſive Seſtertia, vel 10000 nummûm. 79-3-4
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30 H-S. vel &c. 237-10-0
40 316-13-4
50 395-16-8
60 475-0-0
70 554-3-4
80 633-6-8
90 712-10-0
Centum millia vel C. vel 100 Seſtertia valebant 791-13-4
Ducenta 1583-6-8
300 2374-0-0
400 3165-13-4
500 3957-6-8
600 4748-0-0
700 5539-13-4
800 6331-6-8
900 7123-0-0
Iam deinceps numerantur per adverbia, vt non dicamus mille millia, vel mille ſeſtertia, ſed decies, id eſt, decies millena millia.
Decies continet noſtræ monetæ ſupputatione paulo accuratiori 7914-13-4
Vicies 15829-6-8
Tricies 23744-0-0
Quadragies 31658-13-4
Quinquagies 39573-6-8
Sexagies 47488-0-0
Septuagies 55402-13-4
Octogies 63317-6-8
Nonagies 71232-0-0
Centies 79146-13-4
Ducenties 158293-6-8
Tercenties 237440-0-0
Quadringenties 316586-13-4
Quingenties 395733-6-8
Sexcenties 474880-0-0
Septingenties 554026-13-4
Octingenties 633173-6-8
Nongenties 712320-0-0
Millies 791466-13-4
Bis millies 1582933-6-8
Ter millies 2374400-0-0

Quater

Quater millies	3165866-13-4	Octies millies	6331733-6-8
Quinquies millies	3957333-6-8	Novies millies	7123200-0-0
Sexies millies	4748800-0-0	Decies millies	7914666-13-4
Septies millies	5540266-13-4	Vicies millies	15829333-6-8

Talentorum apud Antiquos multa fuere genera Atticum, Euboicum, Æginense, Hebraicum, Babylonicum, & alia. Sed hoc observandum est, Scriptores ubi Talenti mentionem faciunt absque ulla adjectione, vix unquam aliud intelligere quam Atticum, quod valebat nostræ monetæ Anglicanæ libras 190[l].

Talentum Atticum	190[l]	Talenta 2000	380000
Talenta duo	380	3000	570000
3	570	4000	760000
4	760	5000	950000
5	950	6000	1140000
6	1140	7000	1330000
7	1330	8000	1520000
8	1520	9000	1710000
9	1710	10000	1900000
10	1900		
		Talenta 20000	3800000
Talenta 20	3800	30000	5700000
30	5700	40000	7600000
40	7600	50000	9500000
50	9500	60000	11400000
60	11400	70000	13300000
70	13300	80000	15200000
80	15200	90000	17100000
90	17100	100000	19000000
100	19000		
		200 Millia	38000000
Talenta 200	38000	300	57000000
300	57000	400	76000000
400	76000	500	95000000
500	95000	600	114000000
600	114000	700	133000000
700	133000	800	152000000
800	152000	900	171000000
900	171000	Mille millia Talentorum	190000000
1000	190000		

AN

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Iudicious Reader, if thou art pleased patiently to follow our directions in these troubled paths, which are not many in so long a iourney; wee can assure thee of easier passage in other place, where thou had'st mette with thousands of rubbes, which for thy good onely we haue remoued.

ERRATA.

Read page 3. line 43. *interpretum*. p. 11 l. 3. *Signum*. p. 14 l. 23. and *that*. l 46. *proposed*. p. 20 l. 18. *successfully*. p. 23. l. 33. *wee*. p. 24. l. 33 *with*. p. 25. l. 12. *tua* quod. p. 26. l. 5. *mutabilis*. p. 29. l. 20. nos *ebrui*. p 35. l. 25. *force* of. p 39. l. 38. *out* lon p 44 l. 31. *Philo*. p. 46. l. 25. *whence* it. p. 48 l. 34. *ages*. l. 38. *or* at. p. 50. l. 13. *that account* l 30 (saith he) *arise th*. l. 34 *secreto*. p. 55. l. 37. *already*. p. 62. l. 20. *to* del. p. 68. l. 2. *certaine yeares*. p. 73. l. 8 *matter* and l 9 *matter* del. p. 90. l 30. *illud*. p. 92. l. 5. *about* fiue. p. 102. l. 23 *our time*. p. 107. l. 14 *great* Ma. p. 106. l. 14. *fortune* Co p. 117. l. 41. yet *is*. p. 120 l. 26. *the* del. p. 143. l. 22. *whose* ju. p. 146 l. 42 *death*. p. 147. l. 5 *dearth*. p. 161. l. 29 come *to*. p. 166. l. 17. *reprime*. p. 167. l 19. *of* na. p. 198 l 3. *three* Choef p. 216. l. 6. *lubber* of. p. 219 l 1. Lady *of* p. 230. l. 33 *contented*. p. 251. l. 42. *omnia*. p 262. l. 9. *of* dei. p. 264. l. 2. *aream*. l 31. *Doli* l 41. litle *what* p 284 l vl. in *those*. p. 290 l. 48. *immodesty*. p. 297. l. 43. *in* it. p. 329. l. 10 *se* Chr. p. 349. l. 6. *head*. p. 355. l. 8. *morrow*. p. 356. l. 42. his life, and *of*. p. 362. l. 40. *Dioscorides*. p. 370. l. 44. *where*. p. 373 l. 33. to Nero. p. 376. l 9. *waiters*. l. 27. *aues in frusta* l. 29 *feasts*. p. 6. l. 27. *many* pretious. p. 417. l. 30. *The* Ma. p. 422. l. 23 *ac* dies. p. 441. l 18. *bestiarum*. p 442 l. 1. *most*. p. 454. l. 2. *Then* I. p. 473. l. 22. out *of*. 480. l. 3. *concurrens*. l. 4 *re* del. p 486. l. 34. *not* del. p. 503. l. 39 in *this*.

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